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COMMUNICATION TRENDS IN THE POST-LITERACY ERA: POLYLINGUALISM, MULTIMODALITY AND MULTICULTURALISM AS PRECONDITIONS FOR NEW CREATIVITY



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и работаю на английском языке



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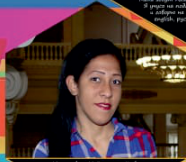
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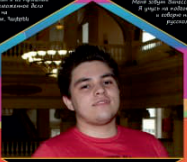
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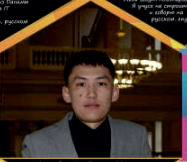
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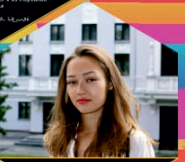
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MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
URAL FEDERAL UNIVERSITY
NAMED AFTER THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA B. N. YELTSIN
URAL STATE PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY

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The research results are presented in the form of sections that consistently reveal the features of modern media culture; its contradictory manifestations associated with both positive and negative consequences of mass media use; the positive role of new media in education during the COVID-19 pandemic; creative potential of contemporary art and mediation, contemporary art and media environment.

The collective monograph will be of interest to researchers in media culture, media education, media art and tools of social networks and new media in modern education, primarily in teaching foreign languages and Russian as a foreign language, in the professional education of journalists and specialists in the field of media communications.

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Creativity in the Age of Robots: A Polemic, Philosophical and Cultural Preface to a Discussion

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Abstract. The article mainly argues that education today is the area where “smart machines” such as super-powerful computing technology operate, capable of storing and processing huge amounts of data produced by modern academic researchers, under whose influence new models of human existence — new ontologies — are generated. In addition, there are social “smart machines” for processing information in broadcasting and communication — “new media”, which also create their own worlds with their own rules and algorithms; as well as there are personal “smart machines” (gadgets), in which information processing algorithms are reproduced in the form of programs that are created by scientists and programmers, and on the basis of which reading, information analysis and decision-making takes place in the memory of a “smart machine”.

Keywords: age of robots, creativity, creative intelligence, human intelligence, artificial intelligence

Gudova M.:

For a long time, man as a species considered himself the only bearer of intelligence on the planet. The intellectual exclusivity of man was presented by many generations of thinkers as a decisive advantage of man over all other living beings and the natural world as a whole. Gradually, in the history of culture, robots became part of human life. They were used as machines and mechanisms capable of acquiring and analysing information and making decisions. Today, artificial systems can have physicality, sensibility and intelligence meaning that they can make decisions. From the point of view of improving the ability of machines to process information, the entire history of human culture is just a preamble to the modern stage, when robots

became part of our everyday lives, were spread to production and various service industries, act as assistants, substitutes and prostheses of certain organs and human systems like exo- or 3D prostheses. Media are exactly the same ‘prostheses’. M. McLuhan said that they are an artificial extension of man; and at the same time, that means the separation and transfer of a part of the human to a machine, e. g. the ability to memorise, transmit and broadcast information. The twentieth century, as defined by M. McLuhan, is the ‘age of the redistribution of consciousness’, ‘Rapidly, we approach the final phase of the extensions of man — the technological simulation of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society, much as we have already extended our senses and our nerves by the various media’ [McLuhan, 5]. From the point of view of modern media research, one of the key scientific ideas of M. McLuhan is the description of the social and cultural consequences of media. For M. McLuhan, media were associated with texts and languages. One after one, he describes the means of production, storage and transmission of information, as well as the means of communication that appeared at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and appropriated the functions of perception, storage, processing and transmission of information, and how they changed the way of life, the object-material world, habits and forms of communication between people. The media’s capability of performing these functions transformed the world during the 20th century in such a way that the cultures of the megalopolises of the late 19th and early 21st centuries differ in a striking way in both technical and technological saturation and in terms of existential issues.

For us, robots in modern education is the relevant target of interest. In our opinion, education today is the area where “smart machines” such as super-powerful computing technology operate, capable of storing and processing huge amounts of data produced by modern academic researchers, under whose influence new models of human existence — new ontologies — are generated. In addition, there are social “smart machines” for processing information in broadcasting and communication — “new media”, which also create their own worlds with their own rules and algorithms; as well as there are personal “smart machines” (gadgets), in which information processing algorithms are reproduced in the form of programs that are created by scientists and programmers, and on the basis of which reading, information analysis and decision-making takes place in the memory of a “smart machine”.

Why is the education sector so sensitive today to the creation of new ontologies and algorithms? The answer seems to be obvious: from an anthropological point of view, the education system is that of human-to-human communication, 'processing people by people' [Marx, Engels, 29]. When intermediaries in the form of complex intellectual systems and algorithms appear in the relations between people, then a person finds himself/herself in a new existential context, the human world becomes a human-machine world, the ontology of the human turns into an ontology of hybrid existence, and a person feels existential tension in his/her existence between human and inhuman. How do man-made algorithms cause this existential discomfort? Being in a hybrid human-machine world requires considering the peculiarities of not only a person as a partner in educational activities but also an algorithm. In the case of industrial use of robots, humans exploit their ability to perform major repetitive operations with absolute precision an infinite number of times. Industrial robots are slaves to humans, and they are valued for their efficiency; they are ideal performers of heavy and monotonous production operations, freeing people and increasing labour productivity. Service robots in education are another thing. The peculiarity of interaction with 'smart machines' in the education system is that they are not only tools for implementing it but also tools for organising it, algorithms that determine the procedure for and speed of interaction of one actor in the educational process with a machine and then another actor... The set of features associated with the use and organisation allows us to talk about the agent-based active nature of artificial intelligent systems in education, where they act as agents of rational action, by invading the world of human irrationality, impulsivity, emotionality etc. According to B. Cope and M. Kalantzis, the advantage of educational robots is not that they are smarter but that they act logically and consistently, that is reasonably and efficiently.

Let us consider in more detail what kind of artificial intelligent systems an ordinary teacher of a Russian university is dealing with today. This is an incentive scheme for academic staff that collects, places and systematizes information about teachers' work during the academic year, keeps track of their educational, methodological and research achievements. Another agent is a scoring system that collects and posts information about the students' educational problems and the quality of problem solving. It analyses and processes that information, gives advice to users,

and makes decisions about how successfully the students cope with their tasks based on those points that the teacher gave to the students, and notifies students and teachers about decisions made, either passed or failed. A more complex service robot of the first generation is the Ural Federal University Electronic Open Resources system that not only hosts various electronic courses in its space but also allows limited interactivity with users by posting answers in the form of scanned files or the option of passing tests in an AutoTest mode.

This is intended to provide a composite rating for all these intelligent systems in the methodology set by M. McLuhan in terms of amputations and increments [McLuhan, 5], or, as G. Kress wrote, ‘gains and losses’ [Kress, 5], or, according to B. Cope and M. Kalantzis, from the point of view of the advantages and disadvantages of artificial intelligence [Cope, Kalantzis, 2019]. First generation educational intelligent systems do not provide any possibility of interactivity. It is possible for such educational robots to use multimodal texts, create archives and interact to a limited extent. The impact that first generation educational robots have on people are tools: they limit and reduce the emotional and impulsive reactions of people in educational interaction and expand the formal and logical abilities, qualities and properties, ensure the sequence of actions and mathematical accuracy of assessments while maintaining out-of-emotionality and value-based neutrality. That is, the first-generation educational robots act as tools for formalising and streamlining the educational relations. That is why the first-generation educational robots, intelligent systems, that do not allow full-fledged interaction, have limited algorithms for variable action and are not perfect in design are target for criticism from the point of new literacy pedagogy and new creativity ideas.

Educational robots of the first generation are those algorithms and tools for ensuring and organising the educational process that form a new hybrid ontology of education and today determine the ways of existence of teachers and students, pupils outside any feedback, the empathy and interactivity sought by man. Critical pedagogy proceeds from the premise that ‘ontologies should determine algorithms, and not vice versa’ [Cope, Kalantzis, Sears, 2020, 4].

Guzikova M.:

The coexistence of humans and robots, their competitive relations in those areas, where machines are stronger, more accurate and more dispassionate, more reliable, raise the question of what the new pedagogy should be, and this meets our time's challenges. According to K. Schwab, our new modernity already exists, and it is a digital world in which a person can be replaced by a machine. What will come of this for pedagogy? In the new ontology of the electronic educational environment, which is a law unto itself, the practices that have been developed in traditional education, those instructional concepts and principles that correspond to another ontology — lesson-class, didactic-synoptic — should not be reproduced. Didactic teaching was built on the transfer of knowledge from one teacher to many students, a teacher would have unique knowledge and pass it on 'from mouth to mouth'. As Cope and Kalantzis write, 'artificial intelligence promises a new way forward for assessment and education' [Cope, Kalantzis, Searsmith 14]. Today, the educational situation is fundamentally different, the ways of gaining knowledge and literacy are diverse and they are not limited to the interaction between holders and adepts of knowledge within the scope of formal educational institutions and outside; and in combination with both formal and informal education, modern pedagogical science calls this phenomenon 'individual educational trajectories'. Another aspect of the new literacy is that, in the didactic model of education, the knowledge transfer process was in line with the teacher's ideas about what students should know. Today, the situation has fundamentally changed. The same way as a new consumer-oriented 'on-demand economy' is created, knowledge is also transmitted upon request from a student or his/her representatives planning his/her successful life trajectory. The acquisition of knowledge on social demand of students, the increased search by the consumer in the international open Internet of in search of the necessary professional educational programmes and curricula, makes teachers face competition, meet such requests and offer the most popular and attractive curricula that meet the consumers' and programmes' challenges. This aggravates the issue of the methodological packaging for the knowledge transfer and the content of that packaging, which retains intrigue and interest, generates creative tasks that require finding solutions, as well as the manifestation of student creativity abilities. Therefore, all these reasons make it necessary to look at the educational process from the point of view of pedagogical design, innovative

methodological support and the most attractive structuring of the content of knowledge. Deep online in the 2nd generation educational systems enables the teacher to be a designer and co-creator of the educational environment and implement collaborative forms of education. If a machine can not only count and recognise correct answers in closed tests, not only collect but also subject texts to the contextual, semantic and discursive analysis, interpret, unite students and teachers into separate groups on social networks, generate new friendly ontologies, and implement algorithms, which satisfy a person's need for communication in order to support and develop his/her humanity and sociality, allows assessing the students' progress by not only any figures from the teacher but also the opinion of other students and teachers, then the machine becomes an assistant can radically change in the educational process in the online mode. This is the position of online optimism.

The advantages of an educational system built at the intersection of the intersection of the artificial intelligence achievements (storage and fast processing of big data arrays), 'new media' — social networks and the mobile Internet are that the educational process can be carried out at any time and place, synchronously and asynchronously, convenient and comfortable for introverts and autists, and people with cognitive and physical disabilities in the form of short lectures, multimodal texts of tasks and answers. All these conditions free a teacher from the need to be a lecturer-preacher; it is suggested that he/she becomes a designer of the knowledge received by his/her students. To do this, the teacher, in our opinion, needs to answer several fundamental and new questions: How does the proposed knowledge meet the needs of the trainees? How well is the transferred knowledge structured? In what language do students master this knowledge better? In the language of verbal text? Audiobooks? Videos? In the language of touch and tactile sensations or in the language of plasticity and music? In the pedagogical interaction all this leads to the need to take into account not only the initial knowledge request for knowledge of students but also their cognitive request for the presentation of material in a certain sign-oriented and semiotic package. A hybrid environment, in which we work together with a machine, the synergy of man and machine, the machine's ability to recognise a text of various nature — verbal, acoustic, visual and/or tactile ensures that the educational process is multimodal and multilingual. The transition from didactic pedagogy to collaborative pedagogy, in which the teacher is the educational process designer, due thanks artificial intelligence, will

free the teacher from the routine of endless control tests and works, as well as home assignments, as it can be done by a machine, and will give scope for the creative activities by the teacher-designer in not only of educational programmes, courses and lessons but also social groups, and social and human relations in the educational process by trying out the best human qualities, such as kindness, responsibility, honesty and creativity.

Yamshchikov I.:

Is it difficult to train a machine to be a teacher's assistant, solve creative problems and evaluate the quality of the obtained solutions? Is it difficult to teach artificial intelligence to be creative and generate texts that are read like human-written texts? What are the creative possibilities of artificial intelligence and where are its limits? Can a modern computer surpass human intelligence in its creative capabilities?

On the one hand, Turing writes in his article on statistical learning [1]: "If the meaning of the words "machine" and "think" are to be found by examining how they are commonly used it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the meaning and the answer to the question, "Can machines think?" is to be sought in a statistical survey such as a Gallup poll." This starting argument turned out to be prophetic. It pinpoints the profound challenge for the generative models that use statistical learning principles. Indeed, if creativity is something on the fringe, on the tails of the distribution of outcomes, then it is hard to expect a model that is fitted on the center of distribution to behave in a way that could be subjectively perceived as a creative one. If we correlate this idea with the basic principles of statistical learning and try to answer the question about the possibility of creating something new by a machine, then we inevitably come to a disappointing conclusion: the result of a poll will never be something new. In this sense, the machine is able to do what the person taught it. Without creating anything fundamentally new, it re-assembles repeating patterns.

On the other hand, people also reproduce something that they learned from other human beings. In this sense, it is rather difficult to distinguish the happy accident of a serendipitous machine creativity from the accidental insight of an artist. In 2016, Alexey Tikhonov and I conducted a series of experiments: we tried to train an algorithm to generate poems stylized as poems of a given author. The generated poems that resembled the lyrics of the cult Russian poet and musician Yegor Letov became the most widely

known in Russia. Globally our project with Kurt Cobain stylized songs got more public interest. We recorded two mini-albums (in Russian and in English) with poems generated by the algorithms. The Russian album is called “Neural Defense”, and the English one is called Neurona (<https://youtu.be/c759T8zOe5A>). Both albums are available to listen to and have been published on various streaming platforms. The essence of the project was that we took all available poetic texts in Russian with information about their authorship, and trained the algorithm to create stylized texts similar to the poems of a particular poet. You can read more about this in our articles [2,3,4]. Having mastered the basic stylistic techniques of the chosen author, the machine can endlessly produce poems from his vocabulary, based on his rhythmic-melodic techniques. Some of these texts will be better, others worse, but the algorithm itself will not invent any new artistic poetic techniques, it simply uses statistical information that it can extract from the texts in the training set. People reading these poems distinguish well between authors and their style, sometimes machine stylizations are recognized as more ‘human’ than the original poems. Generally, the readers have hard times distinguishing the author and the machine. Modern generative algorithms tend to pass Turing test in terms of stylization. In some sense, artificial intelligence creates the best postmodern works today. The contribution of algorithms to culture is the death of postmodernism.

There are experiments in other creative fields where algorithms generate music and graphics using statistical learning. But to which extent are these pieces novel? In order to understand this, one can regard the limits of creative artificial intelligence within a broader problematic field of communication. We interact with machines, but we do not communicate with them. There are two phases in machine learning process: exploration and exploitation. A person goes through the same phases both in phylogeny and ontogenesis. In humans, over the years, the research phase is increasingly displaced by the exploitation phase. A person develops certain algorithms — habitual, ritual actions, — and begins to reproduce them in her life. When we are kids, the task “go there — don’t know where, bring that — don’t know what” seems exciting and entertaining. Over the years we value clearly defined goals and objectives more and more. The desire for novelty is supplanted

* Neurona — In the back of your glass. The lyrics of this song were written by an artificial neural network trained to resemble Kurt Cobain. Neurona is a project of Aleksey Tikhonov and Ivan Yamshchikov.

by the fear of uncertainty. Thus, the possibilities for creativity are narrowed in the exploitation phase by design. If we expect something new from a machine, then interaction with it should be built on the principle of exploration, rather than exploitation. Meanwhile, the expectation of a predictable outcome is a standard form of our interaction with algorithms. It, by definition, prevents a machine from creating something that a person would perceive as new. We have discussed this way of interacting with algorithms in detail [5]. For example, an interactive stand that allows one to explore the generative capabilities of an algorithm, perceiving it as a certain ‘Ding an sich’, [6] may be a good example of an installation that facilitates such research interaction between a human and a machine.

Interacting with the algorithm in such an “open” format, you can read the results of their work in a fundamentally different way. In [7], we showed how such an “open” perception can be combined with the creation of several autonomous systems, each of which is responsible for different aspects of the creative process. In the Paranoid Transformer project, a text generation system is combined with a critic system

Interacting with the algorithm in such an “open” format, you can read the results of their work in a fundamentally different way. In [7], we showed how such an “open” perception can be combined with the creation of several autonomous systems, each of which is responsible for different aspects of the creative process. In the Paranoid Transformer project, a text generation system is combined with a critic system, a handwriting generation system, and a system for generating pictures in the margins of a draft. Each of the systems relies on statistical learning algorithms. The final product of their work is the diary of a “mad” digital writer, which is published in hardcover. Here we are no longer talking about stylization. This is a diary of a completely autonomous “author” where everything (from the text itself to the sketches on the margins of a page) is generated algorithmically.

When we say that we would like artificial intelligence to be a human assistant, we should understand that only two alternative modes are realized in interaction with algorithms so far: this are either exploitative interaction or explorative immersion. Interesting is not functional, functional is not interesting. A machine can be a communication partner, and it can be an interesting one, but its functionality will inevitably fade... After all, creation of non-functional, interesting objects is the essence of art itself, be it the Bronze Horseman in St. Petersburg or the graffiti on the First Five-

Year Plan Square in Ekaterinburg. The creation of non-functional objects that carry the personalized experience of the creator stays one of the main forms of immortality available to us.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Part 1

**NEW MEDIA AND THE NEW
CREATIVITY IN EDUCATION**

1.1. LESSONS FROM THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND NEW EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

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Problems and Prospects of On-Line Education in Russia

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the problems and prospects of online education in modern Russia. The situation of the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic has brought the process of distance learning to a new level. The author makes an attempt to analyse the main forms and methods of online education from the point of view of developing students' skills of critical literacy and the ability to form their own semantic field.

Keywords: digital education, pandemic, critical literacy, media environment, online course

1. Introduction

The world of modern man is wide and varied. The main factor shaping the information field of a modern person is undoubtedly the mass media. I will not repeat the trivial statements that we live in a world that is significantly different from what it was 50 years ago. That is why at the moment the education system is necessarily included in the modern media environment. The emergence of online education is associated with the first attempts by a number of American universities (Michigan State University, Northeastern University, University of Phoenix, etc.) to create online courses in the 80s of the XX century. (Of course, there were television educational programs before that, but we are interested in training in the online communication system). Russia, for obvious reasons, started this process much later. However, during the period of intensive development of various forms of such training (the 2000s), Russian education actively tries and implements

digital technologies in the educational process. The first attempts to implement online learning on various platforms were made back in the early 2000s [Maslakova, 2015, 29–32].

At the moment, the online education system is actively popularized and promoted by the leadership of Russian education, but the teaching community is not very active in supporting this idea. The main fears are related to the fact that in this kind of educational process, live communication disappears, global changes occur both in the learning process itself and in its content.

2. Relevance

The relevance of the study is associated, oddly enough, with the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic. The entire educational community (from schools to higher educational institutions) found itself in a situation of a forced distance learning process. What had happened before smoothly and spontaneously enough suddenly turned out to be a harsh necessity for everyone without exception. This led to aggravating both the known problems that had arisen earlier and to the determining of the new ones. An important aspect of the analysis of the ongoing processes is the relationship between the didactic nature of the educational process and the possibility of forming a free-thinking and creatively active subject in this process. The most important problem of education is the answer to the question about the type of personality that is in demand in the modern society and the ability of the education system to respond to the challenges of a rapidly changing social reality.

3. The object

The object of this study is the process of online learning, based on modern media communication technologies, and rapidly intensified in the pandemic. First of all, we are interested in the transformation of the educational process in the online system, the problems and advantages that arise in connection with this.

4. Material

The material for the research was my personal experience of creating online courses and working with them and the experience of my colleagues in the department. In addition, in the process of teaching in the pandemic, it became possible to analyse various forms of media communication both

with students and with colleagues. I found it important to research the process not only from the teacher's point of view, but also to look at the opinions of students. In this regard, in the last week of the semester, I asked students of the Faculty of Psychology (Year 1, 120 people) as an analytical task to describe a new situation in terms of the problems and advantages of distance learning. It should be noted that the sphere of my scientific and teaching activities is the philosophy of culture and, in general, culture studies.

5. Methodology

The methodological basis of the study is the concept of critical literacy which emerged in the 70s and was significantly developed at the end of the 20th century [Frey, 1973; McLaren, 1993, etc.]. This approach is based on the idea of social equality in education and avoiding the educational model in which the relationship between a teacher and a student is built on the basis of S-O interaction and the learning outcome depends on the completeness of the learner's uptake of the information received and the texts read. The authors of the concept proceed from the fact that this kind of approach to the training system does not meet modern realities. The modern society has a high degree of mobility, both in the horizontal and temporal components. This process is becoming more complex with the development of the digital environment. The consciousness of a person immersed in the information flow should have a number of features: first, the skill of selecting and information filtration, and secondly (and this is the main thing!) the ability to critically perceive and rethink this information developing their own ways of adapting to a rapidly changing social environment.

6. Purpose of the study

So, the purpose of this study is to analyse the main forms and methods of online education from the point of view of forming students' critical literacy skills and the ability to form their own semantic space.

The first component that requires consideration are the online courses which are quite widespread in Russia. First of all, it is the national platform openedu.ru. Without going into the details of the main stages of the introduction of online courses, let us dwell on what basic advantages and problems of this form of education are known at the present time.

Firstly, this form is extremely demanding, since it allows not only covering the widest possible audience of students, but also making it possible

to attend courses of outstanding specialists in their field. In addition, with the external study mode, this is a very great help in mastering the material since the number of classroom activities is significantly limited. A qualitative online course should include both video lectures and additional printed, audio and other materials. Besides, it assumes the possibility of both student-teacher feedback and communication within the student group (peer to peer review). An important component is the presence of forms of automatic control of assignments, harmoniously combined with the assessment of creative assignments by a teacher or tutor.

Secondly, generation Z, which makes up the majority of the audience of educational programmes, is most susceptible to the media form of communication (in this case, we are not speaking about the pros and cons of this peculiarity of young people). The attractiveness of online learning is largely due to the prevailing habit of 'living online'.

Thirdly, the online course allows you to get away from archaic forms of teaching (especially in the humanitarian sphere), where the process is often reduced to the teacher's lectures and students' reports at seminars. This is one of the reasons that great hopes are pinned on this form of education. This is partly due to the conservatism of some of the teaching staff of higher education (more on this later). The habit of "broadcasting" from the lecturing desk and giving voluminous articles and monographs for reading is not very effective when working with a modern student. The main problems arising in the learning process based on online courses were discovered already at the implementation stage.

The first thing that should be noted is the student's weak motivation in the process of mastering the material or, in extreme cases, its sharp decline in the learning process. For example, in 2019, the NRU HSE (National Research University Higher School of Economics) conducted a study of the dynamics of motivation of online students and proposed a mathematical model for studying these processes. The mathematical model developed at the HSE is an extension of the Rush model (a system that allows you to measure the level of difficulty of a task and the level of students' readiness). On this basis, the NRU HSE conducted a study of online learning and found that students more often choose to watch video lectures than to read educational material. Each student, according to the research results, demonstrates individual dynamics of activity; however, scientists have identified three main types. Thus, about 85 % of students show a decrease

in activity (and 65 % will have zero activity in the second week). Only 10 % of students, according to the results obtained, continue active learning throughout the course, and only about 5 % have an increasing activity during the course. 10 % of students (with stable dynamics of activity) are most productive in solving test tasks, use fewer attempts and make fewer mistakes [Abbakumov, 2019, 137–140].

For the sake of completeness, I signed up for the HSE online course in my area of Culturology, made by V. Kurennoy, one of the most interesting researchers in this area. In my opinion, this course is quite typical for modern higher education in Russia. Besides, it is recommended for widespread use in all universities of the country since this discipline is included in the block of subjects of the general humanities direction (along with Russian History, Culture of Speech, Philosophy, etc.). Of course, this version of the course does not imply training students in the areas of Culturology and Philosophy of Culture and is designed for students of various specialties (and not only humanitarian ones). So, the course is built on the basis of video lectures provided with a presentation, and on each theme a small text is given for reading. The transition to the next theme is carried out only after completing the current control test. The final score is the sum of their results of the current tests and the performance of a volumetric test that completes the course.

The first thing that catches your eye is the overload of the course with the names and concepts of modern cultural studies. If this is an important component for a future cultural specialist or philosopher, then there is no use for an economist or a builder.

The second thing, which is important in my opinion, is that the intellectual potential of the teacher is realized very poorly, not to mention the activity of the students in the process of mastering the material. At first glance, this is the problem of the content of the course itself, which the author forms. However, this is not quite true. In 2015, we (Yurlova S., Gudova Yu.) prepared an online course *The Technology of Myth in Modern Mass Culture*, which is still used in the educational process, and so I can talk about problems from the inside. The main problem is software. In the process of preparing the material, various options for analytical and control tasks were offered, including options for mutual assessment with subsequent discussion. However, the programmers asked to transfer each proposed variant of the task to the form of testing, since this allowed the use of automatic verification. As a result, all tasks that involved other methods of assessment were given

in the form of essays, which are checked by a teacher or tutor. As correctly stated in the article ‘Artificial intelligence for education: Knowledge and its assessment in AI-enabled learning ecologies’: “By “traditional assessments, “we do not just mean pen-and-paper; we also include computer-mechanized reproductions of traditional select response and supply response assessments’ [Cope, Kalantzis and Searsmith, 2019, 12–13]. And this question formulation is quite reasonable. The test form of checking the level of mastering the material covers only the student’s short-term memory and does not require a deep *understanding* of the essence of the material. The virtuosity with which the modern generation of students solves various kinds of tests suggests that in this case short-term memory and the skill of solving test problems are formed. Quite often, a student who brilliantly solves test items writes very weak and meaningless essays on the same problem.

The second component of online education is the willingness of the higher-education teaching personnel to work in the digital format. Here, unfortunately, Russian higher education is showing an insufficient level. The average age of the teaching staff as for 2018 is 50+. At the same time, in the country as a whole, the average age of the working population is 41.1, of which only 21.5 % are over 50 [https://www.gks.ru/storage/mediabank/Trud_2019.pdf]. Undoubtedly, the age composition of university teachers differs both in regions (Moscow, St. Petersburg are much younger) and in particular educational institutions. In addition, humanitarian specialties are traditionally represented by more mature, and therefore, older teachers. So, the average age of the teaching staff of UrFU is 49.1, and this indicator has not changed significantly over the past 5 years [Goncharova, 2018, 116].

In fact, this means that these people received education during the period of the dominance of book culture [McLuen, 2005], and the process of mastering the work with modern media took place mainly spontaneously and on the basis of self-study. This is undoubtedly one of the serious problems exacerbated during the pandemic. For a long time, the process of digitalization of the Russian education system bumped up not only against the weakness of the software, but also against the reluctance of older teachers to master and apply modern forms of online education. A significant part of the professors and associate professors of this age group continued to use only traditional forms of education (lectures, seminars) ignoring the new opportunities offered by digital media. In the situation of the transition to distance learning, which suddenly fell upon Russian universities and schools, many were

intellectually and technically unprepared for such a situation. Online education requires a different approach to the material offered to students, and understanding that the new generation perceives information differently, it is difficult for them to master voluminous printed texts, they require visualization and problematization of information. Working in a familiar model (video lectures, printed versions of lecture material, webinars), the teacher essentially remains within the framework of the traditional teaching model. This leads to a number of consequences: first, the load on the teacher multiplies; secondly, the student quickly loses motivation for learning, which means that it is necessary to quickly restructure and offer other, more modern ways of presenting the material.

The arrival of the pandemic dramatically changed the situation and, frankly, caught the education system by surprise. Of course, the appearance of a significant part of the problems was expected, but in some cases the consequences were unexpected.

Let's start with the expected problems. The first thing that universities encountered was the training technology and software for distance education. Of course, every large (and not so) university in Russia has a number of educational platforms for conducting online classes, conferences, etc. However, before the 'X hour', the workload of these platforms was not high; the same refers to Internet traffic. With the advent of the pandemic, the load has increased many times and, of course, this has led to periodic failures in the work of resources and platforms. The second problem was that to work in the online system, any programme must be provided with the necessary materials — recorded video or audio lectures, a set of control and analytical tasks, ready-made text and video materials, etc. In most cases, there were no such materials; therefore, the preparation process took place in a situation of force majeure. With the benefit of my personal experience, I can say that developing content for a full-fledged online course requires painstaking and thoughtful work for several months. And this is provided that the course has been read live several times and there is experience in analysing the perception of its content by students. Half of the courses taught by the teachers of our department were not fully provided with the necessary materials. The main result of this situation was the emergence of insufficient quality content. Of course, the processing and preparation of new material gradually took place, but the need to form ready-made content on a weekly basis in several courses could not but affect its quality.

At the beginning of the process of transition to distance learning, many were confident that this process would be easy enough. However, it presented many surprises, both to teachers and students.

We need to start with a simple thing, providing teachers and students with the necessary technical support (a computer with a webcam, fast Internet, etc.). In most cases, the remote learning process took place not only from desktops and laptops, but also from tablets and smartphones. Not every teacher at that time had the necessary set of software and additional equipment at home for full-fledged work. For the sake of fairness, it should be said that the authorities of the regions and universities quickly created conditions for free connection to all necessary platforms (Zoom, Google Meet, Microsoft Teams, etc.) Students found themselves in a more difficult situation: if university teachers live in a metropolis, many non-resident students, while staying at home, experienced difficulties with Internet communication and often had to use smartphones. Despite the fact that the younger generation is fluent in media communication in all its variants, difficulties arose in the educational process. So, participation in a webinar from a smartphone is extremely difficult, as well as reading a voluminous text.

Consistency and proportionality of the load for both the student and the teacher play an important role in the educational process. At first glance, the remote nature of the process should have made the learning process easier. Indeed, there is no need to spend a lot of time on trips to the place of study, studying at home makes it possible to more freely manage your time. However, the first thing that the online learning process revealed was the manifold increased workload on the teaching staff and moderators of the educational process. Let's take a typical situation as an example. In the modern system of Russian education, a significant role is played by the study of general subjects (Philosophy, Russian History, Cultural Studies, etc.). As a rule, these courses are taught to a large number of students at the same time (60–100 people) and lectures are the main form of training. In addition, several control events are carried out during the semester and the final test completes this process. Now let's imagine a teacher who has two or three groups of students of 60–100 people and works remotely. The first problem is that it is necessary to somehow track the process of mastering the material (for example, the program in which I worked does not allow me to see whether the student has watched the proposed material and whether he listened to a video lecture). In this situation, the teacher is forced to give

at least a minimum control task that is not provided for in the curriculum. And this multiplies the load and there is no longer any question of any creative approach in our teaching. As a result, students receive weekly test assignments for each discipline, which must be completed within a certain time frame. Of course, to help the situation of force majeure, most of the tasks were given in a test form, which has its own limitations. However, this process also has a positive aspect. The student is forced not only to work harder, but also to show more independence in the learning process. If in the process of working at a seminar in the classroom it is possible to 'sit it out' without participating in the discussion of the proposed problems, then in the conditions of distance learning each task must be completed by everyone. This led to the fact that when answering the question 'what difficulties did you face in the process of distance learning?' 70 % of the students indicated the need for very good self-organisation.

One of the serious problems in the online mode was the impossibility of checking the real level of mastering the material by students. In the case when the control task is given in the form of a test or writing an essay, it is impossible to track whether the work was done independently or whether the student used the endless possibilities of the Internet to download ready-made answers. An experienced teacher, of course, can identify this kind of work, but it is not uncommon for a number of students to have identical essay texts. From this we can conclude that in the process of preparing the control task, many students follow the path of least resistance and take ready-made texts or their fragments.

At first glance, working in the videoconference mode should remove this problem, since during the seminar the teacher sees and hears all the participants and can actively interact with them. Yet in fact, another problem was revealed, at any time, a student can 'exit' the conference by turning off the camera and replacing his video image with the 'portrait' mode. In this case, it is impossible to understand whether the student is present in class or not, and it is almost impossible to check it.

An important characteristic of live communication in the classroom is the opportunity to adjust the presentation of educational material during the educational process. Each student group has its own creative potential and features associated with their main educational profile. It is impossible to teach the same material to future psychologists or future builders in the same way. In addition, with each new generation of students, the pat-

tern of the perception of the same material also changes. When it comes to online courses, of course, the possibilities for adjusting the content are significantly limited.

These are the problems that arise in the learning process from the point of view of the teacher.

As mentioned above, I tried to investigate this situation from both sides. I have analysed 120 essays of 1st year students of the Faculty of Psychology which formulated their vision of the problems and prospects of online learning.

The general conclusions are as follows:

Advantages: 1) saving time since there is no need to go to university; more comfortable home environment; 2) the opportunity to master the material at your own pace; 3) all work is performed in an electronic format, which reduces the execution time, allows you to keep them all in one place and if necessary, return to the covered material; 4) availability of specific platforms and resources for providing feedback; 5) the forced transition to distance learning is an important experience that should not be overlooked in the future.

Problems: 1) the need for high self-organisation and decreased motivation in the educational process; 2) a decrease in the information content of the lecture material (especially if it is given in the form of a printed text), the inability to ask questions to the teacher; 3) a multiple increase in independent work; 4) lack of live communication with both the teacher and students, which reduces the effectiveness of teaching, lack of discussions; 5) the loss of a living intellectual environment that exists at the university which plays an important role in the educational process.

7. Analysis of the material

Now it is necessary to analyse the changes that have occurred in terms of the effectiveness of the educational process. The main thing that is important to understand is to what extent online learning contributes to the retreat from the didactic approach and contributes to the formation of creative and analytical thinking of students.

Summarizing the advantages of online learning, which are indicated by both teachers and students, first of all, one should point out the inevitable weakening of instructional and narrative forms and the increased need for independent study of the material. The situation of the pandemic led to the fact that the teaching community very quickly and effectively began to be in-

volved in the new communication environment. Of course, the difficulties of this process are obvious. This is especially true for teachers of the older generation; however, they have mastered various platforms in a few months of remote work. Before the pandemic, the main form of online communication between a student and a teacher was limited to the exchange of emails, at best, to the creation of temporary groups on social networks (Vkontakte, Facebook) to conduct classes or control on certain themes. Today, the overwhelming majority of teachers can be quickly involved in new systems and can master the work on new digital platforms. This provides undeniable advantages in the volume and variety of content presented on platforms such as Microsoft Teams or Google Meet. In a situation where in many higher educational institutions not all classrooms are provided with a sufficient set of multimedia equipment, this makes it possible to operate both with visual material and give complex tasks for control.

A modern person, especially a young person, has a certain experience of communication, and this experience differs significantly from the communicative experience that is formed in book culture. Being immersed in a digital environment, he has the ability to quickly assimilate a variety of information, which of course is superficial. In modern communication, written and spoken text is gradually being replaced by convergent, and texts acquire new qualities. They '... become multimedia, interactive, polymorphic, hypertext, and reading — not only book learned, newspaper or magazine, but along with this screen and mobile, multimedia, interactive, hypertextual' [Gudova, 2015, 21].

Human thinking, working with these kind of texts, possesses polymorphism and, as a result, the perception of information given in traditional written or oral form causes difficulty. So, the visualization of information has become an integral part of any communication in the educational process, any teacher will say that a presentation is an indispensable element of modern teaching, even if you are setting out the foundations of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

The main feature of the existing communicative environment is not only globality or diversity; multi-meaning is its key characteristic. The equality of any content in the media environment leads to the fact that the perceiver finds himself in a situation of constant choice and the need to somehow structure the information received. Of course, modern media technologies have their own resources and methods of content promotion. However, when it comes to the educational process, a contradiction arises between every-

day communication practices in the digital environment and the objectives of the educational process. In the traditional form of education, the student clearly knows what and where he should read, what aspects of the problem to study, etc. This does not happen at the moment. Even if the teacher suggests a specific list of sources, the student goes his own way, simplifying the task, often using secondary sources found on the Web. It is well known that for any question asked in a search engine, the first line will be such a dubious source as Wikipedia. You can urge students as much as you like not to use this source, but this is inevitable in the established communication practices.

8. Conclusion

Let us ask ourselves a question — is the online learning system capable of changing the approach to teaching and making it more relevant to both the modern digital environment and the established communication practices?

Online education opportunities are extremely wide and varied. The advantages of the new learning technologies discussed above are undeniable. However, in the real practice of Russian education they are implemented rather poorly. This is due not only to the problems of hardware or software, but also to the insufficient readiness of the teaching community to more actively use new opportunities. Conservatism and unwillingness to abandon the usual forms and methods of a significant part of the teaching community, in my opinion, are explained by two points.

Firstly, there are fears that the entire learning process will be brought online. This is confirmed by the Open Letter to V.V. Putin against Digitalization of Education [<https://gordonsons.ru/podpisat-otkrytoe-pismo-v-v-putinu-protiv-cifrovizacii-obrazovaniya-v-rf/>]. Despite its biases and tendentiousness, this text captures the existing sentiments of a part of Russian society. Indeed, the disappearance of live communication in the educational process and the possibility of immersion in the intellectual environment which is extremely important for the formation of a creative personality, will lead to a narrowing of the productive semantic field and depersonalisation of the educational process. Even in the case of direct interaction with students in the videoconference mode, the teacher is largely perceived as a media character, which leads to losing the authority of the university and likens the educational process to the communication on Instagram.

When we talk about the overload of teachers that has arisen in the new circumstances, it must be said that the solution to the problem lies in two

dimensions. The first is software and how efficiently it is used. To remove the problem of overloading teachers and free up time for creative work, it is necessary to introduce systems that would allow automatic checking not only of test assignments, but also of text materials given by students (for example, content analysis that allows you to cut off texts that do not correspond to the topic of the assignment). In addition, it is necessary to widely use the 'peer to peer review' type of assignment, which certainly not only removes a part of the load from the teacher, but also stimulates the student to master the material more meaningfully. However, much more significant is the change in the educational paradigm. In a digital environment, the principles and methods of presenting educational material should be based on the 'problem field'. The task of the teacher is to form an information field corresponding to the goals and objectives of a particular course, and in addition, to formulate methods for differentiating the information flow. The student should be able to freely search for solutions to problems, but in the field that is set by the educational process. In fact, this means fundamentally different ways of presenting material and controlling the work progress. Independent 'acquisition of knowledge' and the formation of the students' own semantic field should become the basis of the modern educational process. This requires of a modern teacher a lot of work on the analysis of the necessary content both in its classical form (written text) and in modern methods of functioning information (TV, blogosphere etc.). Only with such an approach can we hope for the emergence of a new digital generation that has not lost the ability for independent analytical and creative thinking. It is important to emphasize that the principles of online learning should complement and enrich the living process of education within the walls of the university.

The invaluable experience of working in the pandemic has allowed the Russian education system to make a breakthrough in the digital learning system, and this experience cannot be lost in the future.

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Emotion Design in the Educational Program “Intelligent Systems in the Humanities”

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Abstract. The article analyses the experience of building a bachelor’s degree program “Intelligent systems in the Humanities” from the point of view of instructional design. When creating educational programs, it is necessary to specifically design points of contact with the educational product and consider a variety of relationships between factors that affect students. The inclusion of such subjects as “Philosophy of invention” and “Cognitive heuristics” in the curriculum helps students to consciously approach their own peculiarities of information perception. The use of module projects and practice opportunities allows students to systematize and apply the knowledge gained.

Keywords: educational program, emotion design, empathy, the Humanities, intelligent systems

1. Introduction

Emotion design in the educational curriculum can be seen as an experiment in educational design. It should be noted right away that instructional design (ID) is understood as a systematic approach to building models for the transfer of knowledge and skills. In other words, we guide a student from point A to point B, while carefully approaching the selection of knowledge transfer models. The emotions of students themselves are often put out of brackets when it comes to learning. It is believed that emotionality is inherent in teachers themselves, the learning process will be more successful if a teacher makes it emotional. The emotions of other actors are inappropriate by default. In this case, the emotions kept under control become uncontrollable, which can lead to problems in positioning the educational programme itself.

If we are talking about the emotion design in an educational programme, then it is worth considering emotions on several levels at once. First, one needs to understand what the internal goals of the educational programme

are, and secondly, to find out who will be trained. Thirdly, it is necessary to determine the context in which training will take place within the educational programme.

2. Emotion design levels

Can we say that emotions are associated with bodily sensations, and therefore they should be fundamentally separate from the acquisition of knowledge, a process that is based on logic and rational activity? I opine that it is rather difficult to separate emotions from the cognitive process.

This is confirmed by research. For example, in a 2016 study by scientists from Duke University, the fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) scan results and data from questionnaires of volunteers were used to train a neural network, which subsequently showed good results in recognising emotions based on brain scan data [Kragel, 2006]. In the third phase of the experiment, 499 people underwent brain scans and later responded to how depressed or aroused they were. The neural network created brain activity ‘maps’ with the predominant emotion of fear or anger; those data correlated with the survey results, the emotion of fear for the oppressed state, the emotion of anger for the increased arousal. Thus, functional magnetic resonance imaging demonstrates the dynamic relationship of emotions and the process of assimilating knowledge and emotion.

The term ‘emotional design’ was coined by Aaron Walter [Walter, 2011], an expert in user experience optimisation. Walter describes emotional design based on Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Then it builds its own hierarchy (if you look from below, then it will contain the following blocks: functionality, reliability, usability and appearance). Thus, an educational product should first be functional, then reliable and useful. Emotional design itself is the level of satisfaction of the attendee to an educational product that you can raise above the functionality, reliability and usefulness of the product. A fine educational product is primary! Only then the polishing of the appearance through the emotional design follows.

There are quite a few emotional design methodologies. Each of them has its own advantages and disadvantages. The classic ADDIE (Analysis-Design-Development-Implementation-Evaluation) model is a linear model and therefore needs to be supplemented. ALD (Agile Learning Design) offers material on an interactive basis. The SAM (Successive Approximation Model) offers a series of iterative design-prototype-assessment cycles.

In 2004, Don Norman identified three cognitive levels, which he then related to visual design [Norman, 2005]. Those are the visceral level, behavioural level and reflective level. Norman did not apply his classification of cognitive levels to the educational design but such an application of this classification seems quite logical. It is possible for us to distribute by levels and describe the methods of influencing emotions by correlating Norman's classification and the levels of emotions in the educational programme listed above. This article is not aimed at listing all the possible ways of influencing emotions but attempts to outline a hierarchy of some of the ways related to emotional educational design.

2.1. Internal goals of the educational programme

It is very important to define inner goals, since an unspoken goal can destroy everything on its way. The suppressed emotions of the participants in the educational process can lead to the presence of a 'hidden agenda' in positioning the educational programme, which negatively affects all aspects associated with acquiring knowledge.

A very ambitious objective of the Intelligent Systems in the Humanities educational programme is to achieve fundamental interdisciplinarity in digital research pertaining to the humanities. The goals are also related to positioning the educational programme. The programme combines the skills development for the information-related activities with the liberal arts education traditions. A large humanitarian discipline module provides the basis for the classical university education, such as 'Philosophy and Methodology of Science', 'Philosophy of Technology', 'Philosophical Problems of Social and Humanitarian Sciences' and others. The curriculum includes a fairly large mathematical module including probability theory and mathematical analysis as well as a modern computer technology module including research into programming languages. Students study such special disciplines as 'Introduction to Robotics', 'Methodological Problems of Artificial Intelligence' and others.

The combination of the incongruous is the complexity stated by the educational programme graduates. In the process of study, students are faced with two types of disciplines. On the one hand, syntactic, hard disciplines, and on the other hand, semantic, light disciplines. Syntactic or algorithmic disciplines are mathematics, computer science, logic, programming and foreign languages representing disciplines that move along a rigidly defined path. Algorithms are what is learned and how it is learned. Interestingly, those

algorithmic disciplines can be taught in a semantic way. But this opportunity only appears at the higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy.

Semantic or figurative disciplines are cultural studies, history, all the humanities and partly geometry. Teaching focuses on images. Both syntactic and semantic are ways of thinking but not about the division into physicists and lyricists, engineers and persons who are more into humanities. This is about the preferred cognitive activity method for both students and teachers. People, who think syntactically, do not like drawing pictures. On the contrary, people who think semantically try to represent everything through pictures. For the said educational programme, it is essential to maintain a balance between the two types of cognitive activities. In curriculum design, it is worth observing an even distribution of both syntactic and semantic disciplines (or teaching styles) every six months.

In order to achieve the educational programme goal, it is important to provide a sense of consistency and predictability. It is emotion design that should do it at this level, yet this is not a place for experiments. Obtaining an education should not be easy nor fun as it devalues the status of education and the educational programme. Therefore, the tools used should be carefully thought through.

According to Norman's classification, the first (lower, intuitive or visceral) level is below the preconsciousness threshold as it interprets emotional signals from the environment automatically. According to Norman, activities that are intuitively initiated are 'bottom-up'. In this context, it is essential for the educational programme to affiliate with a university, since at this level it is important for students to feel a sense of security as well as belonging to a certain closed group of students of a certain university.

Both perceptual heuristics and cognitive patterns often used at this level provide a sense of security. They tell you what to expect and thus instil a sense of confidence. Nevertheless, if cognitive patterns are intentionally violated, then the resulting dissonance can develop in two scenarios. First, students will not be able to orient themselves, and there will be some frustration. Secondly, they will perceive this dissonance as a worth-while experiment.

The general intonation of communication within the educational programme is also important. The emotional factor lies in any (even the most short-term or limited) communication with a student. This intonation is not necessarily benevolent but there can be some emotions (for example, disgust) that are absolutely contraindicated for the general intonation of communication.

At this level, it is about personal and universal cultural values, and the impressions received have a direct and very strong emotional impact.

2.2. Educational programme students

The next level is much freer and the design of emotions can be very diverse. The goal of pedagogical design is to effectively teach and thus it is necessary to structure each individual discipline or, more broadly, the educational programme. Before the 2020 pandemic, pedagogical design was often seen as synonymous with online learning. Indeed, outstanding educators have done outstanding online courses and it seemed that everyone could do it. Teachers could do everything. Yet the reality turned out to be somewhat different. The main obstacle to switching education online was not at all the inertness or inflexibility of teachers but the motivation of students. It was they who were the first to talk about distance learning being very difficult. The analytical report 'Lessons of the 'Stress Test': Universities in a Pandemic and after It' prepared on the instructions of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation shows that by the end of May 14 % of students were completely satisfied with e-learning, although in March 2020 this figure exceeded 20 % [Minobrnauki, 2020].

Yesterday's schoolchildren, who passed the uniform state exam a few months ago, will come to attend the bachelor's degree programme, which should be taken into account when designing. It is necessary to take into account their age characteristics, such as impetuosity, an uncompromising attitude and the desire to prove to themselves and others some important postulates.

According to the Norman hierarchy, this level corresponds to the cognitive behavioural level. At the behavioural level, important are functionality, performance and physical sensations as well as understanding the structure of something and the meaning of its use. The formula used here is 'functional elements that fulfil real needs'. The behavioural interface of the educational programme should be intuitive and useful for a user. Obviously, negative emotions are caused by something incomprehensible and inconvenient, and vice versa. To understand convenience/inconvenience, it is necessary to study the particular needs of a student. For example, by observing his/her interaction with certain elements of the behavioural interface.

For example, Facebook has a feature that allows one to change the interface to what pirates might have. Small details like this increase user loyalty in general and the students' commitment to the educational programme

in our particular case. Let me remind you that it is important for us to guide a student to point B without losing him/her on the way while maintaining a sufficient level of his/her motivation.

ID takes into account the process set-up, task distribution in the team and the decision-making mechanism as well as the content of the disciplines and their relationship. In this part, emotions should work for personalisation. It becomes very important to receive and process the information about how exactly students learn, interact with each other and teachers. This is not only the removal of biometric indicators but also any other quantitative data, and there are lots of them. One should learn how to use them, collect a digital footprint of students and apply this in the design of educational programmes. Among the tools used at this level, the face recognition mechanism can be named. In the aforementioned work of Walter, it is noted that a person takes himself/herself, his/her face, as a reference point with which he/she connects with everything around. If we place human faces at points of contact with an educational product, then an emotional trigger will go off automatically; recognising someone similar leads to being well regarded.

2.3. Context

The context level concerns the design of points of contact of both external and internal actors with the educational product while taking into account a variety of factors that affect the state of students. This is the reflex level, which is the 'top floor' of cognitive processes. Norman calls the activity, that occurs at this level, 'top-down behaviour'. In the literature, it is common to call this level 'reflexive', and we will continue to adhere to this. Nevertheless, in my opinion, this level should be translated as 'reflective'.

We can call this stage the level of consciousness. It is important that at the reflexive level the surroundings can be interpreted, and the world and our place in it be reflected. The reflexive level is dominant over the rest, since a person, when using his/her mind, can control the automated behaviour and track emotional effects. At the reflexive level, the general impression of the educational programme is determined; it is also decided whether it is necessary to remember the information presented.

The peculiarities of human perception lead to the fact that students tend to forget some part of the learning material straight away. The inclusion in the curriculum of disciplines, such as 'Philosophy of Invention' and 'Cognitive Heuristics' helps students consciously approach their own peculiarities of information perception. The use of module-related projects and

a large amount of practice makes it possible for one to structure and apply the knowledge gained. The programming language learned in the first year can be applied in the project work in the fourth year. All the inter-relationships are not unintentional.

Used is both direct design, such as materials, test materials, evaluation of what has been learned, and reverse design. As well as blended learning (an educational concept referring to a framework by which a student receives knowledge both independently online and in person with a teacher, thereby determining the time, place, pace and way of studying the material).

At this level, the goal of emotion design is to achieve an impact on the target audience but in a more custom-made or targeted manner. Below are a number of ways to design emotions. At first glance, they seem to be quite simple, natural and implied by default, but it would be interesting to propose a methodology and measure those parameters in existing educational programmes. I believe that the results could be very mixed.

One way is to maintain respect both offline and online. This requires absolutely excluding the communication in a condescending manner from the top position in both written and oral communications. Respect also lies in taking into account the level of preparedness of the audience. Another way is to include various kinds of social interactions in the educational process. This includes group assignments, collaboration and the use of social networks. The only limitation is the need to accurately formulate and stage those interactions.

Paradoxically, the widespread use of technology can negatively affect the educational process. From the point of view of pedagogical design, technology should not stand in the way of knowledge acquisition. This is where the issues of proper design of user interfaces and human-machine interaction are addressed. Simple technology has a positive emotional impact. Long downloads, incomprehensible instructions and denial of generally accepted standards have a negative emotional impact.

Even excessive use of game mechanics at an inopportune moment can have a negative impact. Busy people (as senior students often are) would rather have short and meaningful videos or podcasts than any extended educational quest. In contrast, undergraduate students are more inclined to smoothly integrate into the educational context with the exception of students in the first half of the first year. After physical exertion at the uniform

state exam stage, a relaxed learning style can lead to inappropriate prioritisation and force distribution and therefore problems in senior years.

Emotional responses can be triggered by adding unexpected elements to classes or the curriculum. Students can be allowed to fail as part of their educational experience. For many, this will only increase their motivation for success. In my opinion, storytelling is the most important element of emotional pedagogical design which can affect a wide variety of emotions through the mechanism of empathy. Thus, real details are added and experiences recorded. As a result, the material can be better remembered. The use of analogies, metaphors, and reference to meaningful personal memories and impressions all reinforce the emotional connections and contribute to better learning.

3. Results and discussion

Most often, all of these levels work together, so the appearance of the educational programme is an intuitive level. The programme mechanism perceived by students is the area of the behavioural emotional design, and the long-term impact of the educational design is that of the reflexive one. It is necessary to combine all three levels in the correct proportion.

Experienced teachers are familiar with all of the emotional pedagogical design techniques. They are used intuitively. Therefore, quantitative research in the field of ID is of primary concern. There are a large number of various educational methodologies, but how to choose the ones that should be included in a specific educational programme? I believe that choices can be made proceeding from evidence-based methods as well as data collection and analysis.

Blended education not only mixes formats, online and offline, but also mixes different educational methodologies by choosing the best one. It should be noted that blended education allows one to combine both traditional methods and current technologies. Walter defines emotions as a language familiar to everyone at birth. It should be noted that it is emotions that help a person to feel that the other party to educational interaction is a person. This is especially true for online learning.

Addressing students' emotions can help achieve educational outcomes. Thus, if we formulate the goal of the course in such a way that it finds an emotional response among students, then this emotional charge from the course description will smoothly pass into the learning environment.

It is often believed that more humour is needed in the communication between teachers and students. Indeed, humour is often appropriate but not always. If it is possible to put one of the students in an awkward position or offend, then it is better to do without any pre-programmed humour. Emotions can become a hindrance in the learning process if they are not related to the learning process. Inappropriate emotions (not necessarily negative ones) greatly reduce the student's ability to assimilate the material. Let me emphasise that even positive emotions do not always make learning easier, and we also need to remember that they can both help and hinder the educational process.

The challenge for curriculum designers is twofold. It is both designing emotionally rich educational products by meaningful methods and creating experiences (not necessarily positive ones) that improve learning. I would like to emphasise that the design of emotions cannot be the only toolkit for developing an educational programme. The focus should be on the content of an educational product.

3. Conclusions

Emotion design in an educational programme should be considered at three levels. First, at the level of the internal goals of the educational programme. Secondly, at the level of those who will be trained. Thirdly, at the level of the context in which studying will take place within the educational programme.

These levels can be correlated with the three cognitive levels of visual design perception (Norman). This is the intuitive level, the behavioural level and the reflective level. Most often, all of these levels work together. It should once again emphasise the primacy of the content of education. Emotion design can only be used to polish a sound educational programme.

Emotion design in the educational programme 'Intelligent Systems in the Humanities' can be applied to all levels of the educational process, since the programme is time-proven (it has been in operation since 2015). One of the key mechanisms of the emotional pedagogical design is storytelling which can influence a variety of emotions through the mechanism of empathy. Of particular interest is the quantitative research into learners' digital footprints as the choice between educational methodologies can be made based on data collection and analysis.

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Creativity as a Challenge in the EFL Classroom

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Abstract. Creative skills have been a lot in the limelight of pedagogical research recently. Creative tasks have become an integral part of modern textbooks including those for foreign language studies. The authors link the relevance of students' creativity with the growing need of the Russian economy for individuals who can think outside the box, easily adapt to constant social changes and successfully communicate in multicultural professional environments. The research attempts to present the development of creative skills in students as a process associated with difficulties in its practical implementation. The article identifies popular tasks aimed at promoting creativity in EFL classes, lists the main difficulties that teachers face when using creative tasks, and suggests ways to overcome these difficulties.

It is a descriptive and analytical study of the existing pedagogical research on the interpretation of the concepts of creativity, creative thinking and creative

abilities, as well as on the use of creative tasks in the EFL classroom. The scope of analysis included review articles advocating for creative skills in modern society published in 2001–2019. In addition, action research articles published over the past three years describing the experience of using creative tasks when teaching foreign languages were analyzed. In the course of the study, a set of methods was utilized: review, observations in conversational English classes with students majoring in linguistics, an expert survey of foreign language teachers generated on the Google Forms platform, and interpretation of the data obtained.

Keywords: creativity, innovations, divergent/convergent thinking, communicative creativity, tolerance to ambiguity

1. Introduction

When domestic and foreign researchers analyse the requirements for ‘a modern specialist’, a university graduate, they pay much attention to the development of unconventional creative thinking skills. The creativity concept has gained popularity in the last decade, although not exclusively in the scientific community. Business trainings, seminars, master classes, workshops etc. are devoted to the development of creative thinking skills. Creative tasks are firmly included in modern educational and methodological publications including those in a foreign language.

This article is aimed at presenting the development of students’ creative skills in foreign language classes as a complex process associated with difficulties in practical implementation and representing a real challenge for teachers of foreign languages:

1. To substantiate the relevance of the development of creative thinking of students.
2. To demonstrate the connection between the creative potential and success of a young specialist in a contemporary innovative society.
3. To identify popular tasks for the development of creativity used in foreign language classes.
4. To find fundamental obstacles faced by teachers of foreign languages in using creative assignments.
5. To outline ways to overcome those obstacles.

The national doctrine of education of the Russian Federation (2000–2025) declares the need for the creative development of an individual at all stages of the educational process [National Doctrine, 2000]. This results in extensively introducing terms of creative educational tools in the foreign language

classroom. The types and significance of such terms of creative engagement for increasing the motivation and interest of students etc. were considered in the literature [Richards, 2013; Maley, 2010; Kiseleva, 2017; Novikova, 2019]. However, the limiting factors of their practical application have not been sufficiently highlighted in scholarly papers. Based on our own experience and the experience of colleagues, this article will present creative assignments in foreign language classes as a challenge for teachers.

2. Study material, research methodology and technique

This article is a descriptive and analytical study of scientific literature on the interpretation of the concepts of creativity, creative thinking and creative abilities as well as the use of creative assignments in foreign language classes. The analysis included review articles in 2001–2019 that substantiated the need for creative skills in modern society and described the experience of using terms of creative engagement in teaching a foreign language. In total, one hundred articles in Russian published on the eLIBRARY.ru platform and one hundred articles in English published on the Science-Direct platform over the past three years (2017- early 2020) were selected. In addition, the authors used observation methods in the classroom for a practical English course with students specialising in Linguistics and an expert survey of foreign language teachers with a questionnaire created on the Google Forms platform.

3. Description of the research

At the first stage, review articles were selected by the key words ‘creativity’ and ‘creative thinking’. An analysis of the definitions of the studied concept was carried out, the main components of creativity were highlighted and the importance of this skill in modern society substantiated. Further, a selection and content analysis of articles was made using the keywords ‘creativity’ and ‘foreign language learning’. At the next stage, we conducted an online survey of teachers of foreign languages in schools, higher educational institutions and private schools in Tyumen. The questionnaire included the questions as follows:

1. Do you consider it necessary to use assignments to develop creative skills and creativity in foreign language classes? (yes, no, I find it difficult to answer, other).

2. Do you use any tasks to foster creative skills in foreign language classes? (yes, no).

3. How often do you use tasks to develop creative skills and creativity in foreign language classes? (in almost every class, sometimes, rarely, almost never).

4. At what stage of handling the material do you use tasks to develop creative skills? (at the stage of presentation of new material, at the stage of working out and solidifying new knowledge, at the production stage).

5. In your opinion, what are the students' responses to creative assignments? (positive, rather positive, rather negative, other).

6. What level of proficiency in a foreign language, in your opinion, should students have in order for them to complete creative tasks? (any, A1, A2, B2 and higher).

7. In your opinion, are there enough terms of creative engagement in the learning and teaching support kit used by you? (not enough, enough, there are too many such tasks).

8. Do you have any difficulties in arranging and conducting creative assignments? (you can choose more than 1 option) (I don't have any, preparation takes too much time, it takes too much classroom time, it is difficult to organise students, I have difficulties in assessing this kind of assignment, other).

9. What types of creative tasks do you use in foreign language classes? ('brainstorming', 'mind maps', crosswords, puzzles, logic puzzles etc., creative writing, dramatisation, project assignments etc.).

10. Do creative tasks contribute to more successfully mastering a foreign language? (no doubt, they do; not always; they contribute to the development of communication skills, creativity but not directly to mastering a foreign language).

Further, the survey results were processed. In discussing the results, the authors also took into account their own experience in working with creative assignments in English classes with university students in Tyumen.

4. Research findings

4.1. Creativity as a multifaceted concept

Researchers agree that creativity is a complex phenomenon that does not have one generally accepted definition. It implies the ability to create something (a product in the broadest sense, or an attitude to something) new, original, attractive, useful in certain conditions and allowing a person to adapt to an unknown situation. Creativity includes four components, such as subject, process, product and social environment [Runco, 2018]. Under the influence of a certain environment conducive to creative activity,

a subject is included in the creative process as a result of which he/she creates an innovative product. The neurobiologist A. Dietrich from the American University of Beirut distinguishes four types of artistic and scientific creativity, i. e. deliberate cognitive, deliberate emotional, spontaneous cognitive, spontaneous emotional [Dietrich, 2004]. It was common to believe that creativity would be associated with divergent left-brain thinking but Dietrich proves that creative activity affects both hemispheres. For the creative activity, a certain minimum of general intelligence and the capacity to carry out cognitive activity are required. Deliberate creativity can be stimulated (by creating a favourable social and material climate) and developed (by special trainings, exercises), while spontaneous creativity cannot.

In the pedagogical area, in particular in teaching foreign languages, considered will be creativity in such aspects as creativity/creative activity in order to identify the innovative, adaptive and communicative potential of students and enhance their motivation; creativity of the teacher; student creativity; assignments that require student creativity; creativity to improve student motivation; creativity as a difficulty/challenge.

4.2. Creativity as a prerequisite for the innovative potential development

The heightened interest in developing creative thinking skills is due to several factors at the same time. In our opinion, the research into creativity has been relevant and in demand primarily in the context of the intensive development of innovative processes in our country, since creativity means 'creativity embodied in innovation' [Il'in, 2009]. Such an innovative understanding of creativity makes it an integral component of innovation [Panova, 2015]. It is noteworthy that the very concept of 'innovation' originally had an exclusively cultural meaning and was used to denote the introduction of components of one culture into another, in particular, it was about the introduction of European traditions into the colonial countries of Africa and Asia [Arenkov, 2001]. Not until the beginning of the XX century, the scope of the term shifted to the field of production technology, and then to the economic theory, personnel and production management and education. The famous American economist J. Schumpeter in the 1930s defined innovation as a change 'aimed at introducing and using new types of consumer goods, new production and transport vehicles, markets and forms of organisation in industry' [Schumpeter, 1982]. Depending on the object and subject of research in the XXI century, innovation can be viewed as a new product creation process, as a result, i. e. the *implemented innovation*, or as *innovation*

as such — innovation, discovery, invention, ideas [Kharin, 2016; Panova, 2015]. According to Schumpeter, innovation is the main source of profit [Schumpeter, 1982]. This statement is more relevant than ever these days. In the current context, to increase the competitiveness of an enterprise, intangible resources and assets (innovative developments, for which there are exclusive rights, know-how, production secrets etc.) are sometimes more significant than the benefits of a tangible nature [Kishko, 2017, 6]. Thus, it is the intellectual rather than tangible advantages (ideas related to goods, not their production) that increase competitiveness. Creativity embodied in innovation makes it possible for a company to move to a new, higher stage of development by 'ensuring its new qualitative state and, accordingly, its movement forward. Such an entity enters the market 'with new materials, goods, services, technologies' [Spivak, 2003, 231].

Creative solutions and innovations ensure the successful development of not only individual companies but also the country's economy as a whole [Markman, 2015]. The importance of innovations for achieving the goals of our country's long-term development is described in detail in the draft strategy for innovative development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020, 'Innovative Russia 2020'. The pivotal role of innovations can be explained by the fact that the transition of the economy to an innovation-driven growth model is declared the only possible way to achieve the long-term development goals, to ensure the well-being of the population and consolidate the country's geopolitical position on the global stage. Modern external challenges necessitate intensifying efforts to develop innovations. First, the key challenges include the acceleration of the world economy's technological development, the technological revolution in alternative energy, resource conservation, the development of technologies for oil and gas production from unconventional sources (shale, oil sands). Secondly, the increased competition in the world for a highly qualified workforce and 'smart' money (investments in projects related to new knowledge, technologies etc.). Thirdly, the new millennium offers challenges that all of humanity is facing, such as food security, population aging and health challenges, climate change. These challenges necessitate the development of special areas of research, e.g. genomic medicine, 'clean' energy etc. The authors of the above project regretfully state the preservation of the raw material nature of the Russian economy, Russia's belonging to the category of countries with an innovative system of imitation type that is incapable of any regular production of new knowledge.

4.3. Creativity as a prerequisite for adapting to uncertainty

The second reason for the growing popularity of creativity is its connection with human adaptive abilities. Perhaps the main property of an 'innovative person' is called his/her ability to adapt to constant changes in personal or social life, economic development or the development of science and technology. For the relationship between the indicators of creativity and tolerance/intolerance to uncertainty, see [Pavlova, 2012], [Lyubart, 2009]. A creative person will be less resistant to and traumatised by change.

In general, the phenomenon of resistance to change associated with the psychological characteristics of human consciousness, psychological insensitivity to something new and true innovations is a great obstacle to the modernisation of both the education system and other institutions of modern Russia. A positive attitude towards change is especially relevant in our time of socio-economic and scientific-technical changes. It allows one to avoid trauma and to adapt to an ongoing process of change.

A member of modern society should also act as an active initiator and producer of change. The key competencies of an 'innovative person' should include the ability for lifelong learning, continuous self-improvement, critical thinking, willingness to take reasonable risks, the ability to work both independently and in a team in a highly competitive environment, and, finally, creativity [Government of the Russian Federation, 2011].

4.4. Creativity as a major driver for successful intercultural communication

Another factor to emphasise the development of the creative potential of an individual is the connection between the creativity of mental activity and the creativity of interpersonal communication. Professional communication in the XXI century often occurs in a multicultural environment. Such communication will be more successful if its participants have a certain type of thinking 'which is inherent in a flexible, original and immediate response to a problematic situation' [Kashapova, 2013, 42]. This flexibility can be better shown by those who have experience in intercultural communication and another culture [Bouncken, 2009], [Berardo, 2012], [Leung, 2008]. They see more alternatives for solving problems, represent objects of the surrounding reality, people and situations from several points of view at the same time.

The creative potential of a person can be manifested in all areas of the individual's communication activities, also in the field of interpersonal interaction. In this case, we are talking about social creativity or creative communication, which is defined as communication between people based on

a 'problematic situation causing mutual stimulation of the participants and accompanied by the new idea generation' [Golovanova, 2013, 8]. The 2013 research identified a statistical relationship between creative thinking and creative communication meaning that a person who easily generates ideas in the field of thinking 'will be more mobile and variable in the interpersonal communication situations' which contributes to a higher efficiency of joint actions [Golovanova, 2013, 11]. In the 2017 research, a relationship between social creativity and young professionals' pursuance of realisation of personal potential was established [Kushchazli, 2015].

So, the need to develop creative thinking is associated with the Russian economy's growing demand for

1. innovations (innovation creativity);
2. persons who are capable of comfortably adapting to constant social changes (creativity as tolerance to uncertainty);
3. persons who possess the skills of successful communication in a multicultural professional environment (creativity as a guarantee of successful intercultural communication).

4.5. Creativity in foreign language classes

The topic of creativity in teaching foreign languages in Russia has been addressed relatively recently. It seems that interest in it has already begun to decline. So, in 1998–2001, on the eLIBRARY.ru platform, there was only one article in which creativity was placed in the title or key words. In 2007–2010, there were as many as 18 such articles. From 2011 to 2016, 46 articles and in 2017–2019, 20 articles were shown on request. For comparison, on the ScienceDirect platform in 2017–2019, 21 articles dedicated to describing the experience of European, Asian and Arabic teachers of English could be found. A general increase in the number of scientific articles on creativity has been observed since 2005. Below, see the number of articles on various aspects of creativity in Russian and foreign publications.

5. Interpretation of research results

The articles by Russian authors discuss the creation of conditions in foreign language classes that contribute to the disclosure of the creative potential of students. Major emphasis is put on creating a friendly and comfortable setting during the lesson. The main role in this is assigned to the teacher, who is required to show a pedagogical tact as well as to accept the new pedagogical realities, in which the teacher is no longer just a knowledge catalyst but an aca-

Table 1

**Number of articles on aspects of creativity in foreign language classes
in Russian and foreign journals in 2017–2019 posted
on the eLIBRARY.ru and ScienceDirect platforms**

Aspect of creativity	Number of articles on eLIBRARY.ru	Number of articles on ScienceDirect
Creativity of the teacher	4	11
Student creativity	5	2
Assignments requiring student creativity	5	3
Creativity to encourage students	1	2
Creativity in teaching a foreign language for special purposes	5	1
Creativity as a difficulty / challenge	0	2
Articles, total	20	21

demic mentor, a facilitator/consultant. In general, many articles are focused on the development of teacher's creativity, where the main qualities of a creative teacher are considered and the importance of these qualities is emphasised [Matsak, 2018]. A number of studies analyse the cross-cultural communicative creativity development problem. It is interesting that the authors note using the communicative creativity skills even at the initial stage of learning a foreign language [Dmitrieva, 2017]. A considerable number of articles describe the use of various creative tasks (group discussion, educational business game, project activities, the use of mobile technologies) [Bykhtina, 2017], [Savchenko, 2017]. It is important to note that issues related to the difficulties of using creativity development tasks are virtually not touched upon in the articles of Russian researchers. The only exception here is the study by A. I. Novikova et al. in which the authors point out the difficulties in assessing terms of creative engagement. During the research, the authors come to the conclusion that the assessment system in Russian higher education is aimed more at encouraging students' diligence than their creativity [Novikova, 2019].

National educational doctrines in Europe and Asia also proclaim creativity in education and creativity as a mandatory competence of students in the 21st century. Despite this, the foreign community and the media are raising alarm that the contemporary education system is killing their

creative abilities in children [McKinney, 2019]. At the same time, the creativity/creative activity phenomenon itself has not received an unambiguous definition. The complex and often inexplicable nature of this phenomenon leads to the fact that teachers find it difficult to understand how it should be developed in students [Egan, 2017], [Bereczki, 2018].

Lack of time and special training, an overloaded curriculum, insufficient resources, the need to prepare for standard tests, difficulties in assessing creative assignments are mentioned among the difficulties facing the teacher. Interesting is the way of teachers' perspectives on ICT technologies, half of them refer to the means that stimulate creative activity, while the other half has exactly the opposite opinion [Bereczki, 2018]. An Icelandic teacher, in describing the experience of using creative tasks, concludes the following difficulties that he and his colleagues encountered: maintaining a balance between control and freedom in the work of both the teacher and students, inspiring students' independence and professional teacher training in creative work techniques [Jonsdottir, 2017]. As for the relationship between the performance of creative tasks in foreign language classes and the level of language proficiency, only one experimental study conducted in Chinese primary schools showed a direct relationship between the performance of creative tasks in English lessons and their academic performance [Liao, 2018].

The questioning of teachers of foreign languages in Tyumen made it possible for us to supplement the overall picture of the relationship between the creativity of teachers, students and their language competence.

68 responses were received to the proposed questionnaire. The answers were distributed as follows, 92.6 % of the respondents consider it necessary to use creative assignments in foreign language classes, 2.9 % believe that such assignments are not needed. 35.3 % of respondents use terms of creative engagement in almost every lesson, 32 % do it sometimes, 17.6 % rarely use it. Only 5.9 % use such tasks at the stage of presentation of new material. A significant number of teachers use such tasks at the stages of material development and production (36.8 % and 57.4 %, respectively). 97 % of teachers believe that students perceive terms of creative engagement positively. Most of the teachers (64.7 %) believe that students with any level of foreign language proficiency will cope with terms of creative engagement; 20.6 % of respondents believe that creativity in a foreign language requires a very high level of foreign language competence. Teachers were almost equally separated according to the degree of satisfaction with the number of terms

of creative engagement in the teaching and methodological materials used by them (54.4 % are satisfied and 44.1 % are not satisfied). As for the difficulties in carrying out creative assignments, almost half (48.5 %) noted the laboriousness of the preparation process, about one third (26.5 %) of the cost of classroom time and the difficulty in organising students (23.5 %). About a third of teachers (36.8 %) do not experience any difficulties. 23.5 % indicated difficulties in assessing such tasks. When asked about the types of creative tasks used, the majority (79.4 %) chose the project methodology; about half of teachers use 'brainstorming', 'mental maps, crosswords, puzzles etc. and creative writing. Only 38.2 % use dramatisation and 3 % chose 'other'. 38.2 % of respondents believe that terms of creative engagement are not directly related to mastering a foreign language competence; 61.8 % are of the opinion that tasks for using a creative approach undoubtedly contribute to fostering language skills. The overwhelming majority of survey participants have over 15 years of teaching experience and work with both linguistic and non-linguistic students, as well as schoolchildren in public and private schools.

6. Conclusions

The rather large volume of research papers appearing in foreign publications (about 300 per year), in one way or another related to creativity in education, testifies to the high interest of teachers in creative activities. Relatively fewer articles are devoted specifically to the use of creative assignments in foreign language classes. Insufficient data are available on the direct impact of such assignments on foreign language proficiency as measured by traditional academic means.

Among the difficulties that teachers face in foreign language classes in higher education, those are the laboriousness and energy consumption in preparing, conducting and evaluating such tasks and the complexity of organising students. Students perceive these assignments differently, from enthusiasm to discontent. It depends on their personal cognitive characteristics, for some it is easier to be given tasks on the use of artistic creativity, for others on the use of scientific creativity. Some are accustomed to autonomous work, concentrated mental activity and that means they are ready for deliberate creativity. Other students feel more comfortable in a team, are liberated in expressing their thoughts, i. e. more adapted to spontaneous creativity. These factors should be taken into account by the teacher.

Terms of creative engagement make both the teacher and student step out of their comfort zone; as a result, they can have both a positive (feeling of relaxedness, freedom of expression) and a negative impact (a situation of uncertainty, chaos). They can cause stress for both the teacher and student. The problem of difficulties in the practical application of creative assignments in foreign language classes is poorly covered in Russian literature. In addition, despite a large number of articles focusing on the creativity of teachers, in our opinion, proper attention is not paid directly to the ways of developing the creative potential of teachers.

From our own experience, we can assert that creative tasks are difficult for a teacher for several reasons:

- 1) knowledge and understanding of the nature of creative activity is required;
- 2) there needs to be a change in your own approach to organising classes, acceptance of creativity as an integral part of the pedagogical process;
- 3) it is necessary to take into account the personal characteristics of students;
- 4) additional personal time is needed to be spent on preparing assignments;
- 5) it is necessary to develop a system for evaluating creative assignments (usually it is not presented in teaching materials on a foreign language);
- 6) it is necessary to create an atmosphere conducive to creativity, which can be difficult in too small or too large classrooms with an arrangement of desks, when students sit with their backs to each other;
- 7) classrooms need to have certain materials and technical supplies (computers, multimedia equipment, smart board and Internet access);
- 8) a balance between the freedom of creativity of students and the control of the creative process is needed.

As an aid to teachers, we propose to conduct regular professional and psychological training on the creative activity specifics, change the interior of classrooms, and possibly add some creative tasks in the independent work.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Creative Speech Making as One of the Goals of Teaching a Foreign Language

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Abstract: Creativity is one of the human competencies, the development of which is based on individual aspects. Creative writing as a component of a creative linguistic personality is a set of knowledge about the language, individual characteristics of written production and the ability to creative self-expression. In the study of a foreign language, the formation of a secondary linguistic personality occurs, in our opinion, through speech-creative self-realisation, which determines the linguodidactic potential of creative writing.

Keywords: linguodidactics, creativity, creative writing, secondary linguistic personality, foreign language teaching content

Introduction

The content and goals of learning are dynamic categories; their changes are associated with the development of society and its needs. Information technology in all areas of human activity has led, among other things, to changes in education. Among the factors, that determine the current vector of the development of foreign language education, the modern world's virtualisation and networking play a special role, the signs of an information society indicating the complication of the intercultural communication processes and the ambiguous nature of modern interpersonal integration processes [Tareva, Mikhailova, 2018, 94–95].

In this regard, we consider it important to consider such a concept as a *secondary linguistic personality*, the creation of which is currently considered as a performance indicator in learning a foreign language. This concept is based on the term *linguistic personality*. A linguistic personality is objectified by a package of linguo-cognitive, social, pragmatic and psychological characteristics of an individual's personality represented by various speech activities, also through the perception and generation of texts. 'A linguistic personality should be distinguished by communicative activity, value-based and cultural orientation and a desire for creative self-expression at the individual psychological level' [Momotova, 2011, 110].

About linguistic personality

The generation of a secondary linguistic personality results from mastering a foreign language and immersing in the culture of the people with whom intercultural communication is maintained. At the same time, the secondary linguistic personality acquires the signs and characteristics typical of the speakers of the studied language and is a person's ability to verbal communication with representatives of a foreign language culture in the authentic conditions. The creation of linguistic and cognitive consciousness, which coincides with that possessed by a native speaker, may seem to be a strategic goal of teaching foreign languages and allows an individual to effectively participate in the intercultural communication [Korneeva, 2019].

Let us consider three stages of the creation of a linguistic personality:

At the first stage, the lexicon is generated, the essentials of grammar are mastered and the writing and speaking skills are fostered.

At the next stage, through speech activities and under the influence of various sources of information, the linguistic personality replenishes its

cultural, ideological, historical and other knowledges. In addition to reproductive thinking, reflexive thinking begins to develop, the stylistic features of speech and text formation rules are mastered. The vocabulary and grammar knowledge of an individual are significantly enriched.

The third stage of development is the consolidation of the acquired skills and the mindset formation, the end result of which is the creation of one's own individual style, a combination of an individual type of thinking and speech habits [Momotova, 2010].

We believe that, among other things, these stages can be applicable to the secondary linguistic personality, since its formation is based on the primary one. In this case, it seems possible to assume that fostering an individual style and, as a consequence, creating a secondary linguistic personality occurs precisely through the speech-creative self-realisation. Since most of the foreign language communication today is maintained on the Internet, where a significant portion of the material is presented in writing, it becomes necessary to place special emphasis on the development of written communicative competence [Medentseva, 2019]. The key goal of teaching writing is to foster written communicative competence, which implies mastery of written signs, content and form of speech creation through writing.

When teaching written speech, such issues are addressed as the formation of graphic automatisms, speech-thinking skills and the ability to formulate a thought according to the written style, expanding knowledge and horizons, mastering culture and intellectual readiness to create the content of a written work, the formation of authentic ideas about the subject content, speech style and graphical form of written text. The end result of teaching written language is the development of students' ability to practically use foreign language writing as a way of communication, cognition and creativity according to the achieved programme level of mastering a foreign language [Vyshentsova et al., 2015].

Speaking about teaching written speech activity, two main terms should be distinguished, *writing* and *written speech*. These concepts are interrelated and interdependent but they represent different categories. Written speech is a creative communicative skill consisting of such components as the ability to correctly and compositionally construct and express in writing a speech piece of work built in inner speech, the ability to choose adequate lexical and grammatical units, but the writing skill above all. Writing skill, in turn, means the mastery of the graphic and spelling systems of a language and this mastery

is a technical component of the writing skill. Thus, the process of teaching written speech activity includes two main tasks, mastering the writing technique, graphic and spelling skills as well as developing the creative communicative ability to express one's thoughts in writing [Nazarova, 2003].

The creation of a speech work contributes to the development of cognitive and speech-thinking activity of students and allows them to show reflection and critical thinking. If the principle of creativity is taken into account when teaching written speech, we can talk about the creative written speech, which is distinguished by original ideas, independent determination of the utterance content, attracting imagination and personal experience including emotional experience, expressing one's own thoughts in relation to the subject of the utterance, combining the language and speech means previously acquired and their use in new and changed communicative situations [Solovtsova, 2016].

Before presenting speech creation as one of the goals in teaching a foreign language, let us dwell on the elements that make up this concept, namely oral activity and creativity.

Oral activity is realised through both oral and written communication and is an active and purposeful activity of an individual regulated by a certain system of motives. To carry out oral activities, a student should have not only certain lexical, grammatical, phonetic and spelling skills but also speech skills aimed at creative activity and involving imagination, emotions and thinking [Maldzigova, 2018].

Let us examine the process of written speech production and the role of a teacher in its course. This process includes three levels, such as *motivational-and-incentive*, *tentative-and-research* (analytic-synthetic) and *executive*.

At the first level, there is a motive manifested in the need to communicate any information. The idea of a future written utterance, needs and motives are formed, and the goal of the speech action is set. At this level, the utterance arrangement is programmed, which requires a student to be able to analyse the situation, draw analogies and also show such creative abilities as detecting and posing a problem, generating ideas and making associations. The teacher's task at this stage is the creation, maintenance and development of the internal motivation of students.

The second level consists of the internal linguistic organisation of the planned utterance. At this stage, adequate words, means and methods of formulating a statement are selected in the internal speech, and phrases are grammatically designed. At the initial stage of teaching foreign language

written speech, the utterance is first created in the internal speech in the native language and only then in a foreign language. The teacher's mission is to teach how to build the internal speech directly in the studied languages

At the third stage, the written speech production result, which is a text, is fixed. The product is designed according to the spelling rules; its structure and form are edited. Since written speech is considered the most difficult type of speech activity, for its realisation, it is necessary to have clearly stated goals, motives and subconscious mind programming [Makarova, 2016].

Creativity

Let us consider the concept of *creativity*. Since in a foreign-language scientific paradigm this concept is denoted by one word, *creativity* or *créativité*, we present them in our work as synonyms. Due to the relative novelty of the science of creativity and the complexity of the precise formulation of the concept, definitions vary depending on the research objectives. However, most studies highlight four components of creativity, such as product, process, personality and network. Thus, the result of creative activity is a product that is unique and practically applicable in solving problems; it is created by a person with certain qualities in the course of a creative process divided into several stages. Network factors (family, education, society, culture) have a great influence on the development of personality characteristics.

Let us take a closer look at the creative process stages. The main mechanism of creativity is divergent thinking. By using this type of thinking you can choose several solutions to one problem. There are four stages of the creative process:

1. Preparation period;
2. Gestation period;
3. Period of suddenly being enlightened;
4. Validation period [Gong, 2020].

It should be noted that the creative process stages are similar to the stages of written speech. So, the motivational-incentive level corresponds to the preparation stage, incubation and insight to the tentative-research level, and the realisation and validation coincide with the executive level. In addition, it is believed that creative thinking is directly engaged in writing a text [Lee, Carpenter, 2015].

In the course of researching the concept of speech creation, we found a large number of similar terms, such as *linguistic creativity*, *verbal creativity*

and *language creativity*. To summarise all these concepts, we can formulate a tentative definition of the term.

Speech creativity is a component of a creative linguistic personality, which is a collection of knowledge about the language, individual characteristics of speech and the ability to creative self-expression, which allows you to create new and original products or transform existing ones. Various forms of language play, metaphor, transposition, hybridisation and approximation can be considered as types of the speech-creating activities [Germasheva, 2016; Pozdeeva, Trofimova, 2017; Klemyat, 2015].

Three stages are singled out in the development of speech-making activity:

The *reproductive* level passes without the involvement of speech creativity; it involves action following a pattern, the absence of which makes it difficult to complete the task, there is no motivation to perform any creative speech tasks and/or participate in collective creative activity

At the *reproductive-productive* level, some elements of creativity, which are still based on imitation and following a pattern, begin to emerge. Great independence of the statement is manifested; however, it is not always possible to successfully pursue one's agenda, and a student often needs help.

The *productive* level of development can be characterised by motivation for speech-creative self-realisation. The speech-making activity outcome at this stage is a statement built by design, which is distinguished by peculiarity and singularity [Nikulina, 2012].

It seems appropriate to put a greater emphasis on the development of speech-making activities of schoolchildren at the level of basic general education, especially in grades 8–9, since it is at this age that pupils have a need to reflect on their inner state through words [Shilo, 2014]. In this regard, we consider it important to draw more focus toward the psychological and pedagogical characteristics of secondary school students who are taken into account by the key general programme for basic general education.

Adolescence, or the awkward age, as it is also called, falls in the period of secondary school (10–11–14–15-year-old) and means the transition from childhood to an independent adult life. It is during this period that self-awareness begins to develop in schoolchildren; there is a need for reflection, self-affirmation, self-expression and self-determination [Mikhailova, 2017]. The taste for self-analysis typical of this age creates favourable conditions for the development of self-regulation of activities. Unlike younger

schoolchildren, the adolescent behaviour regulation more often occurs on the basis of internal stimulation [Tolbatova, 2015]. This age can be characterised by the predominance of cognitive motives, the desire to solve problems that go beyond the school professions, the importance of knowledge for the future profession and personal development. The emotional component plays a significant role in the motivation of adolescents [Klepach, Rubtsova, 2019]. The development of creativity plays an important role in adolescence, as it stimulates the *self-transformation* (*transformation de soi*) process which takes place at this stage. Creativity contributes to the thinking processes involved in the personality formation; it allows developing and maintaining positive and creative self-esteem, and also gives adolescents more chance to express themselves through their own interests [Barbot, Lubart, 2012]. In adolescence, schoolchildren can be characterised by increased focus on their selfhood (their own 'I'), the desire for self-analysis and creative activity [Solovtsova, 2016].

Let us note the features of today's students. According to the theory of generations, modern schoolchildren belong to generation Z, i.e. those born after 2000. The key distinguishing feature of this generation is that they perceive most information visually. At the same time, 98 % of young people use the Internet every day [Google:... 2017]. In addition, Generation Z has a shorter attention span to one piece of information than the previous generation. In this regard, the content they perceive should be fast, ephemeral, interactive [Kucherikhin, 2018].

In this regard, we consider it vital to emphasise the importance of a personality-oriented approach. One of the ways to objectify this approach is to realise the joint fruitful creative activities of the teacher and students. This type of activity contributes to fostering the creativity of a linguistic personality by improving its psychological and linguistic characteristics. The development of creative skills involves shifting away from traditional reproductive methods of education aimed at assimilating subject knowledge in favour of innovative and creative learning, in which educational and subject activity is only a tool, and the key emphasis is on character education.

Subject to the conditions of realisation and design, the joint creative activities of the teacher and students help expand the motivational sphere of the latter, reveals educational activity as a way of self-education and self-improvement, stimulates the cognitive-intellectual sphere of the linguistic personality and prepares it for the joint intellectual interaction. The teacher's personality ceases to be closed and 'intolerant of wrangling' and the transition

to sincerity, openness and trust in the pedagogical process is carried out. The recognition by adults of the student's independence and responsibility fall abreast of the development of the value-semantic component of his/her linguistic personality. Through the use of personal experience, the thoughts and initiatives of students, each of them takes an active part in the learning process. The use of self- and mutual control has a positive effect on the creation of the reflective and emotional qualities of a linguistic personality, which contributes to self-exploration.

The organisation of joint productive and creative activities has a positive effect on the emotional atmosphere in the classroom, helps reduce the level of anxiety, and provides space for pupil's emotional manifestations. Internal motives associated with creativity, interaction and cooperation come to the fore, which facilitates the participation in the process of learners with different levels of intellectual and psychological development [Momotova, 2010]. A student-centred approach regards the personality of the learner as of paramount importance thus giving the teacher the role of assistant. It takes into account the individual differences of students in origin, interests and abilities, assumes active participation of everyone in the learning process, decision-making, and lets him/her make a choice. This approach encourages student collaboration and co-creation. It creates conditions for the holistic development of the student's personality, increases the efficiency of the educational process, helps increase the motivation, and increases the amount of acquired knowledge [Rosenberg, 2008]. This approach comes into use, among other things, through the *creation of personal orientation texts* that reflect the interests of our learners, which can be reflected in sample programmes for teaching a foreign language in schools.

The result of creative written speech is a written statement with a greater degree of self-expression by a learner and is distinguished by original ideas and the manifestation of an emotional-personal attitude. By studying this type of written speech, a student can acquire creative personal qualities, for example, the ability to think creatively, find out-of-the-box solutions to communicative problems, be sociable and ready for interpersonal and intercultural interaction [Solovtsova, 2016].

Emphasis should be put on the pan-European regulatory documents that determine the content of written foreign language competences. Having determined for ourselves, as a result of the analysis of the federal state educational standards of basic general education, that by the end of the 9th grade,

schoolchildren should be proficient in a foreign language at the A2/A2 + level, we will consider the writing skills that presuppose possession of this level.

The competencies of this section at level A2 fall into two categories, i.e. writing a written statement (*general writing skills, production écrite générale*) and *creative writing (écriture créative)*. The A2 level of mastering general writing skills expects from students the ability to compose a series of expressions and phrases with simple linking words. Creative writing involves skills, such as description of everyday aspects of your network, such as people, places, work or school, in related phrases; making up a short and simple description of events that took place, activities carried out, personal experiences; composition of a sequence of phrases about your family, living conditions, education, work; writing fictional biographies and short poems about people [CECRL, 2020].

In the course of our research, we also studied the educational standards of a number of Francophone countries. Thus, the curriculum of Francophone Switzerland (*Plan d'études romand*) includes such general educational competence as creative thinking (*pensée créatrice*) focussed on developing ingenuity, fantasy, imagination and flexibility in addressing various issues. This competency is implemented in the form of the components as follows:

1. *To develop unconventional thinking (développement de la pensée divergente)*: to use a variety of sources of inspiration; to benefit from a change; to express your own ideas in new forms; to make experiments with associations; to accept risk and the unknown; to get rid of prejudices and stereotypes.

2. *To comprehend the emotional aspects of oneself (reconnaissance de sa part sensible)*: to give rein to dreams and imagination; to identify and appreciate the original aspects of the creation; to identify and express your own emotions; to find harmony in intuition, logic and one's own emotions, although often contradictory.

3. *To foster inventiveness (concrétisation de l'inventivité)*: to capitalise on your own inspiration and ideas; to take on new ideas and use new paths; to choose inventive strategies and techniques; to represent yourself and use various ways of self-realisation.

It should be noted that, according to the Swiss methodologists, when studying a foreign language, this competence develops primarily through writing personal texts (*textes personnels*) [Plan d'études romand, 2020].

Creative writing in the format of the author's text of a personal orientation is recorded as a mandatory component of the Olympiad for schoolchildren in foreign languages, for example, French [Bubnova, 2017].

Conclusion

Thus, the obligatory nature of teaching speech creativity in a foreign language as a way of creating the secondary linguistic personality of students and the development of their creative thinking is undeniable. Creativity is one of the human competencies, the development of which is based on individual aspects. The creative process, the result of which is a creative product, is implemented by a creative personality. In this system, the role of the teacher, classroom atmosphere and chosen working methods are important. In learning foreign languages, techniques, such as brainstorming, language play, role-playing, creating simulations, creative writing [Mudrochova, 2015], plurigraphy and collaborative network creativity can be used [Mikhailova and Petrov, 2019; Mikhailov, 2019]. The products of creative written speech can be considered original captions to drawings, posters, photographs, slides, comics, poems, greeting cards of unusual content, characteristics of fictional characters, letters from a 'reader' to the author of a book read or to his favourite artist, short fictional stories, programmes etc., scenarios of holidays or other school events, a description of their impressions of what they saw or heard, small essays with reasoning about a specific question or problem, demonstrating the student's desire for self-expression and attracting him/her not only to the educational but also personal life experience, emotions, imagination [Solovtsova, 2016].

To summarise the above, we will designate speech as one of the goals of teaching a foreign language in view of its linguodidactic potential and significance in the process of becoming a secondary linguistic personality.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Implementation Features and Development Prospects in Distance Learning of Russian as a Foreign Language (RFL) at Pre-University Faculty

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Abstract. The aim of this article is to describe the experience of e-learning of Russian as a Foreign Language (RFL) at the Pre-University Faculties based on the examples of three Russian educational organizations of higher education. The authors summarized the practical experience of Pre-University Faculties shift to e-learning in the period of the COVID-19 spread; the article also makes analysis of specific features characterizing this shift, describes the specifics of shifting the lessons into a digital mode and also examines the prospects of development of digital environment for the RFL Pre-University Faculty students. On the basis of the analysis, the authors describe the most common difficulties which faced both students and teachers. The results of this research show that distant learning became the only available instrument of the educational process functioning in the period of self-isolation when it was impossible to conduct face-to-face lessons. During the pandemic, the organization of the educational

process, including studying at the Pre-University Faculty, became the new starting point for the development, promotion and prospects of e-learning technologies in the field of education.

Keywords: e-learning, digital environment, Russian as a Foreign Language (RFL), Skype, Zoom

1. Introduction

The widening of humanitarian contacts is one of the strategic priorities of the Russian Federation which is fixed in Concept of RF Foreign Policy.

Russia attracts 6 % of all the foreign students in the world. It takes the 8th place following the USA, Great Britain, Australia, China, Canada, Germany and France. In 2018 the share of international students increased by 5.7 % and by 100 % within the last decade. The majority of the international students in the RF are the citizens of CIS, Asia, Middle East and the North Africa [according to the website of RF Ministry of Science and Higher Education [Digital Resource]].

By the year 2024 the number of international students in the educational institutions of higher education will reach 425 000 people according to the estimates of the Federal Project “Export of Education” of the national project “Education”.

The mechanism of attracting foreign citizens is based on a number of measures implemented by the educational institutions to provide the increase in the number of international students studying at the educational institutions of higher education, and also by the supporting measures which are to be provided by different bodies of public authorities and governmental agencies on the federal and regional levels.

An important contributing result of international students increase in the RF universities is the development of Russian educational organizations of higher education into Research and Educational Centers of highly-professional training for international students which are able to define the tendencies of global innovative development and will be able to face the new challenges of the XXI century.

Currently 310 000 foreigners are accepted to all modes of studies including the main and additional education at about 450 educational institutions of the Russian Federation (pre-epidemic data). However, it has become clear that the pandemic can change dramatically the enrollment plans and the number of foreign students at Russian universities.

Shift to the distant learning due to the epidemic of corona virus has become a true challenge for all of Russian education. In a report called “Cases of quick reactions of universities in the period of pandemics” the educational institution of National Research University Higher School of Economics defined this shift as ‘force majeure circumstances’ where the main reason for universities unreadiness to shift education into the digital environment were “dramatic changes in the conventional processes”. [Cases of quick reaction of universities in the period of pandemic, 2020, 27].

In another report by National Research University Higher School of Economics ‘Lessons of ‘stress-tests’. Universities under the conditions of pandemic and after it’ it was mentioned that “foreign students turned out to be the most vulnerable group of students whose chances to come back to “normal teaching and learning process” by September 2020 are not evident”. [The lessons of “stress-test”. Universities under the conditions of pandemic and after it, 2020, 27].

Really and truly, the Pre-University Faculties, which get foreign citizens ready to studying at Russian universities, had to face a real challenge. Not every Pre-University Faculty was completely ready for such a dramatic shift to e-learning. It is connected with various factors, including lack of crucial digital infrastructure in a number of universities, which would make it possible to shift the process of teaching and studying into the distant mode, and lack of efficiency of the digital educational environment. By the digital educational environment, we mean a system of informative, technological, methodological resources and tools, which were able to provide a remote teaching and studying process.

Computerization of the educational sphere, integration of modern information and communication technologies in the process of foreign languages studying ensures the ability to provide a completely new level and is an integral part of progress.

However, e-learning, which was being so much written about in the previous decades, has just undergone battle testing to prove that it is ready for the global changes in all the parts of the educational chain. Skills and competences which the developers of modern teaching mediums require from teachers, students and educational managers and also the ways to build-up communication among all the participants of the educational process got into the “turbulence zone” in the process of shifting to the e-learning. And although everybody understood that “information and communicative technologies

in the sphere of education is a kind of infrastructure connected with the perception, which changes the very dialogue and understanding of participants of teaching/learning process and thus the forms of perception, organization and the process of education” [Bogomolov, 2008, 22], there was not provided a systematized practice of e-learning realization at the Pre-University Faculties.

Let us point out that academics pay attention to a number of terms which describe the process of distance learning and the fact that they are confusable (this refers to the terms “e-learning”, “distant education” and “distance technologies of education”). Detailed description of the topic in question can be found in the work of A. Bogomolov “Virtual environment in teaching and learning of Russian as a foreign language: linguistic and cultural aspects” [2008]. In our article, we are using the term “e-learning” in the meaning offered by A. Bogomolov. We are going to define the term as “intentional synchronous or non-synchronous process of interaction among the participants of the teaching and studying process provided with the help of distant training devices within the help of a specialized educational environment based on implementing information and telecommunication technologies [Bogomolov, 2008, 53]. The main advantage of e-learning is an opportunity to study any time and in any place (Anywhere Anytime Learning). Various educational platforms are being created for e-learning in the digital environment. Their aim is to optimize and facilitate the work of students and teachers. For the time being, it is possible to talk about a whole cluster of distant educational technologies. [Prokopova, 2019, 22]. In the point 1 of article number 16 of the Federal Law of 29.12.2012 № 273-ФЗ (edited on 31.07.2020) “Federal Law of the Russian Federation on Education” (Edited and amended, went into effect on 01.08.2020). ‘Distant educational technologies’ are understood as “educational technologies which use IT and telecommunication networks to provide mediated (distant) interaction of students and teachers” [Laws, codes and regulations of the Russian Federation [Electronic resource].

It was common before the spread of corona virus infection to provide primarily classroom learning for students coming to the Russian Federation who had intensive training in Russian and general subjects to continue their studies at Russian universities. The programs, which provided this kind of training, were regulated by a number of federal laws and orders. Among these are:

1. Federal law of Russian Federation of 29th December 2012 № 273-ФЗ “The Law of the Russian Federation on Education”.

2. Order of Ministry of Education and Science of the 28th July 2014 № 844 “On the rules of selection of foreign citizens and people without citizenship to study within the education quota established by the Government of Russian Federation for the education of foreign citizens and people without citizenship”.

3. Order of Ministry of Education and Science of the RF of the 5th April 2017 № 301 “On arrangement procedures and educational activities conduct in the educational programs of higher education — Bachelor program, Specialist program, Magistrate program”.

4. Order of Ministry of Education and Science of the RF of the 3rd October 2014 № 1304 “On requirements to master the additional programs in General subjects providing professional training to prepare foreign citizens and people without citizenship to study majors in Russian language”.

5. Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the RF of the 1 April 2014 г. № 255 “On requirements to the levels of linguistic proficiency for Russian as a foreign language and their criteria”.

6. Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the RF of the 14 October 2015 № 1147 “On the rules of acceptance to the educational programs of the higher education Bachelor program, Specialist program, Magistrate program”.

It posed a real challenge to implement e-learning at the Pre-University Faculties since it is also controlled by regulatory documents. For instance, point 3 of article number 16 of 29.12.2012 № 273-FZ (edited on 31.07.2020) “Federal Law of the Russian Federation on Education” (edited and amended, went into effect from 01.08.2020) says: “When implementing educational programs using only e-learning, distance educational technologies in organizations providing learning activities, it is necessary to provide conditions for electronic information and educational environment, including electronic informational resources, electronic educational resources, a combination of IT and telecommunication technologies, corresponding software tools and educational programs which insure that the students will be able to master the program to the full extend regardless the whereabouts of the student”. [Laws, codes and regulations of the Russian Federation [Electronic resource]].

It is clear that to prepare distance learning programs, the universities must allocate considerable means, which they do not always have at their disposal. Moreover, it is clear that the undeniable advantages of the traditional mode of learning are crucial at the Pre-University Faculties. Thus, there was not an opportunity to go through an e-learning course of the Pre-University

Faculty, take an exam and get a certificate online. However, in March 2020 all the educational institutions of Moscow had to shift to e-learning and Pre-University Faculty was not an exception.

Addressing the research questions: How did the Russian educational institutions of higher education face the epidemiological challenges of 2020? How was this shift organized for Russian and foreign students? Which difficulties did teachers and students face?

2. Sampling material

In the course of our studies, we looked into the experience of three educational institutions of higher education. They are:

- Plekhanov Russian Economy University
- Pushkin State Russian Language Institute
- Russian Peoples' Friendship University

We took the e-learning experience of these three universities from March until June of 2020 as study material for our research.

3. Methodology and Methodic of this research

As a part of our research we used such general-logic, academic, empirical and special methods as analysis, synthesis, generalization, description and questionnaire survey.

4. Research description

4.1. Experience of Pre-University Faculty operation under pandemic conditions

How did the process of teaching at Plekhanov Russian Economy University, Pushkin State Russian Language Institute and Russian Peoples' Friendship University change during the pandemic?

The universities complied with all the recommendations provided by the orders of the Russian Ministry of Education and Science and Moscow Mayor's Decrees on prevention of the spread of the corona infection. There were taken all the measures to provide safety and health protection of all the students and teachers.

At the first stage from 16 March 2020 Russian Peoples' Friendship University introduced flexible attendance which meant that students could choose whether to come to class or choose e-learning. Flexible attendance is an opportunity for students not to come to classroom on a compulsory

basis, but instead study with the help of distant studying technologies. Subsequently, due to the worsening of the epidemiological situation in Moscow, classroom learning was stopped and every department/university/academy was ordered to provide the e-study. Adapted curricula with the lists of subjects of studies were posted on the platform Telecommunication Studying and Information System (TSIS).

Teachers were advised to use such programs as Zoom, Microsoft Teams or Skype to hold workshops. Microsoft Teams application was widely recognized among the teachers and students as both had corporate access to the full version of this product and also because the program provided a wide variety of online services (whiteboard, online-applications (translates), text modeling, group and individual chats with students, checking homework without downloading files, recording and its auto save in the cloud storage, etc.).

All the classroom timetables were shifted to e-learning. Students were provided with computers, teachers went through special training, special instructions were created to work with the programs in question. The University set up a “hotline” to answer the questions on the organization of the learning process using e-learning and distant learning technologies. Interactive lessons with videoconferencing, testing, virtual classes and cloud storages helped provide the interaction among the teachers and students, comfortable material delivery and provided various opportunities to test students’ knowledge.

It is clear that teachers and students of the Pre-University Faculty had to adapt the format and the delivery of new material and thus its digestion. It was impossible to stop using student books and workbooks altogether, however many manuals and learning guides of the RPFU were digitalized. Based on several months performance, it is possible to come to the conclusion, that e-learning requires changes in material delivery: e-learning requires more visual materials and while having a group e-lesson it takes longer to control material understanding and digestion. This is especially relevant to foreign language learning at the initial stage. We mean not only the tests and exercises, but also the very process of new material understanding and its further digestion.

It is worth mentioning the process of attendance and lessons control. The department administration worked out electronic individual and group education plans, research grade books, online attendance records.

All the final exams and credits were duly held using e-learning and distance educational technologies

The Pre-University Faculty of Plekhanov Russian University of Economics shifted to e-learning on the 17th of March 2020 and the process of learning was carried out in a combined mode: synchronous e-learning combined with asynchronous.

Synchronous e-learning was carried out with the help of videoconferencing using cloud services of synchronous learning such as Zoom, Skype. Asynchronous online learning was carried out without using LMS — a platform in the mode characteristic to offline learning: students did their homework in their workbooks, some homework was sent to e-mail or its recordings were sent to WhatsApp or other kinds of messengers. In the process of online learning students were offered both traditional kinds of work (reading/retelling of texts, doing written works, listening, doing tests, etc.) and also other forms of studying which are characteristic largely of distant learning (team work on the whiteboards, making of mental maps, etc.)

To carry out the final Russian language exam, the staff of the Russian language and Culture of speech chair prepared materials suitable for the online delivery mode. As the target of the Pre-University Faculty for foreign citizens and citizens without citizenship is to reach the level TORFL- 1 (Test of Russia as a Foreign Language), as it allows them study successfully the main educational programs in Russian language at the universities of the Russian Federation, the materials of the final exam met the requirements of the exam level. A final test made it possible to test the established skills and proficiency of the students based on 5 subtests in 'Lexis. Grammar', 'Listening', 'Reading', 'Writing', 'Speaking'. All the subtests but 'Speaking (conducted via Skype)' were provided in Google Forms. "Speaking" part was carried out via Skype.

The Pre-University Faculty of Pushkin State Russian Language Institute prepares foreign citizens for bachelor, magistrate, specialist and post-graduate studies at Russian universities. Foreigners study at the department by the assignment of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation or on the contract basis.

From 17 March 2020 due to the prophylactic measures against of the new corona virus infection Pushkin Institute shifted to e-learning. The timetable remained intact and all the lessons were conducted via an online mode. To conduct contact inline lessons, teachers were advised to use such programs as Zoom and Skype. The university provided access to the corporate version of Zoom which made it possible to create a comfortable process of online teaching and learning for teachers and students. To conduct lessons in the IT educational

environment all the students were registered for online courses of Russian as a foreign language and major subjects in Russian language on the basis of LMS Canvas on the portal “Education on Russian” (<http://pushkininstitute.ru/>). For teaching staff, there were organized webinars and they were provided with instructions of working with the LMS Canvas system. Online curators of the courses provided timely problem-solving of all the technical challenges.

The IT educational environment based on LMS Canvas on the portal “Education in Russia” provides teachers with an opportunity to create their own interactive courses, which meets the requirements of the curriculum and provides a personalized approach. The number of students in the group remained the same (up to 15 people).

At the end of the day, teachers sent reports where they mentioned the time of the lesson, topic, the system used and homework.

All the forms of the midpoint assessment were also organized on the basis of LMS Canvas.

4.2. Questionnaires

Distant learning and teaching mode also brought to light some challenges in the process of teaching at the Pre-University Faculty which every teacher faced to some extent. Let us list some of them:

1. Technical challenges: unstable Internet connection, some students did not have computers, laptops, tablet PCs or Russian keyboard.

2. Organizational and methodical challenges: inability to substitute class lessons by applications provided, adapting the curriculum to an IT environment; difficulties in keeping student attention working online; discipline problems (attendance of online lessons dropped in comparison with traditional class lessons; teachers had difficulties in controlling, disciplining and motivating students); difficulties in learning control and assessment.

3. Personnel challenges: some teachers were not ready to work on the online mode.

However, not only teachers, but also students experienced difficulties. The authors of this research carried out a poll in June 2020 among the students of the Pre-University Faculty in order to get feedback from students and their own estimations of their studies from March until June.

55 students took part in the first poll “Difficulties during the quarantine” (Diagram 1, Table 1).

The second poll “Difficulties in the process of online learning” (Diagram 2, Table 2) was carried out to collect information about the kinds

of difficulties students experienced while studying distantly. 55 students took part in this poll.

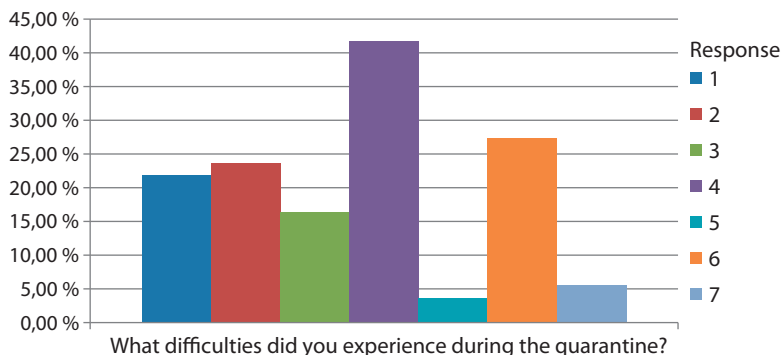


Diagram 1. Difficulties during the period of quarantine

Table 1

First questionnaire results

№ Response	Answer options	Number of respondents (persons)	Percentage (%)
Response 1	I did not know how to book an electronic pass; what to do if I get ill; what I can and cannot do during the quarantine	12	21,8
Response 2	I was concerned with the corona virus situation in Russia/my country/ the world; I experienced the lack of up-to-date information on the current situation and the length of the quarantine.	13	23,6
Response 3	I felt lonely and sad.	9	16,4
Response 4	E-learning was hard for me.	23	41,8
Response 5	I have health problems and did not know how to solve them	2	3,6

End of Table 1

№ Response	Answer options	Number of respondents (persons)	Percentage (%)
Response 6	I did not experience any difficulties within this period	15	27,3
Response 7	Others (write your own answer)	3	5,5 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “It is fine, even convenient. I think that the teachers effectively adapted to the situation and helped me in the process of studying”. • “It was difficult to buy food”. • “It is boring to stay at home all the time”.

Table 2

The results of the second questionnaire

№ Response	Response option	Number of respondents (people.)	Percentage (%)
Response 1	Internet problems	19	32,8
Response 2	I did not have a laptop computer/tablet PC/personal computer, only my mobile	14	24,1
Response 3	I did not have a Russian keyboard and could not type in Russian	4	6,9
Response 4	I did not know how to use such programs as Zoom, Skype, etc.	4	6,9
Response 5	I could not concentrate in my room because my roommates also had online-lessons	17	29,3

End of Table 2

Nº Response	Response option	Number of respondents (people.)	Percentage (%)
Response 6	I experienced health problems: strained eyes, backache, I got tired quickly	15	25,9
Response 7	Online lessons were boring, uninteresting and badly organized in comparison with classroom lessons.	12	20,7
Response 8	It was more difficult for me to communicate with the teacher online rather than in class	17	29,3
answer 9	I did not experience any difficulties in the process of e-learning	12	20,7
answer 10	Others (write your own answer)	1	1,7 • “everything was perfect”.

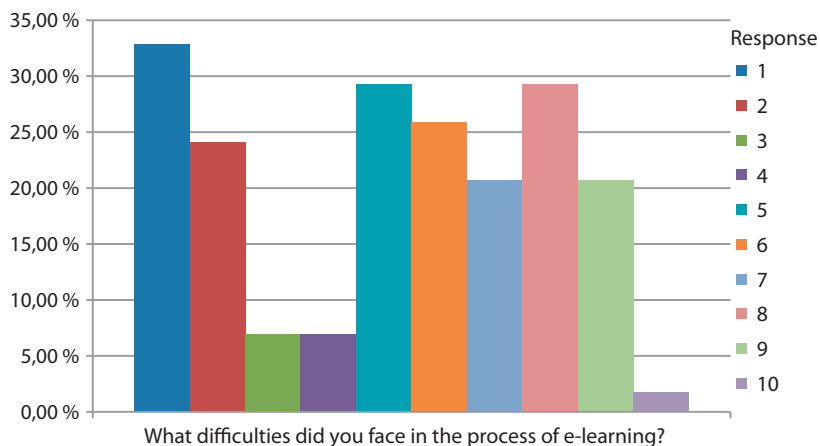


Diagram 2. Difficulties in the process of e-learning

4. The results obtained and their interpretation

More than 40 % of students mentioned that it was difficult for them to study distantly. (Table 1).

As we can see from Table 2 the greatest challenges of e-learning were connected with the quality of the Internet (32,8 %), uncomfortable conditions of the online lessons (29,3 %), and also lack of real live communication with teachers and group mates (29,3 %).

Interestingly, the results of the poll largely overlap the results of national Russian university students polls, carried out by the Institute of Education of the NRU HSE from the 25th of March until the 3rd of April 2020 where 11005 thousand respondents took place. The data obtained was published in the analytical report of the Institute of Education the NRU HSE ‘Storm of the first weeks: how has the higher education stepping into the pandemic reality?’

“The most common problems faced by the students are lack of communication with group mates (35 %), various technical challenges and unstable Internet connection (34 %), lack of live discussion with the teachers (34 %). Besides there were other common problems such as: difficulties in concentration while self-studying (29 %), difficulties in studying in the home environment (28 %), difficulties in asking questions to the teacher (27 %), feeling lonely and isolated (25 %)” [“Storm of the first weeks: how has the higher education stepping into the pandemic reality?” 2020, 67].

In the report ‘Lessons of ‘stress-test’. Universities in the conditions of pandemic and after it’ which has already been mentioned in our article it is stated “more than 40 % of students mention the lack of live communication with a teacher and group mates as the main challenge of e-learning”. [Lessons of ‘stress-test’. Universities in the conditions of pandemic and after it, 2020, 22].

Thus, technical, social and psychological aspects of distant learning in the period of self-isolation were not thought out properly. It is for sure that technical challenges will be sooner or later solved, however questions remain whether it will be possible to shift some social and psychological aspects of university life into an online mode. According to experts and analytics of the Institute of Education of the NRU HSE “a number of the most important processes of university life have difficulties in digitalization and shifting into the virtual environment. In the real life conditions it was proved that complete realization of higher education programs in distant mode is impossible”

6. The findings of the research

This e-learning experience showed that the methodic, computer and distant technologies made it possible to shift classroom studies to e-learning mode. Definitely, the mechanisms are not perfect at the time being, there is a wide-spread opinion that there is no need to shift the education to a distant learning mode. Both teachers and students express this opinion. The authors of this article support the point of view that distant learning cannot totally replace the live teaching and learning process, however as we can see from experience, it can become a helpful supplement in the process of teaching foreigners Russian as a Foreign Language.

The difficulties, which faced both teachers and students, appeared because the shift to distant learning was carried out in the so-called force majeure conditions. Neither teachers nor students were or had to be ready for such a dramatic change to this mode of studies. It is worth mentioning that what we mostly experienced has been an attempt to shift the elements of live lessons to the distant mode and it cannot be considered as full-fledged e-learning. E-learning is a well-thought out, technically and methodically constructed process.

Education export and academic mobility suffered severe losses because of the closed borders. Students who went back home for winter holidays have not come back to Russia yet. As things stand at the end of August, only foreign students of four countries can come to Russia: Turkey, Great Britain, Tanzania, Switzerland and Abkhazia.

Taking into account the importance of the national system of higher education support in the conditions of dramatically changing social and economic situations in the course of the pandemic and also external challenges in organizing enrolling the foreign students into Russian universities in 2020/2021 academic year, and also the necessity to provide the applicants with flexible mechanisms of learning, many educational organizations of higher education began to look into opportunities for distant preparation of foreign applicants to entering Russian universities.

In order to maintain the position of Russian universities in the market of education exports it is crucial to provide the Pre-University Faculties with the necessary infrastructure, platforms and services which will enable conducting education in the distant mode. The same applies to the foreign students who continue their education at the Russian universities but are not able to come to Russia by the beginning of the academic year.

6.1. Further perspectives

From September 2020, several universities announced the launch of distant digital Pre-University courses. Among them, there are Russian University of Peoples' Friendship and Pushkin State Russian Language Institute, Russian University of Peoples' Friendship is actively developing distant education and at the time being, the teaching of foreign students is planned in several ways including the Digital Pre-University Faculty (<http://info.langrus.rudn.ru/>).

Digital Pre-University Faculty is an international model of teaching foreign citizens in accordance with the programs of Pre-University Faculties of Russian Universities, which is conducted fully or partially using modern distant learning technologies.

The process of education will be organized via a digital platform. Implementation of this project in such a mode will make it possible to make education more flexible for listeners (the length of the basic program varies from 6 months to 2 years, also there is an opportunity to complete separate modules and students can enroll on the program all the year round).

While studying, listeners will be supported by experienced teachers of RUPF and tutors via video consultations, also there will be provided 24 hours support-chat in Russian or an intermediate language.

Basic preparatory course of Digital Pre-University Faculty consists of nine modules:

- Four main modules of Russian Language: Phonetics, Elementary, Basic and the First Certificate Levels.

- Three variable modules in General Subjects. Listeners have an opportunity to choose among 8 subject modules provided — Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, Social Studies, Literature, IT.

- One module on scientific speech style. Listeners can choose one optional course — Science, Medicine and Biology, Economics, Humanitarian, Engineering and Technology.

- One cultural module. This module is aimed at the social and cultural adaptation of the student who will discover geography and peoples, traditions and holidays of Russia. There is an opportunity to visit virtual excursions of the best museums of the country.

Pushkin State Russian Language Institute has introduced in September 2020 the preparation program of Russian and principal subjects for foreign citizens who want to obtain a degree at Pushkin State Russian Language Institute and other universities of Russia (<https://www.pushkin.institute/education/dop/podfak/>).

The programs meet the “Requirements to minimal contents and standards for graduates of Pre-University Faculties teaching foreign citizens. Foreign citizens and people without citizenship who have received or receiving education in their home countries and want to study Russian language in the remote mode and aim at entering universities of the Russian Federation, have an opportunity to choose from five stream: Humanities, Economics, Medicine and Biology, Natural Science, Engineering and Technology. Listeners can study not only Russian but also various subjects according to their major.

- Humanities: Russian language, Literature, Social Studies, History.
 - Economics: Russian language, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics.
 - Natural Science: Russian language, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics.
 - Medicine and Biology: Russian language, Biology, Chemistry, Physics.
 - Engineering and Technology: Russian Language, Mathematics, Physics,
- Educational programs have module structure.
- Module 1. Russian for day-to-day communication from “zero” level to the level B1.
 - Module 2. Russian language for education. Studying the language for the chosen major.
 - Module 3. Reading subjects in Russian. Studying of the basic subjects necessary for the future degree.

The time span for mastering the program varies from ten months to three years depending on the number of lessons per week. The number of academic hours per week: minimum is four hours of contact work. The total number of hours is 2376 including contact work with teachers and self-study. Also there are provided express-courses, which vary from one to six months. The lessons are conducted in the digital educational environment of the institute, using interactive online courses in Russian as a Foreign language and principal subjects in Russian Language in the system of education based on LMS Canvas on the portal “Education in Russian” (<http://pushkininstitute.ru/>). Contact lessons with teachers are conducted via video conference systems such as Zoom and AdobeConnect. Groups of 15 people are formed to study at the Pre-University Faculty. Distant lessons with the students are conducted by the teachers of Pushkin Institute. Students can attend lessons at a definite time according to their time zones. To make the process of studies in the online environment more effective, students are provided with online curators assistance. Studying at the Pushking Institute enables students to take part in online lectures, cultural events, competitions of the Institute and visit online excursions in Moscow and its museums.

It is clear that the first semester of the 2020/2021 academic year will become a crash test for the brand new mechanism of teaching foreign students at Pre-University Faculties of Russian Universities. Digital preparatory courses based on the digital educational platforms including both online consultations of teachers of Russian as a Foreign Language and complete learning materials of educational programs will provide the realization of the educational process, however its results will be estimated only after some time.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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New Communicative and Expressive Powers in Online and Offline Teaching Russian as a Foreign Language

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Abstract. The article contains the first results of online education of foreign students with various levels of competence in the Russian language (mainly in conditions of the Russian educational environment). On the example of teaching non-native learners with a philological and non-philological focus in a new distant working mode caused by the pandemic, the defined pros and cons of education in a new educational reality are analyzed. Communicative and expressive powers of online and offline education in teaching Russian as a foreign language are viewed in this context.

Keywords: on-line teaching, off-line teaching, Russian as a Foreign Language (RFL), on-line communication, social networks

1. Introduction

Unfortunately, today we cannot say that the danger of the pandemic has fully passed. But its first wave put all of us regardless countries and continents into unusual conditions of life and activity. According to research data, 400 million students of colleges and universities all over the world moved to a new mode of education [T4 Education]. Specialists in various fields of knowledge agree that the world will not be the same again. Professionals

continue to discuss which lessons we can learn from the period of time when we had to be in self-isolation and under which possible scenarios will this or that activity develop. Supporters of digitalization of education consider that at the moment the *buildings* of schools and institutes are not repositories of knowledge [Kak tekhnologii menyayut obrazovanie?]. But we think that they continue to be repositories of educational traditions based on the humanistic component of pedagogical communication. It is interesting that 30 years ago a pandemic would mean termination of educational activity. But today digital technologies, on the one hand, grant us new abilities and save educational process, and on the other hand, sharpened existing problems.

During last 15 years we specified in our articles that the educational system and teaching Russian as a foreign language, in particular, are step by step inbuilt into e-format [Nikolenko, 2008; Nikolenko, 2015]. And the pandemic came and we had to quickly transit to online education.

“The world will be different after completion of this quarantine history with coronavirus”, — considers Evgeny Yamburg, a honored teacher of RF, Doctor of Education, associate member of RAS [Yamburg, 2020]. And we have nothing to do as to agree with a well-known academician.

In this article we would like to view the issues related to teaching Russian as a foreign language. It is clear that it has faced many of the problems that became obvious for all the system of Russian education including higher school. Some of them may be classified as systematic, others as specific. Of course, teaching Russian as a foreign language is worth an independent analysis of the situation of a complete semester in a distant mode, the first in the history of education.

2. Research methods

To carry out the research, we used the following research methods:

- analysis and generalization of theoretical materials related to problems of distant education;
- practical control in the course of teaching Russian as a foreign language for various categories of foreign students differing in level of language and specialization (in online and offline education);
- review of materials of Russian and international video conferences on specifics of working in a new digital educational reality;
- participation in webinars on issues of education and teaching foreign languages taking into account online facilities;

- oral and written interviews with foreign students with various levels of education and future specialties about pros and cons of new forms of lessons;
- generalization and understanding of received results and control at the completion of the first Russian online semester in higher school;
- simulation of a possible educational scenario of beginning (and continuation) of a new academic year taking into account actual approaches to teaching Russian as a foreign language in the digital era in the conditions of a multicultural environment.

Data from “Rossiiskaya gazeta” reveal that over three hundred thousand foreigners (seven per cent of students) from over one hundred and seventy countries study at the moment in Russian higher schools [Rossijskaya gazeta, 2020]. “Russia takes the sixth place in the World by the number of foreign students after the USA, Great Britain, Germany, France and China. At present the share of foreign students in Russian educational institutions is around 7.3 %.

Today we can surely state that this distant semester was rather successful. Students as well as teachers managed the specified tasks: practical training on Russian, lectures, seminars, control works, exams, including state exams, presentation of final papers on the Bachelor’s program, presentation of Master’s papers, presentation of final papers at the postgraduate stage, and then Open school days, in particular, in MSU named after M. V. Lomonosov for Russians as well as for foreigners, as well as entrance exams, were all held in an online format.

Let’s pay more attention to changes which have happened in the educational process and study them from the point of view of teachers and students.

3. Teachers

The fact that almost all teachers managed with the online work is an indicator of their competence in digital technologies. “In the modern educational environment rich in educational resources of a new generation, the role of a teacher cardinally changes. New pedagogical competences shall match possibilities of modern tools and technologies” [Nikolenko, 2015].

Many teachers have long ago understood that without competences in the field of informative and communication technologies (ICT) it is impossible to continue working in a modern school as well as in a higher educational institution. In 2008 we founded an international inter institutional seminar on use of ICT in the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language. Its tasks included wider promotion and implementation of innovative

ICT achievements in the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language, generating new level of competences of a professional community of teachers and stimulating scientific practice-focused research.

Seminar tasks were the following:

- information on the newest achievements in the field of ICT used in teaching Russian as a foreign language (theory and practice);
- exchange of experience in teaching Russian as a foreign language in various higher education institutions in Russia and abroad;
- creation of a positive image of institutions where ICT is actively used in teaching Russian as a foreign language in the educational space of Russian and the world;
- cooperation of Chairs of Russian language on issues of managing educational processes using ICT;
- promotion of qualitative educational products created in various institutions with the purpose of their practical use in educational processes by colleagues from other institutions and from other countries [Nikolenko, 2016].

Of course such seminars, advanced training in this sphere as well as practical work in schools and institutions for recent decades when many lectures and seminars were held distantly, played a positive role in the transition to fully distant education but teachers still felt the challenges. At the present time it is impossible to limit yourself to only analogue data media since the format of education has changed a lot. These processes started long before the pandemic and conditions of quarantine, recent events just pushed the transition to a distant form of education. We do not consider distant to be the only appropriate format nowadays. At present it is impossible to replace a “live” teacher and classroom atmosphere, but all of us shall be ready and must work in “digital” conditions without damaging the quality of education.

For a teacher to perform any lessons in the online mode: practical, seminar or lectures, is a difficult work. There are serious problems in the organization of these lessons or lectures. At first, your vocal cords work more, you spend more emotional energy to make students “move”, make them to be active during lessons. One thing is performing lessons with “live” students, and another is a lesson using a video connection. This requires special psychological and technical readiness. What do we mean by the psychological readiness of a teacher?

Not all teachers are good with a PC or other gadgets (and this is not always caused by age limits, sometimes young teachers have had to learn new

forms of work). If our students know modern gadgets from birth (often they could find a cartoon or a game on PC or smartphone when they are not yet able to walk), the teachers as a rule represent another generation that knows the main principles of the operation of such devices, but still have a psychological barrier towards modern devices. As sometimes it is justified: often it happens that at a very important moment the connection failed or problems arose with the audio as well as with video. Moreover, preparation for a lesson online takes much more time than preparation for a usual offline lesson.

If it is a course of lectures, it is necessary to prepare presentations that structure the text of a lecture. In usual conditions availability of presentations is advisable, and in conditions of online education it is a must. If we talk about practical lessons, all the tasks shall be presented on a screen in the form of a presentation. This also requires additional preparation.

Checking of tasks performed by students, including in the course of the lecture, as feedback from a teacher shall be available, takes much more time compared with checking the same tests performed in work-books or on printed sheets.

A teacher shall spend 12–14 hours a day in front of a PC screen, and this is not good for the eyes, at least. Not only for that. Teachers at an initial stage of pre-university training had to work in 24/7 mode, as difference in time and space borders of the main educational process resulted in that students sent their work in non-working hours and contacted teachers for consultation without day-offs.

And finally we feel very well in the auditorium, but are all of us ready to present ourselves to the students in a video lesson? In other words, are we ready not to be afraid of “detail shots”. Perhaps this was the reason why many colleagues refused to use cameras during lessons and did not require that from students. But this make the possibilities of non- educational communication more shallow.

On the other hand, many students also refuse to turn on the camera during lessons. Sometimes it is caused by worsening of connection quality due to increase of total traffic, sometimes — by the unwillingness of student to actively work during lessons. Therefore, the teacher cannot always understand if students really present during the lesson, and if students just joined the conference and do what they want to. In addition, a teacher shall spend much more time to ask students, as not all of them actively react the questions and participate in the lesson. When a teacher is in the classroom, he has

a visual contact with all the students, and he understands if he has managed to give the information to the students, if they understand the lesson. During online lessons you cannot see the class as a whole, in fact, each student works individually: students do not interact with each other as it usually happens during work in the class.

Please, do not forget about the interior in our virtual auditorium. It is also binding: our appearance as well as our working place shall correspond to the moment — the performance of lessons. We shall remember that we shall combine our professional need of online education with comfort of other family members, etc.

Let's note positive elements of distant education. The most important is that you shall not spend time and effort on the way to the university and back. We shall note that this advantage was mostly for teaching staff, as many foreign students live in dormitories that are near their university. The second positive element is that the distant format makes teachers constantly improve their ICT skills. The online format, as we consider, requires a specific technical and methodological support of teachers from the administration of institutions; movement from strict requirements towards a more flexible system of organization and performance of lessons; understanding difficulties of pedagogical work, overload of a teacher during preparation for online trainings and performance of control, i. e. checking of students' papers, etc.

We shall note that if the academic load is similar to the load in the second semester of last year, we have to spend twice or even thrice as much time on the work.

4. Students

For most students, transition to distant forms of education was easy because, as we have already mentioned, the digital format is usual for them almost from their birth. They even prefer to communicate virtually, not in reality. But many of them have faced large difficulties.

From the beginning of March when all Russian students studied in classrooms, teachers of Russian as a foreign language started to understand the need to transit to a remote mode with foreign students. This was caused by the fact that some of them, for example, Chinese students, that are the most part of foreign students in Russian institutions at the moment, were not able to return to Russia after New Year holidays due to the quarantine. During a recent Chinese — Russian online conference on the issues of educational

exchange and cooperation (August 11, 2020) they said that *because of the epidemiological situation around 18 thousand of Chinese students of Russian institutions and around 18 thousand Russian students may not return to Russia and to China correspondingly. At the same time, they noted that all of them studied distantly in full* [MAPRYaL, 2020]. *This is one more piece of evidence of preparedness of teachers as well as students to operating in a distant format.*

Students that unfortunately were not able to return home had to withstand difficulties of the situation on site. Even if the accommodation conditions are good in a dormitory, isolation, loneliness and impossibility to be with your family is a serious damage caused by the pandemic to foreign students. Thus, it becomes clear that issues of psychological discomfort are added to educational issues of fast forced transition to a new online format of education. Psychological readiness meaning mental regulation of behavior in accordance with specified norms of educational community is one of the key factors of readiness of a foreign student to education in a new educational environment. Such psychological readiness includes:

- ability to organize working (i.e. educational) time;
- ability to settle interaction with a teacher or teachers (depending on the stage of education) as well as with group mates (often with students of different nationalities, religions, cultures, and after pre-university training with Russian students, being in one group with them);
- ability to control one's own work and independently assess its results.

As we have already noted, speaking about adaptation, an unexpected transition to online education has slowed a little formation of psychological readiness to education in a new language environment among foreign students (especially, for pre-university training).

4.1. Pre-university courses

It is known that the period of adaptation of foreign students to the conditions of life and education in Russian higher educational institutions is longer than of Russian students that face this stage when they change school educational system to the institutional [Martynova and Un, 2019]. Researchers and practicing teachers noted that in the case with foreigners we consider a necessity of lingo and cultural adaptation. It actively passes during the period of study at pre-university courses. Interference of the pandemic interrupted the planned adaptation process of foreign students which additionally tested their stress resistance. But we shall note that most of the students managed that and successfully finished such an unusual academic year.

For example, in MSU named after M. V. Lomonosov, and in the Higher School of Economy transition from full program of education to a distant mode was rather smooth. Excellent technical equipping of the institutions — all the students were provided with quality Internet and PCs, if necessary — played an important role in that.

We can say that the transition process was rather easy for pre-university courses, as Russian is the main studied subject. Students continued working with their teachers under a usual schedule. The only thing that changed was the format (lessons were held in Zoom and Google Classroom), but as we have already said before, it is a usual format of communication for modern students. As for some forms of work with foreign students at the initial stage of education, that were widely used by teachers during the transition to online format with the purpose to make up for the unavailability of real educational communication in the classroom, we may note the following:

- creating groups in WhatsApp, WeChat and activation of their performance for transition of knowledge as well as audio materials (from teacher's side as well as from students' side);
- quick exchange of information regarding group training;
- “opening” personal communication in WhatsApp, WeChat (in addition to group chat) and performance of individual work with each student;
- possibility to perform additional consultations out of the framework of lessons in Zoom, Skype, WhatsApp, WeChat. Selection of communication form depends on technical facilities of a student (video/ audio).

We cannot say that some institutions did not manage in full to prepare for other subjects introduced as a rule in the second semester of pre-university training compared to offline education. We believe that many teachers on various subjects were not fast enough in the transition to new conditions of online education compared to teachers of Russian as a foreign language. We know that many institutions had difficulties with provisioning hardware to students which resulted in hampering the educational process. We consider that in the modern world every student shall have a possibility to use a PC and Internet, as this is a requirement of the times.

But we shall remember that students from the countries of Africa, South-East Asia and Latin America mainly study on pre-university courses. Most of them lack resources and at the moment of introducing online education some students did not have laptops or PCs. Many researchers concluded that the pandemic showed how the financial welfare of a student's family may

influence efficiency and success of educational process. As foreign colleagues said during online-marathon of international pedagogical community, there are still areas in the world where we cannot talk about new educational technologies [T4 Education, 2020].

In our case, the accommodation of foreign students in dormitories partially assisted in the settlement of the identified problem, as sometimes several students were able to use one PC for mutual work, but for example, such a method of team work is not fit for passing exams, as all the students have to perform individual tasks in writing. Talking about specifics of the work of foreign students in dormitories, we shall note unsatisfactory quality of the Internet connection that sometimes was caused by system overload that was not ready for such a flow of users at a time. Moreover, students and teachers say that a parallel lesson of a neighbor made lessons more difficult. In this case technical noise as well as diffusion of student's concentration, bad quality of sound and many diversionary items arose.

The main pros of the transition to online education for students of pre-university courses is that they did not go deep into the environment of foreign language although most of them selected an education experience abroad, in Russia in our case, in order to better learn Russian being among native speakers,

In a story told by one of the Algerian students who remembered beginning his study in Russian in the offline mode (in 2016 he was sent "by order of Ministry of Education of Russia" to pre-university courses of Ural Federal University in Ekaterinburg) we find the following recollection: "For a year we studied Russian. Every day we had two, three, sometimes four pairs. In the second semester some special subjects: the language of maths, physics, informatics were added. We had to learn to understand teachers of a higher school, read texts on a specialty and generate our own. Once a month we visited museums, theaters, excursions, because listening to a teacher differs a lot from communication with ordinary people that do not follow speech tempo and select words". We quoted this student in order to understand our losses caused by the pandemic from the point of view of students' social experience. During the training of foreigners in a language environment, communication in the class as well as outside it is very important for learning cultural information as well as witnessing behavior models of native speakers.

It is interesting that long before the pandemic this student noted active use of technologies "with profit for myself" as one of the positive charac-

teristics of Russian education. For example, “you may contact a teacher via the Internet or order to settle issues with your education. In Algeria... the Internet is one of the ways to communicate and entertain”.

They can say, that in this case due to the pandemic all of us, teachers and students, in full recognized a potential of various digital facilities in the transfer and receipt of knowledge.

A question — how possible and efficient may be a beginning of a new academic year in the format of pre-university courses in an online mode if the threat of quarantine will exist — is still open from the point of view of specialists. This may raise a lot of educational as well as organizational issues. Let's highlight some of them: 1) formation of groups (in work of monolingual groups many difficulties are eliminated, and what shall we do with international groups? It is clear, that in multinational groups a question on the possible time difference in holding lessons arises); 2) selection of educational facilities efficient for distant education; 3) use by a teacher of the main methods of online education and readiness to use them in teaching; 4) necessity on knowing an intermediary language even more than in offline education; 5) video contact as well as audio connection, as this combination, video and audio channels, will be more efficient for achieving a more natural educational process. In the opposite case without a picture we will see loss of non-verbal communications; 6) formation and support of motivation to study Russian in the conditions of long-distance cooperation in the group; 7) formation of a group as an educational community that is ready to work together, not as an educational unit; 8) development of comfortable and friendly relations in the team; 9) transition of the usual traditional for of teacher's work on the transfer of national and cultural information in an online format. etc.

We would like to highlight textbooks and educational facilities satisfying the conditions of an online format. First of all, a textbook shall contain a translation in a student's native language (that is preferred by our students from South-East Asia) or to an intermediary language. It is better to use an educational complex with the system of trainers including those on electronic media, not a separate textbook [Martynova and Nikolenko, 2016]. When most of Russian and foreign educational institutions try to find a compromise between online and offline education in a coming academic year, we may note, that some institutions start to stay ahead and offered online format as a main educational channel. For example, State Institute of Russian

language named after A. S. Pushkin announced admitting foreign students for online education within the framework of electronic pre-university [Obrazovanie na russkom]. Organizers announced the possibility for preparation for entering Russian institutes without termination of education in school or university, without leaving work or country. Beside Russian language, they offer future students a set of subjects necessary for selected direction (humanitarian, economic, medic and biological) and included unto a general curriculum. The program of electronic pre-university matches the main requirements to a similar form of pre-university training. And offered term of education: one or two years. For electronic pre-university courses the term will depend on intensiveness of classes selected by a student, when for offline education a student has a specified structure of pre-university courses with specified number of hours and smooth introduction of other subjects. Time will show if this "experiment" is successful and viable.

It is of interest that an idea about the complete transition of higher education into a digital format, that appeared during a period of work in the online format among some managers of Russian educational institutions, did not receive necessary support neither among most of the teaching staff nor among students.

4.2. Bachelors and Masters

The main difficulty of the transition of bachelors and masters to the online format was that students shall study a lot of various courses in comparison with pre-university training. There are also many types of lessons: lectures, seminars, practical trainings. On the last courses of bachelor's and master's program students shall pass state exams and present the Final qualification paper (FQP).

Many lecture courses were transformed into a written form: teachers sent texts of lectures and video presentations, and students performed written tasks on various topics. On full-time study a teacher performed control during colloquiums, and in the online form it is necessary to answer questions in writing. This took a lot of time for students as well as of teachers. Students were not able to perform written tasks on all courses, and moreover they had to write yearly papers of FQP. Students complained that they had to study the material of lectures independently. It was impossible to ask any question to a teacher during a lecture, if something was not clear.

State exams and presentations of FQP were performed in the mode of video conference on Zoom. Students as well as teachers had problems with

the connection which made the process of passing exams or presentations more stressful. But in general, the format of exams and presentations did not much differ from those in person.

5. Communicative and expressive powers in educational process

Placing the communicative and expressive powers of online and offline education in teaching Russian as a foreign language into the title of this article, we were governed by the following:

- firstly, general communication-oriented focus of teaching foreign languages and Russian as a foreign language, in particular;
- secondly, differences identified in the course of online education in comparison with traditional (auditorium, contact) offline format of education;
- thirdly, understanding of increasing organizing, teaching and management role of a teacher in a new mode of studying languages and future profession;
- fourthly, understanding that the teacher is a bearer of communicative and expressive powers of a language especially in the conditions of unavailability of other “live” language contacts due to pandemic and transition to online education.

Tools for supporting interest to studying Russian language, affecting the senses and imagination of foreign students are in the teacher's hands: this is structured construction of speech in the course of pedagogical communication, emotional expression of speech, its intonation variety, etc. In this case we speak not about birth, but on support of interest as the online format appeared in the beginning of a second semester when even starters had already an interest to the language, as we may hope.

Practice of oral communication shows that expression of speech is defined by linguistic as well as extra linguistic factors. As we know, only language units of any level (even a separate noise) as well as non-verbal means (gestures, mimics, pantomimic) may become a means of expression in speech. In our case one of the additional extra linguistic reasons is quarantine caused by COVID. It is clear that the situation that forces teachers and students to stay home was not happy and made everyone nervous by its uncertainty. Teachers had to perform educational process in a planned scope of transferred knowledge and generated tasks, as well as responsibility for stabilizing the psychological condition of students being on a remote access.

They say that hugs are especially important for primary school-aged children and they lacked direct contact with a teacher during transition to online education [T4 Education, 2020]. But we consider that foreign students coming to receive a future profession in Russia, especially on an initial stage of studying a language, teachers of Russian often act as a member of family, and in offline education that may use many more tools for psychological support: not only “verbal hugs” (N. Formanovskaya) expressing encouragement during a lesson, but have an extra auditorium talk, settle an arising inter personal conflict, etc.

Communicative and expressive powers of speech primarily appear in the teacher’s speech, as he, during structuring his communication, independently thinks as an author of a statement based on knowledge and understanding of a subject matter. This makes teacher’s speech effective and efficient. Needing to show your personal attitude towards the content of statements also may be deemed a condition of communication expression of speech. The internal assurance of a speaker and the author that their statement is important, personal involvement into the content gives teacher’s speech an emotional color that is more seen in oral form. But during online education teachers had to search for new powers of communicative and expressive means for written assessment of a huge number of students’ works that have a creative nature. Of course, scope and content of such works were defined by the level of education as well as students’ specialty. As we have noted, on the one hand, during transition to a new format of education there is a need for a higher ratio of home and auditorium work, and on the other hand, teachers received a large burden on assessing performed works by their correctness as well as by their communicative and expressive specifics.

As it was already mentioned, during pedagogical communication relations between a teacher and a student in the process of a continuous educational dialog acting as a speaker and a listener, psychological contact between the sender and the recipient becomes more essential because during a discussion of various issues, interest and motivation shall be available from both sides. It is interesting that experience of online education has highlighted a range of new possibilities to support and increase motivation. An example is independent development of presentations by students of pre-university courses of one of the groups (MIIGAiK) on a free topic. Students may have chosen already studied topics, but most of them used their right of free choice. Amazingly, together with presentations related to “familiar” well-

known realities (My country, My city, My family) facts of lingo-cultural specifics of the country of the studied language (Russian Mardi-Gras) and names of famous Russians (A. Chekhov, L. Yashin, M. Sharapova) were popular among the students. A student who will go on to study chemistry chose a topic “Great Russian scientists”. Another student with an experience on the specialty “Geodesy” selected the Antarctic. Such a variety of subjects gives us ideas on the interest to some topic as well as on the level of Russian. In order to organize feedback to reporters and with the purpose to try communicative and expressive powers of speech the following form of discussion was offered: after demonstrations of each presentation, students asked questions on the content, clarification of facts or details as well as tried to assess the report and highlight positive points. Presentations of students of the 1st and 2nd year of RANHiGS from far- and near-abroad countries (Vietnam, China, Bulgaria, Tajikistan) with a future profession oriented to international relations, were devoted to the topic containing comparable Russian-national elements regardless of the theme of the report, for example, national cuisine or external policy of a country, famous diplomats, etc.

During the unexpected transition to the online format practicing teachers noted that during group training to introduce all students equally into educational (learning) process and organize live communication is more difficult than during trainings in classroom. What is of interest for teachers as well as students is how the latter felt the lack of communication. One of the suggestions given by a graduate from a pedagogical faculty regarding changing further classes to the online mode was about organization of communication: “Specify topics for communication and presentations on those topics in order to promote a discussion between students and that every student shares his opinion” (Mirco, Serbia).

Maria Lebedeva and Daria Rykhanova from Pushkin’s Institute share their skills enabling the attracting of foreign students into live online dialog on the studied language. For such purposes, authors suggest using an “environment natural for youth and actual communicative reality” [Lebedeva, Truhanova, 2020]. Having learned what social networks students use, in what groups they are, what bloggers they subscribe to, which genres that they prefer, teachers may widen their knowledge (CV data) about the students as well as use communicative and expressive powers of speech in real communication. The authors suggest creating memes; more actively attracting modern applications, for example, FaceApp, etc, without fearing the enter-

taining nature of some of them; study panoramas; create cosplays, make their own videos, etc., i.e. they suggest 'packing' materials and knowledge into 'understandable for student' formats creating "native educational materials".

From our point of view such an approach is methodically justified and modern, because often, working with different textbooks and in educational facilities, we noted what distance is felt sometimes between those who develop educational materials and those who use them [Martynova and Nikolenko, 2016]. Moreover, the development of such "classic" educational materials and their editing take sometimes several years. And in the present conditions (and epidemiological situation of COVID first wave confirmed that) mobility, flexibility and ability to quickly move in accordance with the requirements of the environment are highly demanded in the sphere of education.

6. Conclusion

Of course, distant education requires a lot of preparation and managing. This is caused by a necessity to switch between various Internet platforms (depending on the requirements of each higher educational institution), creating a complex agenda, review of educational sites and their designation, correction of teaching staff's pedagogy and guiding performance.

It becomes more obvious that mainly people influence the flexibility and results of the educational process. They will play a leading role in the return to normal offline life. We can say that the pandemic and resulting total transition to the online format showed the importance of the human factor in education.

In teaching and learning communication, where a teacher is a leader and main organizer, he strengthens his position on the online format. Using technologies in order to move group education to a new level, a teacher arranges the mutual work of students in a group creating a team. As one of the UNESCO members said at an international conference — Marathon: "These crises returned teachers to the stage" [T4 Education, 2020].

As one of the students from the 1st course said, "all this issue with coronavirus made the world mad and showed how vulnerable the global system is. Also it was obvious how this situation affects a normal person and, in particular, students and teachers who are extremely busy. Flexibility of systems that are impossible to be restructured at their normal operations is of interest. In this case everything changes very fast and in process" (Matey — Bulgaria — RANHiGS).

In the process of the mandatory overwhelming transition to distant education of all stages of Russian educational space starting from primary school and finishing with higher and post-graduate education, there are followers of total digitalization of education that consider that “the time when online education will fully replace traditional lectures and seminars in classrooms comes soon” [<https://m.sibkray.ru>]. But the largest part of the academic community consider digital technologies only as one of the educational tools. Students consider the online format as an ability to widen their knowledge and additional reserve to receive enlarged knowledge received on the offline format. Students want long traditions of university education to be kept despite “the changing nature of modern times”. And we fully agree with them. Without doubt, technologies change education: EdTech (digitalization of education) is a reality of today, not tomorrow. But noting new modern tendencies in educational space and assessing their pros and cons, we do not want to forget all the good that our ‘classic approaches’ have offered us.

Of course, use of technologies during the transition of knowledge has a lot of positive elements, among which are: access to knowledge at any time and from any place; availability of education and elimination of age limits providing a desire to learn something new during a person’s life (“life-long education”); selection of interactive educational facilities and format of education, i. e. building an independent “educational vector”, etc.

We suppose that full transition to online education at all educational levels (school — pre-university education — university education- post-university education) that happened, show the following:

- new technologies have become a part of the educational process everywhere;
- in an emergency, as the pandemic showed, technologies enabled continuation of the educational process without compromising teachers and students;
- new wide abilities have become available in the range of educational facilities;
- exchange of pedagogical experience may be performed actively and with interest: video conferences, webinars, international conferences — marathons lasting over 10 hours and combining teachers from various forms of education from various counties;
- inexhaustibility of pedagogical solutions, a high stress-resistance level of teachers and their ability to adapt to a new educational reality;

- possibility to vary a specific weight of use of digital technologies in a real educational process during offline education depending on a range of reasons, for example, form of education, future specialty, specific studied material, etc.

- need to combine efforts of teaching staff on creation of a unified base of online materials for work at various stages of education taking into account forms of education and future specialty of students;

- online format of education is not just a transition from a class board to a screen, from a classroom to comfortable home conditions, replacement of paper textbooks with e-ones- this is a necessity in a scenario of completely different professional pedagogical skills and materials;

- dependence of the educational online process on a wide range of reasons: availability of devices of a due quality for students as well as for a teacher, Internet speed level, lesson methodological support, combination of audio and video channels for a more efficient real communication, etc.

- quarantine proved that social networks cannot replace real communication, and computer technologies cannot argue with a teacher as it is he who manages the educational process taking into account a knowledge component of education as well as the physiological condition of a student.

It seems we can make the following conclusion based on the mentioned above: we are for new technologies and are very pleased with the online-format due to which many of us have found new ways for improving our professional knowledge, but we consider online education only as an auxiliary to the main: contact offline education in classrooms. It is interesting that all our foreign students regardless of forms of education, level of Russian, their future specialty, have the same opinion and are eager to return to classrooms to meet their teachers. As one of the foreign students, who studied mostly in the offline format, said that one of his most important assets gained in Russia except for academic knowledge is „culture of professionalism”, that he had learned due to his Russian teachers.

After we fully understood the educational potential of various digital facilities for transfer and receipt of knowledge, we would like to stay in our institutions again, because it is the place of generation and transfer of social experience necessary for foreign students in a new educational environment.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Specifics of Using E-Educational Resources in Teaching Russian as a Foreign Language

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Abstract. This article assesses the effectiveness of modern approaches in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language (Station Rotation, Flipped Classroom). The author reviews the most popular electronic educational resources in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language, paying particular attention to such two foreign resources, but gaining popularity among

teachers in this field, such as Moodle and Kahoot. The author also concludes the advantages that electronic educational resources provide in teaching Russian as a foreign language.

Keywords: Russian as a foreign language, electronic platforms, Station Rotation, Flipped Classroom

1. Introduction

The use of e-educational resources offers a number of possibilities to make lessons of Russian more diverse, interesting and motivating. Sometimes materials may be interesting on their own, but also they may be of interest because of their new nature. It is important to admit that e-materials in teaching sometimes may seem efficient only because of a special and new nature of a multi modal platform that they present. The positive influence of using informational and communicative technologies (ICT) often depends on what decisions are taken by independent teachers regarding their use.

All that attracts students' interest and attention will be useful from the educational point of view as interest is closely related to motivation [Kazantseva, Valiakhmetova, Minisheva, 2016; Bower, 2019]. To assure that digital materials be relevant for a group of students, the content of the materials shall be related to what students already know about the language and their purposes. In general, duly developed and thoroughly selected e-materials that take into account the age group and therefore are more relevant for a class will be more motivating for students.

Recent research has described the increasing role of educational activity out of the classroom in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language via hybrid educational schemes and integration of e-education with classic education in the classroom. This topic has been studied mainly by foreign authors due to the fact that use of e-educational resources in teaching foreign languages is developed due to actively used foreign online-platforms.

2. Material and methods

In this research we make an attempt to present specifics and assess the use of e-educational resources in the course of teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language. To achieve the research purpose the following methods were used: analysis of a review of scientific literature, study of modern e-resources for the use of technologies in an educational process, and inclusion of the author's pedagogical experience and data analysis.

In accordance with the purpose we may specify the following research aims:

- to assess the effectiveness of modern approaches in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language (Station Rotation, Flipped Classroom);
- to review the most popular electronic educational resources in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language;
- to focus on the advantages that electronic educational resources provide.

The research is based on scientific papers of teachers researching the following issues:

- use of informational and communicational technologies for educational purposes,
- modern concepts of mixed education,
- theory and methodology of teaching foreign languages.

3. Results and discussion

E-educational resources are mainly connected with interactivity in education. Interactivity is interaction of professional communication participants with each other as well as the way they interact with the object (content) of communication, being oral or written interactive text. The processing of actions (understanding, perception, assignment, assessment, etc.) of an interactive text is an approximate basis for other types of activities and becomes a structural component of other types of activities (efficient activity enabling the translating of a sense of an initial text into any other form of its reproduction: monologue, dialogue, polylogue, audio visualization). Their focus on formation foreign language communicative competence, necessary personnel for successful performance of professional activity shall be selection criteria for content, methods and technologies realized in e-educational resources..

Paul Lennon in his book *The Foundations of Teaching English as a Foreign Language* several times presents elements of final pedagogical events such as online — links, asynchronous network training, e-mail, online assessment and testing, tutorship and private tutoring [Lennon, 2020]. The research includes portals, synchronous network training, e-systems supporting performance, simulation, knowledge management, independent content on CD-ROM, practicing communities, video files, virtual labs and chats. The author notes that these new tools satisfy student needs, improve training quality, decrease time necessary for a student to achieve educational purpose, improve the quality of educational content and materials and improve the capacity to re-use educational content and materials. These tools also decrease the cost

of program implementation, make matching of educational components with purposes more efficient and decrease costs of program development,

E-educational resources are used in various modern systems and approaches to teaching Russian as a foreign language. One such approach is Station Rotation, whose purpose is to teach the main four skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Students deeply dive into the work and language and a teacher acts as a facilitator [Doubet, 2015; Evseeva and Solozhenko, 2015]. During a lesson based on the Station Rotation approach various e-resources are used. For example, in a lesson “Specifics of national Russian cuisine” infographics, images and graphics in Russian as well as videos of native speakers related to eating habits and Russian cuisine are used. This leads to efficient cultural comparison between eating habits in Russia and other countries. Culture of a learned language becomes a topic core and students may take it into account and learn it. Station Rotation includes 4 stations: reading, writing, speaking and auditing.

During the stage of reading skills training you may focus on a short task on a reading or infographics in Russian with questions for understanding that may be open-ended or true/ false. You may ask students to prepare their own questions based on the text. During the auditing stage you may focus on audio, a video in YouTube or a song in Russian. Students may ask questions related to the topic of the lesson. During the speaking stage you may publish oral tips for students during answering questions or in the course of their dialogue with each other. This is necessary for good interpersonal exchange. In such dialogues you may allow students to define the time themselves — you may ask them, for example, to spend two minutes for each question. This pushes them to continue using language and promotes them to use by-passes when they do not know some words. Questions and answers may be recorded in a special software and later be listened to and corrected, if necessary.

If students work independently, they may participate in a recorded simulated conversation or record their answers on their devices. In a simulated conversation a teacher usually records his voice and students shall listen and answer in specified periods of time. This is difficult as students do not control the conversation and shall listen attentively in order to give due answers. One more variant is to ask students to record themselves during answering questions or invitation. For example, they may use Garage Band or Vocaroo and then share their recordings with a teacher.

During the stage of the working-out and improvement of writing skills you may use various e-resources which present some images related to the topic and ask students to tell a story about one of the images or in detail describe their reactions to it. Depending on the situation, technologies may be implemented in all four mentioned stations. If students have access to devices, they may answer questions after reading texts using Padlet or answer questions on their understanding using Google forms. The Station Rotation approach has some advantages. Firstly, the educational performance of students is constantly increasing during station change. Such stations enable students to move forward in their learning, cooperate and think critically as well as practice every communicative skill in Russian. Secondly, the Station Rotation approach enables a teacher to act as a mediator. When students work and move from one station to another, there is a possibility to check every group or an individual student, ask about their progress, what lessons they like most and why, etc. These checks assist a teacher in assessment of performance and develop interaction in the class. During such learning, students may work at their own pace on all four stations or work in groups [Tucker, 2018]. All depend on lesson plans developed by a teacher.

If students work individually and move from one station to another at their own pace, some stations may be overloaded if several students work at one pace. Waiting students may select another station and later return to that one when it is not so loaded. When students work in groups you may not always guarantee that each lesson will take an equal period of time, but you may reserve several minutes at the end of the lesson so that students may come back and complete any missed exercises

One more modern approach to teaching Russian as a foreign language where e-educational resources are used is the so-called Flipped classroom. Such an approach requires traditional lectures or lessons to be held at home, as time in the classroom is devoted to studying target language, Russian in this case. In other words, lectures and home work are flipped: at home students independently study the theory of a language, and in the classroom they have practice, the use of the language [Evseeva and Solozhenko, 2015]. This concept has existed for many years and many teachers of Russian as a foreign language consider it an important tool for increasing student knowledge level. Let's view some of the most important basics necessary for use of this approach.

The traditional educational environment is flipped in Flipped classroom. In particular, students study fundamental concepts at home — frequently

watching recorded lectures — and this gives time for interactive lessons and practical works in the classroom that in a general approach will be given as a home work.

The approach appeared as a result of pedagogical research at the end of the 1990's and beginning of the 2000's and strengthened as a methodology a decade after. Basic papers in flipped classroom philosophy include the Flip-flip concept by J. Wesley Baker where use of web-technologies with the purpose of implementation of home theoretical training is highlighted that enables a teacher to perform active language training in the classroom [Hamdan, McKnight, McKnight, Arfstrom, 2015].

Why does this approach work so efficiently for teaching Russian as a foreign language? We all know that there is no better way to fluently use a language than to practice speaking and auditing on it and this is right the element that is paid much time in a flipped classroom. Students study fundamental concepts at their own pace at home and are ready to use them further in the classroom. Moreover, due to the practice directed by a teacher, students have less chance to develop incorrect pronunciation and grammar habits that sometimes may appear during performance of homework. Flipped classrooms are also useful for teachers of Russian as a foreign language from the point of view of differentiation. Instead of adaptation of a lecture or lesson to all various training styles and abilities in the class, you may offer group and individual work, check it with students and assess their work during the lesson [Zolotkyh and Tsyu, 2018].

Online video channels (YouTube, as a rule) where students may access a teacher's video are the most efficient and popular e-resource in this type of training. Dropbox or Google Drive offer possibilities for storing video and online educational materials for students. For audio lectures you may use memory sticks as well as special software. As a visual component that may attract students' attention in this case is unavailable, you may add graphics so that students may follow them. You may use such software as Screencast in order to record your voice, as well as PC screen in online mode. Thus, you will be able to discuss a slide-show, for example. As for online presentations, their use assists in basing lessons on easy-learned portions of information as well as easily integrating contingency tables of visual materials/ diagrams/ verbs, etc.

If students may see video lectures and lessons at home but it is difficult for them to record their own video due to lack of time, unavailability

of a recording device or any other reason, you may always use existing videos on the specified topic. Large resources include online open educational programs [Khromov, Gulyaeva, Apalkov, Nikonova, 2015; Rusetskaya 2015; Listiana, Jaharadak, 2019]. Content is placed in mass open online courses, social networks, various distant courses and on various popular platforms for studying Russian as a foreign language (Universarium, UNUWEB, Dist-learn.ru, Speak-russian.cie.ru, etc.). Course “Uspeh+” (A1) developed by authors from St. Petersburg State University (<http://elementaryrussian.spbu.ru/index.html>) stands apart from others. Friendly navigation, illustrations — strips help students to study Russian grammar faster and more efficiently.

Among test web-sites efficient and popular are tests by L. L. Babalova “Practice on grammar (Russian as a foreign language, levels A2, B1)” (<http://rustest-online.ru/soderzhanie/>), a set of tests by LA University (UCLA Russian Flagship Language Skills Lounge, <http://www.russian.ucla.edu/flagship/russianflagship/Welcome.html>), various official web-sites with training tests (testcons.ru, gct-msu.ru).

E-educational materials or digital materials within the framework of teaching Russian as a foreign language include materials using a PC or other technological devices used by teachers during lessons. Examples of such types of materials include digital gaming platforms as well as any digital materials developed by authors of textbooks for studying Russian as a foreign language. For such purposes e-educational materials include activity on a digital platform in the form of training games for interactive boards (IWB), SMART boards. Other possible e-educational resources used by students include e-versions of their textbooks (e-textbooks) as well as e-educational materials in the form of video materials or applications for tablets, such as iPad.

Moreover, some modern e-textbooks are interactive. Such e-materials make it easy to register students. These multi module materials give content for those who primarily wish to improve reading skills. Some e-books contain audio, for example, short tracks or audio effects for listeners. Exercises may be integrated into e-educational materials, for example, using tasks requiring students to move along an interactive desk. Recently, interactive platforms for teaching Russian as a foreign language have gained popularity. One is Kahoot!, an educational platform used for checking students’ knowledge for forming a final credit or as a non-traditional lesson in the classroom. This is one of the most popular gaming platforms for education having 70 million active unique users

per month [Lunden, 2018; Licorish, Owen, Daniel and George, 2018]. As of 2019, over 2.5 billion people from over 200 countries use the Kahoot! Platform for studying foreign languages. It positively influences performance, dynamics in the class, attitudes and perceptions of pupils and teachers. The concept of this platform is to combine existing educational technical infrastructure, digital devices, social networks and games into one educational platform. The purpose is to increase involvement, motivation, pleasure and concentration in order to increase performance and dynamics in the classroom.

When Kahoot! was launched, it differed from other SRS as it focused on being a gaming platform and therefore to be classified as a game-based student reaction system (GSRS) [Nicolaidou, 2018; Wang Alf Inge, RabailTahir, 2020].

But from the moment of the launch several SRS made game functions a part of their platform. One platform with characteristics similar to Kahoot! — Socrative — gives an online formative assessment for collection of data from students via various forms and offers a game Space Race where student teams answer questions in order to move a rocket more quickly on the screen. Another example is Quizlet, where students may study various topics using cards, orthography, tests. Quizlet is focused on writing words and gives correct word definitions. Quizizz is a gaming platform for education similar to Kahoot! where the main difference is that students' devices show questions and answers and there is no need to use a projected screen, and answer sessions are not synchronized, that means that a student shall not wait for other students to pass to a next question [Chaiyo, Nokham, 2017]. The main difference of all the systems specified above is that Kahoot! pays more attention to interaction via gaming experience.

Use of one more popular platform — Moodle — is ideal for integration of educational facilities in teaching Russian as a foreign language. Moodle is a module object-focused dynamic educational environment that is a free software platform for e-education with open source code. Some research has named this environment a source management system (CMS) or a virtual learning environment (VLE). It enables students to study out of the classroom though a teacher is still necessary in order to ensure the planning and preparation processes. Moodle is one of the preferred types as an educational method based on digital mass information media that is developed using proper pedagogical principles. Moreover, the Moodle environment is focused on student training experience improvement and is developed with a constructive pedagogical structure. Out of all the above-mentioned factors,

the main factor which plays a role of Moodle as an educational method is that teachers of Russian as a foreign language may easily access this software on its webpage and freely create a page for their own course.

Teachers of Russian as a foreign language may find assistance in creating fascinating lessons on language study using the Moodle platform on various websites. There are a lot of examples for adaptation of lessons to a specific group in virtual learning environments [Shchitov, 2015]. Most teachers use the Moodle platform for support and integration of traditional actions on studying Russian as a foreign language. By using Moodle you can easily create educational tasks.

Tools granted by Moodle may be used for integration with any level course, performance of additional work and shared education. As a bundle of an educational program and educational system, Moodle has a high potential in supporting general training as well as in performing additional out-of-classroom work in order to become a supply system for mixed (or hybrid) format courses or even for use as a separate e-educational platform. Thus, Moodle and its platform may be used for integration of a language course enabling students to join modules and gain new experiences. A teacher may ask them to perform tasks on this platform to gain credits or marks that will influence a final credit.

This platform enables a teacher to structure lessons so that each language skill may be used, and after that they may invite their students to join an integration course [Aikina, Sumtsova, Pavlov, 2015]. Moreover, Moodle functions make it possible to perform various types of test. Here are only some types of quiz relating to teaching Russian as a foreign language: multiple choice, right/wrong, matchings, descriptions. A wide range of options makes it possible to randomize questions and elements with several answers, specify time availability limits, select if students receive feedback or not, and decide whether they may view correct answers, etc.

As the purpose is not to replace traditional textbooks, but to integrate them with the e-education environment, performance of the following steps will assist in creating a module or sections in the platform and ensure necessary cooperation. In the beginning a teacher shall select some units of a textbook (or textbooks) that will be deemed as educational objects (module digital resources that are uniquely identified and may be used, including re-use, for support of the students). The main idea of such educational objects is that content is divided into small parts that may be used in various educational environments. Some audio materials may be stored in the form of audio

files in a catalog that will be used as a resource. Short videos in a specified succession may offer dialogues, corresponding to selected units. Many sites on studying Russian as a foreign language contain such videos. Moreover, there is access to material that may be downloaded from the platform.

Additional audio materials shall be prepared, such as exercises on listening, auditing, and answers to such tasks may be sent to the teacher for correction by e-mail or recorded by students and shared on the platform part where other students may have access for listening and discussion in a chat. A separate section of Moodle offers the possibility to create various quizzes. Teachers who know Macromedia Flash or similar software may create interactive webpages with such exercises as Moving, Right/ Wrong, etc. Each section may contain links to websites with multiple exercises. A teacher shall pay attention to introduce more interactive work for cooperation and feedback.

An assessment system may include several types of tests. At the end of each test a student may receive a credit that is added to total credits on this subject. Additional credits may be given for the frequency with which students attend the platform and the part where they may share information. Exercises in Moodle are mainly interactive and may be marked independently. The specific platform part may be used as a forum where students may write their doubts, and the teacher gives explanations. The tutor may suggest solving questions asked by other students and in another part you may freely communicate in Russian.

In order to avoid an unbalance between oral and written skills, you ought to be careful using tools which enable voice recording and oral messages. You may ask students to call and record this call or interview a class friend and download the recording to the platform.

If we speak about the problem of cooperation with web-content, you may start with adding links to websites to Moodle. Initially you may use simple ones, for example, with information about travel, so that students may ask and specify routes (many cities have travel planners for public transportation via Internet). You may ask students to use them for online shopping in order to find gifts for their friends by giving them, for instance, 1000 rubles. The main idea is to make situations as close to real language situations as possible.

Forums are the best for fluent communication, but as the text is visible there, they are also good for identification of student mistakes. Although on-line correction of accuracy on a public forum is probably mistaken, you may print the page out for each student and mark your corrections. For students

with a low level of language assurance or accuracy in studying Russian, you may use a forum in order to make them plan a conversation that later may be trained in the classroom. For students with a higher level of language it is recommended to use forums for practice. For example, you may add several links for information about travels and tourism, suggesting places a tourist may visit and the best way to get there (of course, justifying your choice in Russian). You may also ask students to find courses they would wish to study and vacancies they like and explain why they are interested or why they consider that they match them. This may be an excellent way to make students practice Russian out of the classroom.

As for developing writing, Moodle is good. Something like Wikipedias may be useful here. Although most Wikis are publicly available, Moodle enables setting individual Wikis for each student and teacher. They may be used to create shared documents between a student and a teacher. As both have equal access, the teacher may easily login and setup feedback. In future this may lead to creation of a longer written text. Not only this, but the whole history of text development may be traced and extracted and may be used by students in order to think about the process of creating written texts in Russian. Public Wikis may be created in order to force students to cooperate in the project or for mutual correction; students often strive to share content created by themselves.

Multimedia content management is one more advantage of Moodle in teaching Russian as a foreign language. One of the main advantages of Moodle use is that it processes multimedia files. It is easy to insert video files from YouTube or add other audio files but the real strength of this approach is to encourage students to make videos themselves and download their videos onto Moodle. If you download FLV or MP3-file onto Moodle and make a reference to it on the page, it is shown in the inbuilt player. Then you can easily make exercises with feedback suggesting students to think over the use of language, selection of grammar and vocabulary, pronunciation, etc. If you perform this regularly within a course, this will let students create a portfolio and notice improvement of their language skills.

Beside all the specified above characteristics, Moodle is an excellent organizational tool. This is a good way to combine marks, student performance, individual educational plans, useful links, etc.

E-educational resources combining full time teaching of language in the classroom with due use of technologies are the way for practical use

of a combined education. Some research says that implementation of such technologies and their practice should be planned so as to be an integral part of teaching and study and not be isolated from the rest of learning. So, for the purposes of integration, we need to investigate problems and advantages with which teachers and foreign students studying Russian may face in such systems before as well as after implementation.

4. Conclusions

New approaches to education are directed at the enlargement and widening of student educational possibilities. Fast technological change and development has presented new possibilities for developing various types of courses for teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language. Web-courses are one such project where they may be independent for teaching/ studying or combined into a current educational process. Moreover, when computers entered the educational environment, e-education appeared that offered educational websites for educational scenarios, creation of working lists, interactive exercises and many other tools for students. This tendency was and still is efficient in order to give students the advantages of studying at their own pace. Such modern approaches in teaching and studying Russian as a foreign language are Station Rotation and Flipped Classroom where e-educational resources are used to promote efficient combined education.

As we can see, use of e-educational recourses is becoming more and more general in teaching Russian as a foreign language, and there are more variants to make standard lessons more vivid. Modern e-educational resources promote education out of the framework of subject limits and together operate as a community promoting efficient education. Some methodological experiments performed by researchers prove that using “complex use of audio visual and technical educational facilities during classroom lessons increase the scope of language material learned by the students (an increase from 10 to 35 %), the scope of learned country-related information is increased by 2–2.5 times” [Vyazovskaya, Danilevskaya, Trubchaninova, 2020, 74].

At present one of the main purposes is to establish and view teaching and studying foreign languages (Russian, in this case) as a continuous process. It is important to show students that education is performed out of the classroom and they study not only for an educational institution or to pass tests.

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Short Video — a New Approach to Language International Education

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Abstract. Educational opportunities of new media are investigated on the example of the TikTok social network, especially provided opportunities in the field of studying Russian as a foreign language. The attention is paid to the teaching opportunities of short videos in TikTok, and the reasons for the spread of TikTok for teaching Russian are analyzed. It is concluded that short videos allow you to concentrate attention, they have a bright emotional specter and contribute to good memorization of new vocabulary, correct intonation of pronunciation and give visual video examples of the use of new vocabulary. All this allows us to call the use of the TikTok network an effective tool in teaching foreigners Russian vocabulary and Russian speech.

Keywords: e-learning, new media, Russian as a foreign language, social network, TikTok (Douyin)

With the popularization of social networks, short video platform has become one of the most important communication channels for people to transmit and share knowledge, and is gradually involved in the field of language international education and dissemination. This thesis is confirmed by the research of such scientists as A. Mikhailova [Mikhailova, 67] and J. Teng [Teng, 90]. For the learning of Russian as a second language, short video can make rational use of fragmented time, teach one or two knowledge points that can facilitate rapid memory of learning languages, which is also a good choice for learners using short video in free time for informal learning. Short videos can make rational use of fragmented time, teach one or two knowledge points that can facilitate rapid memory of language learning, and for non-native Russian language learners, using short videos as an informal learning method is also a good choice.

This paper will take short video platform TikTok (Douyin) and Russian teaching promoting self-media in this platform as research object, to explore

the situation, characteristics, advantages and disadvantages of international education of Russian language in this short video platform. And put forward corresponding improvement measures for IER to provide a little reference.

1. The current state of international education of Russian language on the TikTok(Douyin)

1.1. Why TikTok (Douyin)?

TikTok, which Chinese pattern named Douyin is a short video-sharing social networking service. It is used to create short music, lip-sync, dance, comedy and talent videos of 3 to 15 seconds, and short looping videos of 3 to 60 seconds.

1.1.1. Huge user base

The huge Mass and international distribution provide a quick way and a wider stage for the IER.

As of January 2020, TikTok has reached more than 150 countries worldwide, with more than 400 million DAU (Daily Active User). TikTok received nearly 315 million downloads from the App Store and Google Play in the first quarter of 2020, bringing its total downloads to 2 billion, while the Chinese version had 518 million users and 28.5 hours per person per month, According to Sensor Tower, a world-renowned app tracking company [Sensor, 2020].

1.1.2. Easy to operate, low creation threshold

No need for a lot of professional equipment and expensive costs, having a mobile phone, knowing a little shooting technology and video editing technology can successfully complete a short video.

First, TikTok (Douyin) has provided a large amount of video footage and templates which have reduced the short video creation threshold. To meet the creative's editing needs, TikTok (Douyin) has also launched an easy-to-understand, efficient editing app —Viamaker, which is close to popular usage habits and creative preferences. In Viamaker, a few simple steps can be completed similar to the special effects processing from computer side. A large number of video templates can be use. The platform also shares a variety of editing techniques for the general public to learn.

1.1.3. Precise “recommended” algorithms

The intelligent algorithm recommendation mechanism of TikTok(Douyin) can push precision content to the target audience.

TikTok (Douyin) pushes video content from the same creator or related topic based on big data such as audience attention, likes, comments, retweets,

and video viewing integrity. That is, if a user likes, shares, or searches for the keyword “Russian/ Russian language,” the user will be recommended for more Russian-related content based on that data.

1.1.4. Supported creative environment

TikTok (Douyin) actively supports the sharing and dissemination of short videos of knowledge such as cultural education, which provides a good creative environment for the self-media of Russian international education videos.



In March 2019, TikTok (Douyin) announced the launch of an international education campaign for short video languages called the “Dou Zhi Project”, a full-service program for knowledge content creators: a priority open collection feature, a targeted growth program, and a system-based creative tool [Short Video and Knowledge Communication Research Report, 2019]. Further increase the support of short video accounts for language international education. The video's self-media provides a good creative environment. In order to achieve the combination. 10th October 2019, TikTok launched the #EduTok Program, which is a multi-phased integrated initiative with the objective of democratising learning for the Indian digital community on the platform. The goal of the #EduTok program is to empower the TikTok users, so they create meaningful and relevant content on a variety of topics including the theme of education.

2. Analysis of Russian international education from TikTok (Douyin)

The author take TikTok (Douyin) Russian language education — short video content as a data source, through the creator's fan amount, short video amount, likes, video features, access to more influential self-media involving Russian international education TikTok and Douyin, the basic information is as follows*:

* The criteria are as follows: First, in line with the basic definition of Russian knowledge creators, that is, specializing in Russian promotion, language international education activities account. Such accounts can be divided into international educational accounts in typical Russian languages and accounts that occasionally promote international education in Russian languages according to the knowledge of Russian. Second, the selected creator samples have a certain influence in this field. That is, to meet the following characteristics: update frequency is not less than 7 days / time, in TikTok published the total number of works received more than 250,000, shaking sound of more than 50,000.

(TikTok)

Creator	Nationality	Number of fans	The number of works	Total number of likes	Video features	Other backgrounds
Lada92	Russia.	4391000	185	6.7m	creativity	ЕГЭ
Дар дарая 	Russia.	285.6k	231	66K	Cross-culture	
E-Russian	Russia.	16.5k,	241	66.0k	Pics	For foreigners
Russian lessons	Russia.	28	186	262.2K	traditional	
Alyssa Lyssa 	Russia.	111.5k,	138,	3.5m		

(Douyin)

Creator	Nationality.	Number of fans	The number of works	Total number of likes	Video features	Other backgrounds
Russian teacher Dima	Russia.	69,1K	623	537K	Role playing	Lived in China for seven years.
Russian girl		26K .				
Naja learns Russian	China.	100K.	431	2230K		
Martha's Russian Translation Studio, Fenh City	China and Russia.	88K	458	55K		Training institutions.
Study Russian	China.	15K	411	156K		Live in Russia.
Katyusha, Russia	Russia.	120K	219 (Culture)	147KK		Study at Shandong University.

Creator	Nationality.	Number of fans	The number of works	Total number of likes	Video features	Other backgrounds
Eat	China.	100K	426	222KK	Chinese translation.	
Martha's Sauce (Russian)	Russia.	29000	222	228K	Movies, songs.	

2.1. The type and characteristics of Russian international education from TikTok (Douyin)

2.1.1. Traditional teaching with rich digitized information

The traditional “teachers, books, blackboard” — style Russian education and communication model is relatively flat, abstract, lack of expressiveness. No matter how teachers paint and teach, it is difficult to create a rich and changeable language environment. Short video can break the linear structure of language knowledge tradition and give full play to the characteristics of digital into graphic, text, sound and image. In the sample, some creators choose not to on-camera, based on the design of traditional teaching scenes, fusion of sound, subtitles, images, props, so that abstract knowledge becomes concrete, three-dimensional. This type of creator are @E-Russian @Russian lessons, and @娜佳学俄语. Most of them interpret Russian by translation, usually with the English alphabet (or Chinese Pinyin). @E-Russian presents her knowledge of Russian in both Spanish and English. Other creators use fragments of Russian acoustic films, TV dramas, musicals, and MV as learning materials for oral, listening, and sentence teaching. Generally used is the dialogue re-reading, dialogue dictation, role-playing and other forms. This original, colorful content, real language environment of the language, is very helpful to Russian learning.

2.1.2. Life-like fun teaching

Some creators choose to be show up and explain language knowledge face-to-face with their audience. @Lada92 brings Russian vocabulary teaching to life. In her design, the words on the cards seem to have life, not abstract language symbols, but become a symbolic thing. She wrote БАПЕНИК on

the dumpling to indicate the noun “meaning” of the word, placed a card with the word ВАПЕНЫЙ in a boiling pan to represent the action represented by the word, and then removed and cut out the ВАПЕНЫЙ card to represent the state of its representation with the word ВАПИТЬ. Finally, cover the card with flour, gently sweep away the flour, slowly show the root and suffix of the word, and finally put together for word contrast, deepen memory. Through the scene integration, switching and a variety of teaching props, the audience step into a strong curiosity, concentration in 30 seconds, unconsciously remember the knowledge points. By using short videos, @Lada92 hidden the word, allowing obscure knowledge points to jump out of the category of “grammar” or “vocabulary”, which is both visible and distinctive, and is therefore popular with the public. The video alone has 71.7 K likes.

The addition of real image to the original standardization, “de-humanization” of knowledge, re-personalized, “personality”, knowledge is no longer the “dead knowledge” in the book, began to live, but also close the distance between knowledge and people. @ Гапар Любовь @俄语大妞儿 @俄语老师dima @卓雅说俄语 @俄罗斯喀秋莎 are of this type. @Russian @Russian with Aurora @Tata teaches Russian are new in TikTok, the number of fans and the number of works is relatively less but also very promising.

2.1.3. Integrate into life situations and compare cultural differences

Cross-cultural communication is an important subject in the international education of Russian. In TikTok (Douyin), a large proportion of the creators who teach Russian have cross-cultural backgrounds. Cross-cultural people bring their own topics and other perspectives, covering a richer, more diverse and three-dimensional real language applications, with cross-cultural communication functions. They have warm, open, forthright characteristics, willing to show themselves in all aspects, can take the initiative to speak out and dare to express, and strive to cater to the audience's entertainment and cultural consumption psychology, the audience is usually attracted by the above characteristics, so feel fresh and interesting and give more attention and tolerance. For example, with a background in life in Russia, Ukraine, and America, @Alyssa Lyssa 🇺🇸 often imitates and compare the reactions of Russian mothers and American mothers in the same circumstance. For example, “How moms say ‘good morning,’ ‘Going to college’ and ‘When you hurt’”.

In the Douyin China, Chinese people@鹅国铁蛋@小笙在鹅国 who live, study in Russia, and Russians @ 青岛小菠萝 @俄罗斯大卫 living in China released a series of short videos documenting their living conditions in foreign countries and sharing the similarity between Life and Culture between China and Russia. In such videos, they are more inclined to break down the misunderstandings of cultural barriers and offer advice on Russian life and communication. As user-produced content, cross-cultural self-media through the “other” perspective of two or more social cultures mirror projection, contrast the realization of different cultures of communication, collision and connection, broaden the audience’s “world imagination”, on the other hand, these creators through video to a certain extent to achieve the two-way dissemination and communication of different cultures.

2.2. Problems with Russian language international education in TikTok (Douyin) platform

TikTok (Douyin) in a diversified communication mode, multi-modal content presentation, combined with interactive, shared socialization concept, in the form of “microlingual international education” to popularize Russian knowledge, in the dissemination of language knowledge to provide a new way encountered a new challenge at the same time.

2.2.1. Content quality is different, content in short video teaching is very fragmented, can not replace the main teaching method, if the short video as the main teaching method and means both teachers and students can feel that knowledge in short videos are too trivial and many things are fragmented, even if they are to be used. It’s also time-consuming and labor-consuming to sum things up.

2.2.2. Lack of authority and leadership, discourse influence needs to be enhanced. On one hand, the audit and norms of Russian knowledge popularization in TikTok (Douyin) exists deficiencies, language knowledge dissemination platform in the content construction lack of strict control, on the other hand, the construction of knowledge circle lack of authority-driven effect, the spread of the field is relatively small, the closure of the circle led knowledge reproduction and value-added can not play a “power.”

2.2.3. Audience data mining is not enough, feedback attention needs to be enhanced. The TikTok (Douyin) platform for language knowledge dissemination lacks content construction orientation and is not well targeted by reading groups. The platform pays insufficient attention to the audience’s information needs and has low utilization of feedback information.

3. Advice on international languages education in social networks

The Russian language studied in this paper is only an example of international language education in the TikTok/(Douyin) environment, and we can see that more and more language knowledge-sharers from different cultures in different countries are making voices through new media such as social networks. Similar problems will arise above, therefore, the author for the creators to provide the following optimization recommendations, for reference only.

3.1. Gain insight into the international education mechanism for the TikTok (Douyin) increase investment of international language education in social networks. Audience habits can be investigated, in the push of the use of guided text should be related to video content, can be refined essence, combined with hot spots and audience preferences, individual accounts should enhance their activity, the use of social media matrix to connect audiences.

3.2. Improve the external skills of “language knowledge specialty” and bridge the cognitive gap between diverse audiences. As far as possible to indicate the source of native knowledge, such as the departments, institutions or individuals responsible for that knowledge, as far as possible to elaborate the objective value of scientific and technological knowledge, rational value and its comprehensive advantages and disadvantages for social development.

3.3. Create distinctive, cultivate professional opinion leaders. In the content dimension to form characteristics, in the mode of communication and communication channels, you can try to build a new media language international education network, and even set up or hire a professional team of art, for the aesthetic of scientific communication.

3.4. Cultivate exclusive audio-visual languages to preempt international language education with personalized characteristics. Help audiences develop healthier content browsing habits, make them understand the content quality gap in the social networking platform, improve cognitive sense of “aesthetic literacy”, complete, clear, high-quality video expression to pursue a unique holistic model, improve their own recognition.

3.5. Improve audience stickiness and enhance the influence of scientific communication with good “retention” effect. Increase your identity through online and offline activity.

4. Conclusions

Information creates value, and among the many values created by information, the value of knowledge dissemination is the especially high. On

the TikTok (Douyin) platform, the subject of Russian teaching can no longer be confined to the state, teaching institutions, the community “art industry has specialized” creators; Any interested, relevant, and engaged international audience can participate in the construction of language connectivity. Individual learning has been transformed into mass sharing and mass participation, and the knowledge of people and people is interconnected, becoming a real human university in the mobile Internet world. TikTok (Douyin) short videos drive the production of knowledge from elite to mass, making it possible to promote the universality of knowledge, the promotion of knowledge, the sharing of knowledge and co-creation. Even more gratifying is that after the DOU Know-How Program, we can see that some other Internet platforms have also launched a variety of service knowledge dissemination initiatives, “knowledge content in the Internet industry has received unprecedented attention.” However, at present, TikTok (Douyin) presents a pan-entertainment-oriented, knowledge-based ecological landscape. Pan-entertainment content is far more quantitative and quality than pan-knowledge content.

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Creative Potential of Memes in Foreign Language Training

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Abstract. Internet-memes, new unique cultural units, have been attracting scientists' attention for a long time. The memes are of interest for linguists, culture researchers, and sociologists. Teachers also recognize massive opportunities that the use of memes offers for foreign language training. The present study proposes the effect of nonverbal component of a traditional (visual) Internet-meme on foreign language training. It is the nonverbal component (image, special form of gradation, visual opposition or other representation) that sets a broad context, which can be creatively used by a teacher. There are some practices that allow using the creation of the new culture for training as well as allowing students to rethink the training process in a creative way on their own.

Keywords: e-learning, Internet-memes, language teaching, social networks

1. Introduction

These days the technical progress and a fast-paced environment bring in more and more new ideas and events. Development of social networks and media is leading to a huge volume of information that changes all the time and creates new genres, which allows immediate reaction to events. Instant and fast communication on the Internet has brought about main features of new genre forms: concentration, precedence, emotional intensity, etc. Demotivators, ironic comments, memes have become permanent companions of our existence on the web and a circle of new genre creations in the digital environment is growing wider and is changing.

The young generation is especially sensitive to such changes, that is why it is in the interests of a teacher at least to know about them, and even better — to successfully use them in class. Teachers have been considering education digitalization, which is picking up steam: “Global digitalization forms a new type of culture of the modern society that is digital culture, what requires modernization of the vocational education system to get it ready for relevant appli-

cation of technological innovations and development of professionally relevant skills” [Strokov, 2020, 15]. There has appeared and become widely used such terms as ‘digital pedagogics’, ‘digital didactics’, ‘digital education’. Ilaltdinova, Fedorov and Filchenkova recommend to differentiate these concepts: “In our view the term ‘digital pedagogics’ shall be read as ‘new pedagogics’, i.e. a field of scholarly knowledge in the system of pedagogical sciences that provides the essence, regularities of education, its role in development of personality, and works out application ways and means to improve the results of training processes with the help of open educational resources, information technologies in order to decentralize pedagogical process, refocus it on student’s activity, autonomisation and academic mobility” [Ilaltdinova, Fedorov, Filchenkova, 2017, 15]. They say that it is unacceptable to limit digital pedagogics to digital training, and they define digital pedagogics as new, involving larger opportunities. Therefore, a teacher has to take the creations of digital reality and communication as a way to raise and develop each student.

2. Material for Study

One of the brightest aspects of new web communication is Internet-memes, new unique cultural units. Memes are of interest for linguists, culture researchers, and sociologists. Teachers also recognize massive opportunities that the use of memes offers for foreign language training. The present study proposes the effect of nonverbal components of a traditional (visual) internet-mem on foreign language training. It is the nonverbal components (image, special form of gradation, visual opposition or other representation) that sets a broad context, which can be creatively used by a teacher.

Cyberculture is a dynamic system responsive to changes, and it has a lot of meeting points with the youth culture. Memes represent a microhistory based on precedent texts or events. Awareness of these precedents is a key to understanding memes, therefore, memes are encoded cultural units, unavailable to those who are not aware of the situation or the phrase that preceded their creation. Wide spreading of memes is associated with availability of such a form of contemporary culture, when one image replaces thousands of words. Another important feature of memes is their flexibility, they can be easily changed to match any situation according to the author’s wit and intentions. Now when education answers the call of time moving towards renovation and modernization, implementation of such unusual and mobile tools into pedagogical process appears very useful. Moreover, education

is rapidly evolving into new forms, more courses and classes are available online that produces demand for the use of concise and bright images.

3. Methodology

The study is based on a system approach to foreign language training, where emotional involvement and the interest of students play an important role. This paper represents a theoretical underpinning of Internet-memes use in foreign language class. The reason for writing this paper is a long-term study of Internet-memes as a new polymodal genre of contemporary culture as well as their characteristic features that favor memes implementation in the training process. Analysis of use of communicative teaching methods as well as ways of active involvement of students in class helped to find how Internet-memes could be used not only as a visual material, but as a special training tool. The study of modern foreign language training methods that preceded this paper, showed the need to attract a wide range of new digital products that surround us every day. The methodological reason for this paper is related to the general provisions of communicative and competency-based approaches in foreign language training. The competency-based approach suggests that a student should not only gain knowledge but would also be able to apply it in various situations. Skills and reflection are supposed to be bind together. The communicative approach sets its goal in training 'communicative competency'. The use of Internet-memes in various forms will allow developing and reinforcing the necessary skills. A new reality brings new requirements and multiliteracy is one of them. Unlike the traditional understanding of literacy, where the main skills were reading and writing, multiliteracy implies emotional, cognitive, civil and cultural skills. Multiliteracy is especially important in foreign language training. Based on the link between 'language', 'understanding' and 'educational environment' A. Haardt, Sulima argues: "Consequently understanding cannot be only a special perception of words, a system of distinct signs. Understanding inevitably includes the understanding of quiet, pauses, everything unvoiced and unspoken, silence" [Sulima, 2019, 16].

4. Study Description

For the first time memes were mentioned in the context of exact sciences. Biologist Richard Dawkins became an author of a new term created on the basis of a Greek word 'mimetes' (imitating thing). Dawkins referred to the meme as to a unit of cultural information, a measurement unit of some-

thing that, in his view, differentiates a human being from animals, this is what he wrote about in his work 'The Selfish Gene' [Dawkins, 1976]. Dawkins defined the characteristic feature of a meme, its capability of self-replication, what allowed this unit to exist in time and replicate. Similar to genes, memes could be weak (unattractive and not supporting survival) and strong (attractive and ensuring survival). Unlike genes, memes are capable of passing from one person to another rather easily and exclusively through communication, not requiring biological transmission. Later on the Dawkins' theory become widely spread and gave birth to a new science called memetics, originating scholarly discussions on the internal and external nature of a meme, on principle of combining memes in complexes, the internal structure of a meme, etc.

Growth of the Internet originated new discursive modality, which is now an important part of contemporary culture. Active adoption of new communication space boosted the appearance of a new type of memes. Internet-memes circulate on the Internet and have a viral nature. They can include a short text, an image, a melody. Some scientists compare Internet-memes with folklore, which, in our view, is rather fair. With their brand new technologically-driven form of life and circulation, Internet-memes are also a folk art, where the author (narrator) can make changes. In the present study we will focus on considering the creative potential of visual Internet-memes. Such memes are a combination of an image and a text. As a rule, the image and the text are put in a square box what is explained by active circulation of such memes on Instagram, which sets a certain image format. Despite the fact that such memes are usually called visual (because of the image they contain) actually they have a polymodal nature, because they employ several sensory channels. In addition to the combination of a viral image and a text such memes have specific visual organization resulting in binary opposition or, quite often, gradation. At the same time, all components of the meme are significant and recognizable. Consequently, the structure of the visual Internet-meme includes verbal and nonverbal components. The verbal component is represented by a caption, a slogan, a phrase from a song or a movie that accompanies an image. The nonverbal component has more complex and implicit organization. In addition to a photo or an image, a meme often has specific visual organization of text. Quite often there are oppositions, ironic contrast pairs selected on the principle of 'acceptable' - 'unacceptable', 'known' - 'unknown', etc. A famous example of such a meme is a popular meme with two photos of the musician Drake, where his facial expression shows an attitude to some event (satisfaction and dissatis-

faction). At the same time, in further development of the meme, the musician is replaced with other people who are closer to the context of the expression which accumulates the ironic charge of the content. Another example is a popular meme with two images of two women and a cat under the table. The 'plot' of the meme is that the cat drives the women crazy by misreading a text that could be interpreted and understood ambivalently.

As a verbal component there can be price tags, signs, parts of a page, any text with graphics allowing ambivalent interpretation. Memes that include the gradation of three-four steps are also very popular. For example, an event is depicted in various ways and gets totally absurd. One of the traditional contemporary memes is a game with the whole and a part, when attention is drawn to some detail in the image provided with some ironic text.

Therefore, the following groups of memes can be distinguished:

1. binary — they are based on opposition, antithesis based on 'good'-'bad', 'before'-'now', 'expectation'-'reality', etc. The special subgroup is formed by memes based on the opposition of 'easy'-'hard'.

2. cumulative memes with gradation — as a rule they are based on representation of one and the same phenomena progressively in a more complex way.

3. emotional — the visual basis of such memes are photos of vividly expressed emotions (happiness, horror, etc.). As a rule, they are provided with some text "When you...", which gives a short description of the situation, where this emotion is expressed.

Both verbal and nonverbal components of a meme give it special emotional charge, where it is not the value of the expression that is important (and not its artistic value), nor the beauty of the image, but a powerful affective charge. Memes are anonymous and, at the same time, absolutely any person can become an author of a meme, therefore, the authorship gains a spontaneous collective nature. S. V. Kanashina points out such features of memes as emotional intensity, media incidence, viral nature, series, replicability [Kanashina, 2018].

It is also necessary to note frequent use of conversational vocabulary or even taboo words in Internet-memes. While choosing material a teacher should be scrupulous about the choice.

Memes can be used to study any subject from mathematics to literature as a means to establish first contact and introduce rules to students. A teacher can take any well-known meme and add some text to it, for example, "My face, when I hear talking in class". However, it is worth saying that overuse of such

methods may lead to the opposite effect especially if students expect a strict attitude; they came to study and all of a sudden they get entertainment which they have not deserved yet. In the tradition of Russian higher education this method is applicable in small groups, when students' response and emotional involvement are more important than a strict academic atmosphere. At lower grade levels in school this method seems quite appropriate.

Memes have a great advantage over traditional and widely known visual material such as photos and images provided with some text. Implementation of this genre of contemporary Internet culture in class will allow a teacher to diversify the training process. Students who are familiar with memes may feel more relaxed and bold, when they see the material they know, which can allay anxiety when studying a new complex subject. Despite there seeming a lack of connection between Internet-memes and academic program study, these two components can be successfully linked in one chain.

It seems obvious that English-language memes can be used as authentic texts. However, some stipulations should be made. Firstly, as it has been mentioned, the text itself is not of any specific value. Secondly, the original memes are marked by the use of conversational vocabulary or imitation of spoken language. Nevertheless, at certain stages of language training it is quite acceptable to use such material, provided that students understand intentional change in meaning of a phrase and know what 'errative' (or cograph) means. Even with such narrow use, memes win over other short authentic texts (signs, advertisements, notes), because they offer certain emotional intensity and make an appeal to the sense of humor of the recipient. In foreign language training memes can serve as an example, where students will have to find certain language phenomena. Memes can be used in such a way in the following courses: 'Speaking and Writing Practice', 'Communication Practice', 'Practical Training', 'Lexicology', 'Stylistics'. Both grammatical and lexical phenomena can be often found in memes. In addition to usage examples of vocabulary, a teacher can use memes to illustrate the use of pronouns, verb forms (especially non-finite verb forms — they are rarely changed in meaning), adjectives and their forms, contracted words, abbreviations. Giving a short text in the form of a meme also allows students to see that the phenomena, which they study, are much closer to real life and exist not only in the educational community. Sometimes students tend to think that the language they study at university and the 'real' foreign language they may come across in movies, social networks, are too far from each other.

It often happens because they do not know functional styles of a language and how to use them, when simplified youth slang is more frequent in life than academic or scientific language, the first one is mistaken for the norm. In fact, such implementation of contemporary culture in class usually has a positive impact on the general atmosphere.

When we talk about foreign language training, we should remember that the most important part of this process is language practice. Usually a training course is organized in such a way that a new section is dedicated to certain vocabulary, for example, travelling, Higher education in English. A new topic can be introduced with the help of memes. Students will be able to guess the topic that follows as well as talk about the problems reflected by the meme. As a rule, a teacher employs many techniques to train monologues and dialogues by letting students speak a foreign language, participate in discussion and role plays. Here memes can also prove useful. Instead of traditional descriptions of a situation or a problem, it is possible to use memes that briefly describe students' attitude to the situation or to the problem they need to speak about.

Most commonly, foreign language training includes home reading. Usually there is a book to be read at home and then they do exercises in class or discuss the content. It can be their homework to choose a meme to check if they have understood an excerpt or the whole book. Students find a meme, which, in their view, best reflects the main idea of the book. It is best to have this meme presentation accompanied with an oral explanation, a prepared speech, where a student comments on his/her choice and demonstrates his/her analytical skills. Consequently, it is possible to train an important skill of rendering complex ideas in simple words. Switching between style registers (conversational register of the text in the meme and common register of a foreign language in class) requires good concentration and ability to render the content with different means. Also student learn to communicate their ideas clearly and distinctly and find the basics in the information flow.

The use of different style registers is also an excellent exercise especially in the framework of such courses as 'Lexicology' or 'Stylistics'. For example, there was one popular meme divided into two parts with a short extract from a well-known song on the left and the same extract, but written with the higher register, scientific and official language, on the right, lending a comic effect to the extract. The right part was headed 'IELTS', mentioning a well-known examination. Let us give an example, We don't talk anymore —

You and I no longer engage in verbal confabulations. For non-native speakers it is very important to feel the pertinent use of style registers because their misuse may put a speaker in an awkward situation. Considering such memes and further creation of similar memes is an excellent practice to transform a phrase from one style to another and this transformation can be made in both directions. It is especially interesting to do such exercises in small groups and compare the results.

There is another interesting exercise where students correct texts with mistakes in memes: add missing verb forms, missing punctuation. In the end the meme slightly might lose its humorous character, but students have a chance to correct mistakes. There is a web site GrammarCatz [<http://grammarcatz.blogspot.com/>] that offers online exercises to correct mistakes made in memes.

Potential of Internet-memes use in class is much wider because of their polymodal nature which ensures development of creative, visual and associative thinking. Memes as a training and learning tool helps to switch to the special level of reflection, when students apply their own judgement to the material they have learnt and give their feedback on the form of memes.

The next stage in use of memes in a foreign language class can be an active role of students in the reflection on a meme. Students are offered a meme, where they replace text with their own phrase so that the meme would express a rule or a phenomenon of the language. The meme, that we have already mentioned, with a famous musician expressing his approval and disapproval can be used to compare two phenomena. For example, students can write expressions that would get a low and high mark from the teacher; they compare common words that they know from early stages of learning with more complex vocabulary that they have just learnt: tasty dish — mouth-watering delicacy. It is possible to use such opposition and ask students to compare a common mistake and a correct version, for example: Me and my friends — My friends and I. In order to achieve the same goal, i.e. compare correct and incorrect versions, it is possible to use other memes with similar nonverbal content. The more emotive a meme, the better effect it has. It is possible to ask students to find common mistakes in class and share in a group reflection.

Memes based on gradation can be used to systematize grammatical material, to build a certain hierarchy based on complication. For example: Present Simple — Present Perfect — Present Perfect Continuous. Or: Gerund Active Simple — Gerund Active Perfect — Gerund Passive Perfect, etc. It

is possible to ask students to prepare such memes, exchange them and then write down their examples in accordance with the forms they got. In addition to training grammatical skills, this exercise is useful also because the unusual form of an exercise gives a better training effect.

In the framework of the courses 'Home Reading' or 'Text Interpretation' it is possible to use such a type of binary meme that includes two parts with the following captions: What the author meant — What the English teacher said the author meant. Such a meme allows rallying on a careful analysis of each word in a piece of work as often happens in such lessons. Students can find examples from the text on their own and play the role of the very 'English teacher' on the right who is looking for special meaning everywhere. This exercise activates associative thinking, where the plane of content can be infinitely wider and the plane of expression can be rather limited. It is possible to offer students to guess the texts, where the phrases were taken from, by giving them a detailed comment in the meme. It is possible to make the task harder by opening only the second part with the comment, but, here, the text should really be well-known.

By giving students such freedom of expression it is possible to get unexpected results, find out that some topics turn out to be difficult for them, and others not. Such feedback is extremely valuable, since it is a result of students' reflection on their activity. Such reflection allows students, on the one hand, to see their strengths and weaknesses, and on the other hand, together with the teacher find ways to optimize their studies in vocabulary and grammar acquisition.

Not only training material can be an object of reflection, but the training process as a whole. i. e. revising for exams or rules of behavior in class, etc. Despite their apparent shallowness 'expectation', 'reality' memes sometimes help us to see important problems, especially when students are undisposed to discuss them with their teacher. Ironic form helps to make it easier.

5. Study Results

Some groups of Internet-memes (binary, cumulative, emotional) that we have distinguished are of interest from the point of their use in class as they allow reaching several goals:

- 1) use of modern visual material well-known to students
- 2) breaking down a barrier between students and a teacher, emotional involvement
- 3) involvement in discussion

- 4) reflection
- 5) use of polymodal communication units in class, development of creative thinking and multiliteracy
- 6) training process improvement

6. Conclusions

Internet-memes are an important and fast growing part of contemporary culture. They are emotional, concise, capable of self-replication, anonymous. Having become a form of new folklore of the age of Internet, memes are viral units of culture; the content is ample and often serves as a response to the issues related to public concerns. It was not our purpose to classify the huge variety of memes on the Internet. We have tried to arrange the main memes that allow diversification of the training process. It goes without saying that the talent and creativity of a teacher are not limited to using memes only.

This paper considers the value of a new polymodal genre of contemporary Internet culture, i.e. Internet memes, history of the term as well as its further academic development. Under the steady development of the training process, there is a growing necessity to find and implement new means and tools. Internet memes are considered from the point of their use in foreign language training. In addition to their apparent value as a visual material in class, the polymodal nature of a meme, formed by its verbal and nonverbal parts, has great creative potential.

Deconstructing and re-creation of meaning in a meme is an excellent practice in rethinking immediately involved training material as well as, more broadly, in multiliteracy.

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Code Switching as a Peculiar Feature of Digital Communication in Multilingual Settings

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Abstract. Digital communication, which has now taken a leading place among various types of language communication, reflects many specific features of communication in the context of bi — and multilingualism. The article considers switching of language codes as one of the typical features of digital communication and identifies the role of each language involved in this process. The main purpose of the article is to identify the most typical functions of code-switching in Kazakhstani multilingual settings. Our work is based on the material excerpted from 3 chats in WhatsApp messenger by means of continuous sampling. It shows that Russian language in bilingual communication works frequently as a modal and emotional framework of utterance with the predominance of Kazakh language as a means of communication.

Keywords: virtual communication, code-switching, code-switching functions, communicative situation, coordinate bilingualism

1. Introduction

The twenty-first century can be considered the epoch of communicative genres' transformation. One of the main peculiarities of new genres is obviously the use of concise texts for transferring various types of information. As N. O. Kushakova states it, "changing communicative needs of contemporary language users provoke constant adaptation of communication means. This leads to the expansion of genre repertoire in digital discourse" [Kushakova, 2016, 62]. The study of these new genre texts in digital discourse is comparatively a new area, so there are no conventional criteria for assessing such texts and their impact on everyday communication in terms of content and expressive potential. Nowadays under the conditions of the pandemic and self-isolation, digital communication has become even more important. Therefore, study of digital communication, especially in multilingual environments, is very relevant.

The specificity of written communication in digital space (via messengers and social networks) determines its main characteristics, such as compactness of provided information, clear goals of a message, asynchronous manner of communication in most cases with a wide range of topics developed in parallel, and having no clear requirements for composition of the message like in informal communication. In our opinion written communication in WhatsApp (one of the most popular messengers in Kazakhstan at the present moment) is a good basis for studying digital communication as it displays all the characteristics of digital communication and is used by a large number of people for different purposes.

Nowadays the transfer from monolingualism to multilingualism and multiculturalism is taking place in Kazakhstani society under the conditions of social and political reconstruction. The specificity of multilingual settings in Kazakhstan determines peculiarities of digital communication, one of which is the switching of language codes. R. Heredia and J. Altarriba note that "code switching, or language mixing, occurs when a word or a phrase in one language substitutes for a word or phrase in a second language" [Heredia and Altarriba, 2001, 164]. Code switching is also considered to be a conceptual sphere and defined as a use of language units related to different language systems in the frame of bilingualism [Bagana and Blazhevich, 2010, 64]. Bagana and Blazhevich also state that "in bilingual (multilingual) language settings, native speakers of various languages have the opportunity for contrastive use of different language systems based on intuition. Bi — or

multilingual people, i.e. people who speak two (or more) languages, usually “distribute” their use depending on the conditions of communication” [Bagana and Blazhevich, 2010, 65].

2. Code-switching process and its functions

There are different principles for classifying functions of language code switching. Sociolinguistic classification, for instance, is associated with Blom and Gampertz’s theory describing situational and metaphorical (spoken) code-switching. They suggest the following subtypes of spoken code switching (1) mention in speech (quotation); (2) specification of recipient (if the message is addressed to one certain recipient among several possible ones); (3) interjections / exclamations; (4) repetition; (5) evaluation of the message (which is often repeated in another language); (6) personalization / objectification (to express their own opinion bilinguals use one language; objectified information is provided in another language; so use of code switching emphasizes personal opinion) [Blom and Gampertz, 1972, 409].

For our research, we used a classification suggested by R. Jakobson and adapted to sociolinguistic studies by R. Appel and P. Muysken, who highlighted the following social functions of switching language codes: (1) reference function (working in case of impossibility to recall the name of an object in the language of communication); (2) directive function (language selection depending on the inclusion/exclusion of a particular recipient in the certain situation); (3) expressive function; (4) phatic (contact-setting) function in case of using code-switching to maintain, establish, or cancel the contact with non-native or bilingual interlocutor [Appel and Muysken, 1987, 22]; (5) metalinguistic function and (6) poetic function (e.g. play of words). In our opinion it is also necessary to add the function of ethnic identity suggested by Golovko [1997, 119] as it is a common function of code-switching as well.

3. Population and research methodology

The authors analysed 92 messages from 3 different groups in WhatsApp. The number of interlocutors in each group was more than 20. In order to excerpt cases of code-switching from WhatsApp messages, the authors used the continuous sampling method. Examples of WhatsApp messages shown in this article preserve all the peculiarities of original spelling and punctuation. It is necessary to point out that most of the errors / spelling

mistakes in the original messages are presupposed by spontaneous communication and quick responses typical of it, and also by some differences in alphabet used by interlocutors: some of them use Kazakh alphabet (its Cyrillic version), whereas others use the Russian alphabet without specific Kazakh letters (this happens due to peculiarities of digital communication and use of different gadgets).

One of the WhatsApp groups under analysis is a professional community of language instructors. It includes 44 interlocutors who have such common topics and communicative purposes as (a) professional activity; (b) problems which appeared in the course of the Ministry inspection; (c) everyday life, which is the most frequently used theme. Age and gender composition of this group is rather homogeneous. Most of the interlocutors here (41) are women of the age between 35 and 55. This group is an example of communication process between people with the similar social status and level of education.

In two other groups the interlocutors represent various social groups and as a result their levels of language command in both Kazakh and Russian are quite different. One group has a number of participants who are all neighbours. Age and gender composition of this group is also homogeneous (21 women of the age between 42 and 65). The communication in this group is mostly about the news and common issues of the neighbourhood. The other group consists of classmates, 29 men and women, of the same age, whose communication is aimed at (a) exchanging information related to a variety of problems (e.g., financial issues related to somebody's business); (b) exchanging emotional attitudes to certain events/facts, important for the members of a particular micro-group; (c) communication on social and everyday topics.

Most of the interlocutors (about 97 %) in all the three groups are natural bilinguals speaking both Kazakh and Russian languages. The dominant type of bilingualism can be characterized as a coordinative one, which consists in mental mappings of categories and corresponding verbal expression in particular language without mediation of native language.

4. Results and discussion

The analysis of the excerpts showed that the predominant function of code-switching in our case is referential. As it has been mentioned above, chatting in WhatsApp requires quick response and immediate reaction, there is no self-reflection at the moment of speech production, so a bilingual

person has to use a certain word/phrase/set expression in order to refer to a particular concept and respond to the corresponding stimulus. In fact, code-switching is a typical reaction to such a stimulus.

In the communicative situation below the interlocutors in the WhatsApp Group 1 (language teachers) discuss the problems arising in the process of inspection, and also current issues related to the use of the electronic educational system (registration, files uploading, students' attendance). Russian words in Kazakh texts are written in bold:

Situation 1.1 (a monologue addressed to all the group members):

Interlocutor 1: Ия, Іскерлік ағылшын тілі менде болған (қазақ бөліміне), **“Деловой англ. яз”** (орыс бөліміне) (Yes, Business English is my course for both Russian and Kazakh groups (the name of the course is given in both Russian and Kazakh — depending on students' predominant language — Russian or Kazakh))

Interlocutor 2: Әрине салам. Бірақ қай жеріне? **Летник** деген бөлім ба, бірдеңе ашып берсе, с названием предмета, **без проблем** салам ғо. **Просто не вижу, куда загрузить.** (Hi, of course, I will (do it). But where (to upload)? Summer course — where is it? If they show the name of the discipline on the site, there will not be any problem. But I cannot see where to upload (the last phrase is completely in Russian)).

So, the summary of the problem is given in Russian whereas all the other utterances show the combination of both languages. But it is also quite obvious that the Russian language performs reference (**летник**=summer courses) and expressive (**без проблем** — no problem) functions. It is really important that the same discipline nominated in different languages, Kazakh and Russian (**“Деловой англ яз”**/ Іскерлік ағылшын тілі) have been recognized as different subjects, and this fact also proves our opinion concerning the predominance of reference function performed by the Russian language in such communicative situations. This fragment has been extracted from WhatsApp communication as a very typical one, and it represents the “framework” function of Russian language in the process of spontaneous bilingual communication.

Situation 1.2:

Interlocutor 1 **Доброе утро всем.** (Name, patronimic name of the Faculty dean), пароль сурап тур... **номер совещания вводим, затем введите пароль** дид, пароль жок, кералмай турмыз (**Good morning everybody** (in Russian)). (Name, patronimic name of the Faculty dean as a specific form

of address in Russian), (the system) asks a password. **We enter the number of the meeting** (in Russian), and the password is requested (it says — in Kazakh). We don't have the password, so we are unable to see anything.)

Interlocutor 2 Шет тилине **умқд** (Surname of the teacher 1) апайға **давнооо** айтылған. 1 тал **умқд**. (Name of the teacher 2)-апай **ведёт же экономфактн** букыл 1 курстарына(**и УМКД для всех разрабатывает**) (Teacher 1 is responsible for the syllabus and supplementary materials for Foreign language **so long ago**. Teacher 2 (Interlocutor 2 used a specific Kazakh form of address) **conducts (classes) for all the Faculty of Economics 1st year students; so she is responsible for the package**).

This example shows the importance of the common context for all the interlocutors. Although these two paragraphs seem to be separate monologues, the second one is actually the reaction to the first one and follows it as a part of a longer dialogue. In our opinion, code-switching from Kazakh into Russian in this case structures the communicative act. The Russian language here (a) performs reference function in the process of spontaneous communication when the interlocutors have no time to think about the appropriate words in Kazakh; (b) works as a modal and emotional “framework” as it is used to express the attitude (**ведёт же** /conducts (classes), **давнооо** / **so long ago** — together with the graphic emphasis). Thus, in these cases code-switching should be considered as a means of ‘information gap overcoming’.

Situation 1.3 (a brief monologue related to the Ministry of Education inspection process):

Interlocutor 1 (The name of the teacher who is the author of the course materials) **пособие** табу керек... **Найдите пособия** (the author's name is repeated) **срочно комиссия** сураптыр (We have to find the **course materials** by (the teacher's name) (in Kazakh)... / **Find** (the author's name) **the course materials** (in Russian). **The commission** wants them **immediately**.

Here, the phatic (contact-setting) function of code-switching is represented. It also goes along with the directive and expressive functions, as the repeated phrase in Russian is addressed to those group members whose language command in Kazakh is not good enough. Expressive function (intensification of the request and emotional tension generation — **срочно** / **immediately**) is performed by the Russian word as it works as the emotive component of the utterance.

As a result, we can state that all these excerpts show that the most frequent function performed by code-switching in professional communication

is the reference one; other functions such as expressive and contact-setting are also represented in this chat, but they are not so typical.

On the other hand, Group 2 and Group 3 are different from the first one to some extent, and the most important difference between them lies in the purpose of communication. Hereunder, we provide some extracts from the neighbors chat related to the problems of everyday life.

Situation 2.1 is related to the problem of keeping the street clean and tidy. Two neighbours discuss the problem of garbage in the street; one of them makes excuses and explains the situation. She said that the students who rented her house collected garbage inside her garden instead of going to somebody's garbage bin. Being a native speaker of Kazakh, in this message she used this language only, but for the key word — garbage — the Russian word with the incorrect spelling — **мусыр** — was used. Definitely, there are Kazakh equivalents for those two words (бочка — бөшке, мусор — қоқыс), but the two native speakers of Kazakh prefer using Russian words. So, this case can also be considered as the reference function of code-switching.

Interlocutor 1: Сәлеметсіздер ме студенттер менде тұрды бірақ олар есіктің алдынан бочкаға салмайтын біреудің есік алдына апармақ түгілі. Мен осыны қозғазым келіп жүр еді менің **бочкам** сыртта **мусыр** болады әрдайым ішінде ал **мусырды** мен келіп шығармасам шығарылмайды біреудің ауласына тастау болмайды ғой ұят зат (see the explanation above)

Interlocutor 2: Сиздин студенттериниз турганда, **всегда** сыртта **мусор** жататын, потом оны иттер шашады кошеге, мен күйеумен барып оны жинап журдик талай. Мен озим **например мусорды никогда** кошеге шыгарып коймаймын, **только машинаны** корсем сол кезде гана (Your students **always** (Russian word) leave the **garbage** (Russian word) outside, so that stray dogs throw it about on the street, and then me together with my husband collect it. As for me, **for example, I have never** (Russian part of the phrase) left the garbage on the street; **only** (Russian word) if I see the dustbin lorry coming I do it).

From this chat, we have excerpted the most typical examples like the abovementioned one, and it also demonstrates the predominance of reference and expressive functions of code-switching, but in this case speech personalization by means of code-switching should also be highlighted (Мен озим **например** /As for me, **for example** etc.) Thus, pragmatic information is represented in two languages, but in order to highlight the emotive information and to stress some of its pieces, the interlocutors use Russian.

See also:

Situation 2.2

Due to the pandemic, this chat was full of the information about deaths, the spread of Coronavirus all over the Republic of Kazakhstan, and other bad news. So, some group members said that it is not necessary to disseminate the information of such kind in the chat.

Interlocutor 1: Осы чатқа бір жаман **информация** жібермейікші. Ал енді анандай **информацияларды** оны былайда **интернетте** толып жатыр (Please do not post negative **information** (Interlocutor 1 uses Russian word instead of Kazakh equivalent — ақпарат) here in this chat because there is plenty of it in the **Internet** (there is also an analogue of this lexical unit in Kazakh language — ғаламтор)).

Interlocutor 2: **Общий** чатқа керек емес нәрсені салып жатырсындар (Yes, we do not need such information in our **common** (Russian word) chat).

Interlocutor 3: Салеметсиздерме, келісемін, мен **вообще никогда ничего** жибермеймін (Hello everybody, I agree, **I have never** posted **anything** (Russian words)).

The predominance of reference and expressive functions together with personalization is represented clearly in these excerpts. Also, all those examples comply with C. Myers-Scotton's statement: "Embedded Language (EL) islands (phrases from other varieties participating in the clause) are allowed if they meet EL well-formedness conditions, as well as those ML (Matrix Language) conditions applying to the clause as a whole (e.g. phrase placement)" [Myers-Scotton, 2002, 21]. There are also many cases of code switching in Group 3. For instance, the situation below (discussion about classmates' business perspectives) represents a similar pattern to the above-mentioned pieces of communication with some specific features:

Situation 3.1

Interlocutor 1 asked a classmate (Interlocutor 2) about money for his prospective business: to grow mushrooms in greenhouses and sell them to restaurants and cafes. Interlocutor 2 began to give him advice: now, restaurants and cafes are experiencing stagnation; so mushrooms are impossible to be sold. Angry Interlocutor 1 said he did not need any advice; the only thing he needed is some money. Interlocutor 2 said, that if he had nothing but a lot of dreams he would get nothing. Then Interlocutor 2 said the third classmate had told him to contact their lady-classmate without any trouble as she had promised to help them 'anywhere, anytime'. Interlocutor 1 and Interlocutor

2 recalled this with great pleasure but, on the other hand, Interlocutor1 did not want to be beholden to a lady, even if she was their classmate.

Interlocutor1 Кластас **братаңым**, маған көмек берсең! Өткенде айттым ғой.

Interlocutor 2 **Братишка**, сен **точно** айтмаған. Не үшін? **Ресторан** кафелер **закрыт** болғаны қашан. Сен ұтыласын ғой (in this response, the form of address is really specific, as it is the Russian diminutive for the word **brother**; also, Interlocutor2 used Russian words instead of their Kazakh equivalents — *ресторан* — *мейрамхана*, *закрыт* — *жабық тұр* in order to nominate objects or state/process). Түсінбейсің ба?

Interlocutor 1: Мен **всегда прямо** айтамын. Маған **не** ақыл **нужен**, **а** ақша **нужен**! Code switching in the previous utterance produced by Interlocutor 2 stimulated Interlocutor1 to do the same. Thus, the structure of the sentence above is closer to Russian than to the Kazakh one, so Russian is used as a syntactic framework (the sample of negation and even words themselves (I do not need any advice, I need some money — **не** ақыл **нужен**, **а** ақша **нужен**))

Interlocutor 2: Ақшаны табу оңай дейсің ба?

Interlocutor1: Сен маған сенбейсің ба?

Interlocutor 2: Сен **о чем это?** Көп **мечтаешь**, аз **получишь** (here we face the case of the poetic function, because it seems to be a play of words: Interlocutor 2 transformed the Russian saying *Много хочешь, мало получишь* (you want a lot but will get little, meaning keep dreaming) using Kazakh adverbs together with Russian verbs. This transformation of the common saying produces comic effect, strengthened by the previous phrase where there is just one Kazakh word — a pronoun *Сен* (you).

Interlocutor 1: Сендер ұрыспаңдар. Туысқан емес сіндер ма?

Interlocutor2: Былтыр кездесуден кейін Бақшагүлдің үйінде (classmate's name) сен не дедің?

Interlocutor 1: **Не помню**

Interlocutor 2: Мен **вспоминаю твои слова**. Керемет **сказано** — Also, we consider it as a case of word play like in the previous case (see above)

Interlocutor 1: Сонда Бақша не деп еді? Жігіттер сендер үшін жаным садақа деп еді.

Interlocutor 2: Онымен не айтқың келеді?

Interlocutor1: Бақша саунасынан көп табады емес пе? Содан?

Interlocutor 2: Ол **мировой**. Саған **отказ** бермейді.

Interlocutor 1: Ой, айтпақшы Бақшагүлден сұрасам болады екен ия. Ай сол қатынға қарыз болғым келмейд.

Here, we see a whole 'palette' of code switching: first, there is an inclusion of the word or component from Russian into communicative process hold in Kazakh; a change of the independent components in Russian and Kazakh within the sentence, as well as a play of words produced by Interlocutor 2. However, there is a complete mutual understanding between the interlocutors: both the author of the utterance and his partners in the communication have sufficiently good language command in order to perceive the given word play in an appropriate way.

Within the framework of our research, the referential function is shown in most of the contexts (49), which is about 53 % of all code-switching cases. The second function we consider as a typical one, the expressive (emotive) function (27 cases, i. e. about 30 %). It is also possible to identify extracts with poetic function (word play; this function of code-switching is represented in 9 cases, which is about 9 %). And, finally, 7 cases (about 6 % of the total number) represent directive function; but it should be pointed out that there is no rejection of any interlocutor. In our opinion, it can be regarded as evidence of 'language tolerance' in digital communication in Kazakhstan which represents general rule of the language situation.

5. Conclusion

Digital communication in multilingual settings is currently an almost unexplored area. Results of our research prove that referential function of language code-switching predominates in digital multilingual communication, which in our opinion, is predetermined by peculiarities of communication in WhatsApp, presupposing (a) a quick spontaneous response to a particular communicative stimulus; (b) a minimum of reflection on language form; (c) the affinity of written communication to the oral. As it was stated before, in the case of social distance and self-isolation due to the pandemic, this way of communication is becoming more and more important.

All the above mentioned allows us to say that in the analysed cases, the Kazakh language acts as a structural "frame", while Russian performs the function of expressing emotions and provides speakers with the opportunities for using it for such stylistic function as word play. Monitoring language code-switching processes in digital communication via messengers and social networks makes it possible to trace the attitude to the use

of a language in a multicultural and multilingual environment, and also allows us to identify the range of functions performed by a certain language in a multilingual context.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Non-Verbal Tools of Intercultural Communication in the Practice of Teaching Russian as a Foreign Language

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Abstract. The work is devoted to the analysis of tools of non-verbal communication in the context of intercultural communication during lessons of Russian as a foreign language. The scientific novelty of the research is determined by a comprehensive analysis of the features of non-verbal tools of communication in the lessons of the Russian language with foreign students from a methodological point of view, and also by a sign dictionary of non-verbal communication tools, which can be used by teachers of Russian as a foreign language for preparing classes in a multicultural environment. Not only has the comprehensive analysis revealed the peculiarities of perception of some tools of non-verbal communication depending on the cultural identification of the recipient, but it has also helped to distinguish successful communication strategies and tactics for lessons of Russian as a foreign language. The right choice of a teacher's non-verbal communication tools in the pedagogical process helps to increase the effectiveness of learning Russian as a foreign language and to maintain a favorable atmosphere in the classroom in the context of intercultural interaction.

Keywords: intercultural communication, language teaching, non-verbal tools, Russian as a foreign language (RFL)

1. Introduction

One of the components of optimal pedagogical communication is the teacher's perfect command of the tools of influence — the technique of pedagogy, verbal and non-verbal tools of communication. A large number of studies in linguistics, anthropology, paralinguistics, philosophy, pedagogy, psychology, and semiotics are devoted to the issue of non-verbal communication. At the same time, as the scientific research analysis shows, the concept

of non-verbal tools of foreign language communication is not included in modern programs on Russian as a foreign language (hereinafter — RFL). In addition, this aspect has not been covered in manuals and teachers' books about methods of teaching RFL. Nowadays the issue of non-verbal tools of communication in the context of intercultural communication has not been barely studied.

There is a small number of studies devoted to the analysis of peculiarities of non-verbal communication in an intercultural environment at the lessons for speakers of other languages [Eremeeva, 2015], [Talybina, Polyakova, Minakova, 2015], [Nizamutdinova, 2016], [Volskaya, 2017] [Xiang Guangyun, 2017], [Bejenari, Pomortseva, 2018], [Velikanova, 2019]. In this regard, there is “a contradiction between, on the one hand, the existing practical need to master skills of non-verbal communication for receptive purposes, as well as the willingness to use them in situations of real intercultural contacts, and, on the other hand, their absence in the content of modern curricula and thus specialists' unawareness of how to implement them during lessons [Talybina, Polyakova, Minakova, 2015, 17].

2. Resources and research methods

The aim of the research is to analyze the tools of non-verbal communication in the context of intercultural communication in a RFL lesson. A set of research methods was used: observation method, analysis of the scientific database on the research topic, comparative, descriptive, statistical and comparative methods. The object of the research are the various non-verbal tools which are relevant for intercultural communication; the subject of the research is the analysis of non-verbal tools of communication in the lessons of Russian as a foreign language when there is no intermediate language for communication.

The practical value of the research is based on the fact that its results can be used during preparation for teaching RFL in a multicultural environment. The working hypothesis of the research is based on the assumption that the right choice of the teacher's non-verbal communication tools helps to increase the effectiveness of learning Russian as a foreign language.

3. Results and reflections

3.1. Theoretical objectives of the use of non-verbal communication tools in a RFL lesson

3.1.1. The influence of globalization on changes in the use of non-verbal communication tools

The increasing competitiveness and accessibility of Russian education in the world market of educational services contributes to the influx of foreign students. The number of citizens of other countries enrolled in programs of higher education in state and municipal institutions on a general admission basis in the academic year 2000/2001 was 59,000, in the academic year 2005/2006 it was 78, 100, in the academic year 2017/2018 228,900, and in the academic year 2018/2019 247,700 [Rossiya v tsifrakh, 2019, 143]. According to predictions, by the year 2025, 710,000 foreigners will study full-time at Russian universities and institutions of secondary vocational education. The contemporary internationalization of the Russian educational process, “which occurs due to foreign students’ enrollment into higher professional educational institutions, creates a need for willingness to perform intercultural communication based on respect, human dignity, and open-mindedness to deal with other cultures” [Evtyugina, 2018, 454]. In this regard, the current task is to define the integration level of foreign students in an educational environment of another language [Urvantseva, 2019, 59].

During the period of intercultural adaptation to a foreign country, foreigners experience a linguistic and cultural shock. Foreign students’ acquaintance with a new culture is connected with physical, psychological and emotional discomfort. In the new educational environment, foreigners face an unfamiliar sign system. Foreigners often perceive the other culture through the prism of their own, which contributes to the emergence of misunderstanding, an increase in the number of intercultural problems and conflicts, the solution of which requires knowledge of the patterns of intercultural communication [Boldyrev, 2010, 4]. An RFL teacher’s awareness of acquired or nationally specific behavior which reflects “the formation of personal behavior, the use of certain non-verbal components” [Vasilieva], helps to understand better foreign students.

When working with foreign students the impact of globalization on changes in the use of non-verbal communication should be taken into account. The process of globalization contributes to convergence of people, their cultural peculiarities, and this, in turn, leads to “reinforcing of their

interaction, interdependence, the expansion of cultural borrowing, the elaboration of certain cultural universals of global significance” [Nabok, 2010, 206]. Despite the fact that in different countries people prefer different social networks, a thumb up (like) is interpreted in all cultures in the same way — it is a sign of approval and consent. This happened due to the active spread of the social network “Facebook” in the world. When communicating with foreigners, some observations were made. For example, a sign that in most countries means “everything is okay” (the thumb and forefinger are in the shape of a ring, and other fingers tend upward) but was considered an insult in Turkey, has now lost its meaning and no longer carries a negative connotation.

3.1.2. Linguodidactic potential of the use of non-verbal communication tools at a RFL lesson

The field of non-verbal communication consists of all body signals with a communication value sent by a person or created by the environment. The relevance of their use is confirmed by the fact that “the transmission of information only through words is valid only for 7 %, through the tone of voice and intonation of speech — for 38 %, with the help of non-verbal tools — gestures, facial expressions, body language — for 55 %” [Mehrabian, 2009, 3]. A command of a foreign language is impossible without knowledge of the non-verbal code, therefore the issue of awareness of non-verbal tools of intercultural communication is very relevant.

Foreign students at the initial stage of their education do not speak Russian. In a RFL lesson, the use of non-verbal communication tools may often be the only possible way of communication. At this level of formation of foreign language intercultural competence, students should have intercultural skills (“to recognize and perceive culturally specific information, to compare the facts of foreign and native cultures, to find differences and similarities between them, to plan and perform their verbal and non-verbal behavior taking into account intercultural differences” [Sergeeva and Pokhodzey, 2014, 79]) and intercultural capabilities (“to predict the perception and behavior of native speakers of the language and culture, correct behavior in verbal and non-verbal communication in various spheres of communication: professional, personal, educational, social”).

The success of intercultural communication in teaching Russian as a foreign language is largely determined by the teacher’s ability to create a trusting contact with foreign students. And such a contact depends not only on

what a teacher says, but also on his or her non-verbal behavior. According to the hypothesis of socialization, the ability to reproduce non-verbal signals is mastered in practice with taking into account the example of others. The ability to recognize non-verbal signals is learned reactively: the sensitivity to their recognition is a necessary adaptation for an individual to be able to survive in a non-expressive environment [Butovskaya, 2004, 110].

Mastering the language of non-verbal communication is important not only for communication, but also for the formation of a second linguistic personality, that is a personality attached to the culture of the people whose language is being studied. It is necessary to understand the relationship between verbal and non-verbal units. A command of a language includes both an understanding of the national culture, and the willingness to understand the communicative behavior of the people of the country of the target language, here we are talking about intercultural competence. This is important not only for communication, but also for the formation of a linguistic personality in the multiethnic educational environment of the university.

3.2. Non-verbal communication in the pedagogical process with a multicultural audience

3.2.1. Determination of strategic approaches to organizing a RFL lesson taking into account the use of non-verbal communication tools

A RFL teacher needs to take into account a number of non-verbal behavior-related factors that can affect the organization of a lesson, the atmosphere, and also make the learning process more effective. It is necessary to monitor the vocal characteristics of your speech. The voice should be calm and moderately loud. At first it will be useful for students if the teacher exaggerates intonation constructions. The teacher should remember that a low voice is perceived better than a high voice.

For students who do not speak Russian or speak at a minimum level, it is necessary to see the teacher, pay attention to his gestures and facial expressions, this will help to build the educational process more effectively. The teacher is advised to move around the classroom, be at the same time always in sight of all students, not to sit in the classroom. The main requirement is to be able to maintain an eye contact with everyone in the classroom and stay in the sight of students.

Do not forget about the cultural characteristics of oculesics. Eye contact is an important part of dialogue and effective communication. Students from Arab countries will constantly maintain an eye contact with the teacher, their

gaze can be described as direct and long, such a gaze can be confusing. Students from southern and central Africa will look down when they feel guilty.

Touches (haptic) play an important role in human communication and may be interpreted differently in different cultures. In Arab countries, a touch between men and women who are not related by marriage or kinship is unacceptable, so the touch of a female teacher to a male student may seem like a demonstration of tenderness and sympathy. South Asian countries will find it offensive if one touches a head.

The teacher should remember about proxemics. The distance between a teacher and a student depends on the type of communication. If we are talking about a situation where a teacher is giving a lecture to students, then it is defined as a public area. If a teacher delivers a language lesson for a small group, then it is a business communication zone that is 1.2–3.5 meters. The comfortable communication distance can be perceived differently depending on the type of culture. The social zone of a student from the People's Republic of China will be significantly smaller compared to the one of a Russian student, therefore, it's highly likely that a Chinese student will violate a teacher's personal zone while communicating.

A RFL teacher should be prepared for the fact that students from Arab countries may involuntarily violate the boundaries of the teacher, and not perceive this negatively. On the one hand, the teacher must be ready for such behavior, and on the other hand, he or she should remember how his or her non-verbal behavior can affect students. Reducing the distance between a teacher and a student may be perceived by the latter as a threat [Dubina, 2012, 118].

Not only has the work with students at the preparation faculty of the university the aim of teaching them a needed language, but also of making them understand the rules of behavior in a new culture, the correct distribution of time (chronology). One of the teacher's tasks is to explain to foreign students that long delays are not allowed in Russia. Foreigners should change their habits formed under the influence of their native cultures.

Teachers must not use gestures that could be interpreted as offensive or derogatory. When working with students from China, you need to pay attention to how they count. It is important to understand that cases are often studied with their corresponding numbers. If a teacher shows a prepositional case (sixth case) to a student from China using fingers of both hands, there will be a misunderstanding.

3.2.2. *A set of exercises for teaching non-verbal communication tools*

Teaching tools of non-verbal communication is only possible when the students have already had a command of Russian at least at A1 level. Certain tasks can be implemented at the A1 level, but a comprehensive study of non-verbal communication tools at the level of a beginner is not possible. Mastering a foreign language includes both studying vocabulary and grammar, and also understanding the culture of the target language. A teacher of Russian as a foreign language is a translator of Russian culture for students of other languages. Students make certain conclusions about Russian non-verbal behavior based on the behavior of the teacher, but this knowledge is not enough for a complete understanding of the non-verbal culture of Russians, therefore one of the teacher's tasks is to teach students to adequately perceive and understand the meanings of non-verbal behaviour. Here are some examples of exercises to practice grammar, vocabulary and phonetics and to understand the peculiarities of non-verbal communication.

1. Exercises to practice grammar, vocabulary and phonetics

1) The teacher can use non-verbal communication tools to work with grammar. For example, you can use your fingers to indicate the case number, therefore to explain a mistake or to help to make up a sentence. The student says the sentence: "I am from...". The teacher shows two fingers, which means that the student needs to use the second case. Students who do not have any particular difficulties do not always need help, but weaker students can be supported by tools of non-verbal communication.

2) Language rhythm

Tapping off the rhythm or clapping hands helps foreign students to develop the correct intonation, to identify the features of the intonation pattern. This method is great for people who receive basic information through hearing, as well as for kinesthetic learners, if students clap their hands or tap out a rhythm together with the teacher.

3) The game "Crocodile"

The first version of the game. Students write words on small identical pieces of paper, which are all folded into one bag. One of the group takes out a piece of paper and explains the meaning of the word using body language, without using the verbal expression of the words. It is necessary to explain as many words as possible in a limited amount of time. The one who explains the largest amount of words wins. The teacher can prepare the vocabulary in advance.

The second version of the game involves playing in groups. Students are divided into several groups of 3–4 people. All students write words on pieces of paper, put them in one bag, which is passed from team to team. One of the group representatives takes out a piece of paper, explains as many words as possible, but only members of his team can guess. The team that is able to explain and guess the largest amount of words wins.

2. Exercises for understanding peculiarities of non-verbal communication

1) Exercise “Read the text”

In this exercise, variations in performance are acceptable, but the essence remains the same. It is necessary to read the same text with different moods. One of the main features of this exercise is that the emotional factor of perception is involved, which contributes to better grasping the information. Texts for reading are selected depending on the level of language proficiency. If you need to practice the pronunciation of certain sounds, you can use tongue twisters. The mood or given situations must also be selected based on the level of language proficiency. To make the task easier for students with a level of beginners, you can display the task on a slide with a picture that illustrates the situation/ mood.

Tasks for students with an elementary level.

Imagine that: you really want to sleep; you are sad; you are joyful; you are in a hurry; you're too hot.

Tasks for students who already speak the language at a basic level.

Imagine that you: worry before an exam; were in a hurry, but eventually missed the train; have met an old friend on the street, but you cannot talk to him because you are late, but you are trying to be polite; do not trust the information you read; don't believe you have won.

After completing the exercise, it is necessary to analyze the significance of the paralinguistic factors.

2) Exercise “What is he?”

Look at the picture of a person, choose a suitable adjective.

List of adjectives: calm, suspicious, joyful, surprised, scared, angry, sad, tired.

After completing the task, you can ask why the students have made such a choice, what details they have paid attention to. After the discussion, it is necessary to ask the student to show one of these emotions, the rest of the students must guess and name an adjective which is demonstrated.

3) Exercise “Empathic Broken Phone”

Participants stand in a row one after another, so that participants can't see each others' faces during the game. The teacher tells an emotion to the last person in the row. He or she should transfer it to the next participant in the row. He or she taps the next participant on the shoulder, when he or she turns around, the first participant shows the emotion that was given to him without naming it. The second participant taps the next one on the shoulder and shows the emotion to him or her. One by one the emotion is finally shown to the first person in the row. He or she names it out loud. Everyone compares their results, analyzes whether everyone understood this movement. The first participant stands at the end of the line and makes up the next emotion himself and passes it on.

3.3. Research of the ways to use non-verbal tools of communication in pedagogical activity in the context of intercultural communication

3.3.1. Analysis of manuals and teachers' books on RFL

To determine the frequency of certain tasks in the educational literature, popular manuals on Russian as a foreign language of elementary level were analyzed. In the textbook of V.E. Antonova, M. M. Nakhabina, M. V. Saffronova and A. A. Tolstoy "Doroga v Rossiyu [Road to Russia], tasks are designed using imperatives. It was the only one source where there were such tasks: "Draw this", "Draw pictures", "Find the same things/ captions" or "Remember".

In the textbook written by S. I. Chernyshov "Poyekhali! [Let's go!]" tasks are often presented only as a sample, students must understand what exactly needs to be done and complete the task according to the scheme; there was a task "Make a guess", which was not found in any other book.

M. N. Anikina's book called "Lestnitsa [Ladder]" is a part of the educational complex on Russian as a foreign language, which includes 21 levels, each of them offers exercises to master speech, language and interaction. The tasks are more sophisticated than in other analyzed textbooks. In the formulation of tasks, the notions "adjective", "noun" are used.

Tasks in the educational complex by T. L. Esmantova "Pyat' Elementov [Five Elements]" are presented in the form of nouns: "Dialogues", "Question — Answer", "Stress and Articulation."

In the book by Y. G. Ovsienko "Russkiy yazyk dlya nachinayushchikh [Russian for beginners]" all tasks are given in two languages — in Russian and in English. Tasks are presented using imperatives: "Make up the text" "Write", "Read", "Rewrite", etc.

The textbook by L. V. Miller, L. V. Politova and I. Y. Rybakova “Zhyli-by-li [Once upon a time]” is designed for intensive courses, but can also be used in the preparation faculties of Russian universities. Tasks are shaped in the form of imperatives: “Write”, “Read”, “Find in the dictionary”, “Ask questions.”

The classics among books on RFL is the textbook for preparation faculties written by M. M. Galeeva “Start” [Galeeva, 1986]. The exercises are presented in the form of imperatives: “Write”, “Rewrite”, “Listen”, “Read”.

When analyzing textbooks, types of tasks and their frequency were determined. It was found that the following tasks are most often used: “Answer questions”, “Write”, “Listen” — 5, “Watch” — 6 and “Read” — 7. Less commonly used tasks such as “Make a picture / Draw”, “Sign the pictures”, “Show”, “Put a stress mark”, “Imagine.” A detailed table with the research results is presented in Appendix 1 (See Table 1).

3.3.2. Analysis of non-verbal behavior of teachers of RFL at the preparation faculty of Petrozavodsk State University

To make this research study complete, the non-verbal behavior of five teachers of Russian as a foreign at the preparation faculty of Petrozavodsk State University was analyzed by observing and analyzing video recordings of lessons with foreign students. As a result, it was found that the most frequent gestures are gestures that illustrate speech, complement it, thus reducing communicative difficulties. These gestures help the teacher to explain what to do next during the lesson. Gestures of regulation that control the stream of communication are also often used by teachers. A detailed table with the analysis results can be found in Appendix 2 (See Table 2).

Selected tools of non-verbal communication have had to meet two basic requirements: to be understandable to representatives of different cultures and not to be interpreted negatively in any other culture.

In total, 34 kinemes were selected, which we divided into 2 groups:

1. Teaching actions that monitor and regulate the work in classroom.
2. Actions to help explain grammatical categories.

When analyzing the use of non-verbal communication tools in a lesson of RFL, a gesture reference book was compiled, which describes universal non-verbal tools, which can be used in the classroom for the most effective teaching Russian as a foreign language. For its compilation, we have selected those tasks that are most often used by teachers of RFL in a lesson and are found in manuals. We limited ourselves to the elementary level because

at this stage of language learning, the use of non-verbal communication tools is the most important in the educational process, since students do not have enough vocabulary to understand all teachers' verbal requests. In addition, sometimes the teacher and the student may not have an intermediary language, students may only know their native language.

The dictionary contains the name of the kineme, its description, application and illustrations. Names of the kinemes correspond to the vocabulary of the elementary level, since most of the selected non-verbal units are illustrative gestures that are used together with the verbal expression of an educational action. Kinemes can be changed by teachers, but the gestures should not repeat each other, meet the selection criteria described above, and be used systematically. The use of gestures described in the dictionary was tested at Petrozavodsk State University in the framework of teaching Russian to foreign students of the preparation faculty. It was determined that all gestures are understandable to the audience, do not cause unpleasant associations for anyone, and do not repeat somehow negative culturally determined gestures. The study has involved students from 23 countries (Africa, Asia, South America and Northern Europe). The dictionary is presented in Appendix 3 (See Table 3).

4. Conclusions

Not only did the comprehensive research study reveal the peculiarities of perception of some non-verbal communication tools depending on the cultural identification of the recipient, but it also highlighted successful communication strategies and tactics for lessons of Russian as a foreign language. Examples of the use of non-verbal communication tools were presented for teachers of RFL. A set of tasks for teaching non-verbal communication was developed, taking into account modern methods, teaching techniques and the principles of introducing new material.

As a result of observing the activities of teachers of RFL at Petrozavodsk State University, analyzing video records of RFL lessons and seven elementary-level textbooks, a sign dictionary for teachers of RFL was compiled, which reflects the results of a study on the ways of using non-verbal tools of communication in pedagogical activities in the context of intercultural communication. Gestures are divided into two groups: gestures that regulate work in a classroom and gestures that help to explain some grammar categories. The dictionary can be used by teachers of RFL in preparation for classes in a multicultural environment. The right choice of the teacher's non-verbal

communication tools helps to increase the effectiveness of teaching Russian as a foreign language and maintain a favorable atmosphere at the lesson.

Appendix

Appendix 1.

Table 1

Tasks given in the manuals of RFL of the elementary level

№	Task	Antonova and al.	Chernyshov	Anikina	Esmantova	Galeeva	Miller	Onsiyenko	Number
1	Reconstruct the text					+		+	2
2	Say what is it/who is he/she	+	+	+			+		4
3	Make pictures / draw	+							1
4	Add a needed form			+				+	2
5	Complete the dialogue			+					1
6	Make a guess		+						1
7	Ask a question / Ask	+	+				+		3
8	Fulfill the table		+	+			+		3
9	Remember	+							1
10	Find the same things / captions	+							1
11	Answer the questions		+	+	+		+	+	5
12	Guess		+			+			2
13	Rewrite				+			+	2
14	Write	+		+	+	+		+	5
15	Repeat	+				+	+		3
16	Choose an adjective			+					1
17	Sign the pictures					+			1
18	Show					+			1
19	Continuer / Fulfill a chain / sentence	+		+		+			3
20	Open parenthesis			+			+		2
21	Listen	+	+		+	+	+		5

End of Table 1

№	Task	Antonova and al.	Chernyshov	Anikina	Esmantova	Galeeva	Miller	Onsiyenko	Number
22	Look at the pictures	+	+	+		+	+	+	6
23	Connect		+	+	+				3
24	Make all possible variations of collocations / dialogues / stories	+	+						2
25	Compare who or what? Yes or no?	+	+	+	+		+		4
26	Put a stress mark	+							1
27	Make a sentence		+	+					2
28	Imagine			+					1
29	Read	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7

Appendix 2.

Table 2

**The use of non-verbal communication tools
by the teachers of RFL in the lessons**

№	Gesture	1	2	3	4	5
Actions of regulations						
1	Together	+	+	+		
2	Attention!			+	+	
3	Question		+			
4	Time (why are you late?)	+		+		
5	You (plural)		+	+	+	+
6	Talk	+				
7	Yes/ you are right	+	+			+
9	Think				+	
10	Wait	+	+	+		
11	Or	+				
12	Minus				+	

End of Table 2




№	Gesture	1	2	3	4	5
13	Well done	+	+	+		+
14	Vice versa	+	+	+		+
15	Not satisfied		+			
16	No / you are wrong	+	+		+	
17	Open the manuals / copybooks	+	+	+	+	+
18	Turn over the page	+	+	+		
19	Write down	+	+	+	+	+
20	Repeat			+		+
21	Plus				+	
22	Work in pairs/groups		+			
23	Open parenthesis	+		+		+
24	Listen	+	+	+	+	
25	Connect					+
26	Ask		+			
27	Be quiet	+	+		+	+
28	Also				+	
29	Read	+		+	+	
30	I	+	+	+	+	+




Grammar categories

1	Future tense	+	+	+	+	+
2	Singular	+	+	+	+	+
3	Separation by syllables	+		+		+
4	Intonation		+	+		+
5	Plural	+	+		+	
6	Present tense	+	+	+	+	+
7	Word ending				+	+
8	Past tense		+	+	+	+
9	Suffix				+	
10	Stress mark	+	+	+	+	+

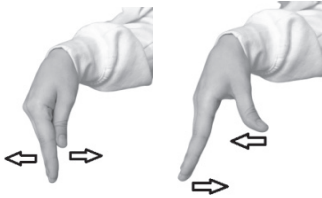

Table 3




Sign dictionary for a teacher of Russian as a foreign language (elementary level)

№	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
Gestures to monitor and regulate the work in a classroom					
1	Together	Illustrator	We bring wide spread hands together, representing a ball between the palms	For organizing team work	 
2	Attention	Illustrator-accompanist	We point the index finger up, the arm is bent at the elbow	For attracting attention	



Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
3	Question (waiting for an answer)	Regulator	The eyebrows are raised, the gaze is directed at the student from whom the answer is expected	While waiting for an answer	
4	Time	Illustrator	The index finger of one hand points to the wrist of the other hand	The teacher wants to indicate that somebody is late or when he or she gives a limited amount of time to complete the task	
5	You (plural)	Illustrator	The hands are spread out and directed towards the group	When referring to a pair / group of students	

Continuation of Table 3

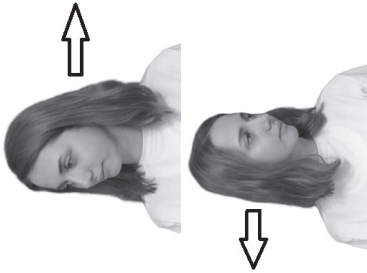
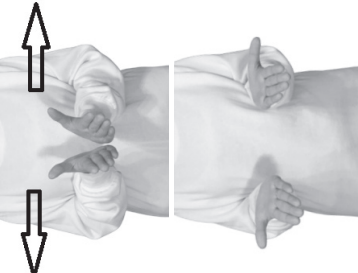
Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
6	Talk	Illustrator	Four fingers are brought to the thumb, they are closed and open	The teacher gives a task to say something	
7	Yes	Illustrator	Nodding	The teacher shows his/her approval and that he/she is listening to a student	

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
8	Remember	Illustrator	Put the index finger to the temple	It is used together with the verb “Remember” for student of the level A0–A1	
9	Or	Illustrator	We direct the hands in different directions. When we name one object, we direct one hand to one side; when we name the second object, we direct the other hand. When we say “or” we raise one hand up, lower the other, creating a scale.	It is used when the teacher wants to compare two objects	
10	Well done / You are right	Emblem	We collect the fingers into a fist, the thumb is directed up.	Used when the teacher needs to praise a student or show agreement	

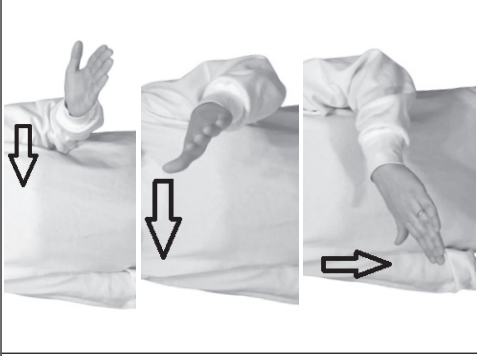

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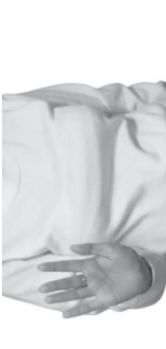

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
11	Not satisfied	Emblem	Hands on the waist	Used when the teacher needs to show that he or she is not happy with the work	
12	You are wrong	Illustrator	Arms folded, hands facing up	Used when a student makes a mistake, and it is necessary to focus on it	
13	Vice versa	Illustrator	We cross our arms, hands forward.	In case of need to change the word order or change the construction of the sentence	

Continuation of Table 3




Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
14	No	Emblem	Head turns slightly to the left and right	The teacher does not agree with the student's answer, as well as when pronouncing verbs with a negative particle "not"	
15	Open your manuals/ copybooks	Illustrator	Smoothly move the straightened hands from a position perpendicular to the floor to a position parallel to the floor, as if opening a book	When working with manuals, copybooks and other resources of this kind	




Continuation of Table 3

№	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
16	Turn over the page	Illustrator	With an open hand looking up, draw a semi-circle, turning the palm over, as if it were a page of a book	When working with manuals, copybooks and other resources of this kind	
17	Write down	Illustrator	The thumb, forefinger, and middle fingers are brought together as if holding a pen. We write in the air.	The teacher gives a task to write something down	



Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
18	Repeat	Illustrator	Draw a circle in the air with the hand or index finger	In case of need to ask to repeat a phrase or sentence.	
19	Wait	Regulator	We put forward our hand with an extended palm	Asking to wait or not to interrupt	
20	Work in pairs / groups	Illustrator	The palms are spread, the fingers are directed at the students from which we form pairs	When organizing team work	






Continuation of Table 3

№	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
21	Open parenthesis	Illustrator	We straighten half-bent palms. Fingers pointing up in different directions	While explaining an exercise with parenthesis	 
22	Listen	Illustrator	We put a hand to the ear	While explaining a listening exercise	


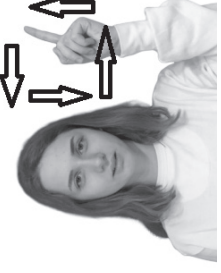

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
23	Be quiet!	Regulator	Put the index finger on the lips, slightly rounded and extended forward	When asking to behave more quietly	
24	You (singular)	Illustrator	A straightened hand points at a student	When addressing a student	
25	Read	Illustrator	Straight open hands located at a small distance from each other are directed upwards, we look at the hands, as if we are reading	When working with manuals, copybooks and other resources of this kind	


Continuation of Table 3

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
Explaining grammar categories					
All gestures of this group are gestures of illustrator					
1	Future tense	We straighten the hand forward, fingers are directed forward	In case of need to indicate that the action will be performed in the future		
2	Syllabus separation	Straight hands, parallel to each other, move from left to right, as if cutting air	In case of need to separate a word into syllables		

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
3	Singular	Index finger is up at chest level	In case of need to indicate the singular		
4	Intonation	Depending on the intonation structure non-verbal communication tools are correctly selected	In case of need to correct the intonation		  
5	Plural	Spread your arms wide, palms pointing in different directions	In case of need to indicate plural		

Continuation of Table 3

№	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
6	Present tense	A hand points down	In case of need to indicate that the action happens in present		
7	Word ending	Draw a square with the index finger	In case of need to correct a mistake in word ending		
It is relevant to use this gesture if word ending is distinguished graphically the same way.					
8	Past tense	A hand points backwards	In case of need to indicate that the action happened in the past		

Nº	Gesture	Type	Description	Application	Illustration
9	Stress mark	Draw in the air diagonally from top to bottom with the index finger or the hand	In case of need to indicate a stressed syllabus		

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Conflict of Interest

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The Role of Multimodality and Technology in Teaching EFL to Visually Impaired Lower-Level Learners

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Abstract. The era of postliteracy suggests development of language proficiency in multimodal ways creating equal opportunities for all learners including those with disabilities. Despite contemporary technological advances, certain special needs, such as blindness, make most online courses difficult to access. We propose a set of presuppositions and principles behind online EFL course development for blind and visually impaired learners, which are based on the multimodal nature of input during language learning and teaching of blind people to activate other senses during this process. The preliminary results of the study based on empirical data are to be published shortly.

Keywords: blind language learners, EFL for blind learners, multimodality in teaching the blind

1. Introduction

Foreign language proficiency at different levels is viewed nowadays as an indispensable skill. Not only is foreign language an obligatory subject worldwide, but it is also a tool that helps at work and in recreational activities. English, being the modern lingua franca, plays worldwide a social role which is impossible to overestimate. Today having mastered English means having unhindered independent access to a whole range of political, economic, cultural and scientific resources, thus being able to be free in terms of judgement, mentality and way of life. The era of postliteracy is the time of free choice, the epoque of multilingualism and a multicultural world, embracing the idea of equal access to information and the concept of self-study life-long learning. Multilingualism being “a direct indicator of cultural and social wealth” [Yaman, 2015, 769], many countries spend much time, effort and money trying to provide their citizens access to modern language education.

What is more, the ever-present Internet makes various distant courses and educational mobile applications easily accessible and largely used worldwide, narrowing the so-called digital divide [Hinnant, 2004, 851] year after year.

Yet, despite all the success, there is a very distinct social group feeling the digital gap being still very deep. Unfortunately, the blind and visually impaired often feel excluded and discriminated against in terms of wide access to distant self-study educational materials, thus being unable to fully embrace the postliteracy epoch tendency to self-directed education and, as a result, risking becoming less employable in the nearest future [Viner et al, 2016, 61]. It seems obvious that “reducing the digital divides may only be achieved by improving <...> educational opportunities for the public at large” [Hinnant, 2004, 852].

According to the concept of inclusive education that promotes the principles of education for all [Opertti, 459], teachers are challenged to find the ways to “meet diverse learners’ needs [Ibidem., 459]. Technological advances have proved their effectiveness in creating an inclusive environment for teaching foreign languages to learners with special needs in classrooms. However, contemporary classrooms are gradually becoming digital, substituting “live” offline mode of learning for an online mode. It goes without saying that there must be certain principles underlying the choice of material as well as its presentation to the learners with special needs that could be helpful in organising online activities of such learners and later might become the basis for a full self-study online course.

Teaching foreign languages to learners with various impairments, one must combine the knowledge of language itself, methodological principles, and the knowledge of specialised psychology and pedagogics. The problem is that in most cases teachers lack knowledge of special techniques to deal with the blind and have to use “trial and error method... and their intuition” [Kocyigit and Artar, 2015, 693]. In our study we are going to summarise the research and experience of working with the blind learners and propose certain principles to develop and adapt EFL materials for an online self-study course.

2. Methods and Materials in teaching the visually impaired

When it comes to blind learners, face-to face teaching methods and techniques are widely used globally and have undoubtedly proved to be a success. As a result, there is nowadays no argument about the fact that

“blind learners display the same aptitude for learning foreign languages as their sighted counterparts. <...> When blindness does not compound with other factors, there should not be any difficulties in language acquisition. Therefore, it is possible for a blind learner to acquire successfully <...> a foreign language” [Jedynak, 2011, 269, 272].

The existing experience of teaching foreign languages to the blind provides enough information to point out some distinct traits of the blind learner profile. To start with, complete sight loss very often “results in the easiness of concentration and well-developed analytical skills” [Ibidem, 269]. What is more, the blind tend to develop additional aural sensitivity, enabling them “to acquire specific phonetics <...> of a foreign language only by ear, without any formal instruction concerning the pronunciation of particular sounds” [Ibidem, 272]. Being naturally predisposed, the blind are usually “more aware and responsive to the melody of a foreign language, i. e. its rhythm, stress and intonation patterns” [Ibidem, 271], thus they appear to be able to effortlessly acquire a native-speaker accent in a very short time. Incredibly high memory efficiency of the blind is also widely recognized [Czerwińska and Piskorska, 2018, 216]. Last, but not least, the blind tend to mostly have a very positive attitude towards discovering new things, obtaining new skills, “learning something new and exciting, different from a familiar <...> environment” [Jedynak, 2011, 272]. They seem to have a certain craving for the new knowledge and skill, which seems to be highly motivating on the long path to mastering a foreign language. Unfortunately, it is necessary to point out that “there is a high risk of verbalism among the blind, i. e. using information stored in memory without being able to link the information to any kind of direct sensory experience” [Czerwińska and Piskorska, 2018, 216].

Anyone designing a course for the blind and visually impaired, should take into consideration both the learners’ advantages and disadvantages, the impact of fragmentary images, difficulties in acquiring natural concepts and the risk of verbalism included [Ibidem, 2018, 217]. However different the blind learners are from their sighted peers, whatever specific routes they tend to choose on their way to acquire a foreign language, both the blind and the sighted share the need for autonomous behaviour and the urge for self-directed and self-paced learning.

3. CALL in teaching the visually impaired

Here comes “the posh term “Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL)” [Yaman, 2015, 770] which “puts a strong emphasis on this autonomy dimension with the direct reference of learning instead of teaching” [Ibidem].

Assistive technologies such as screen readers, Braille displays and keyboards, voice-to-text converters “can be attributed as a breakthrough to <...> information” [Kamali Arslantaş, 2017, 101] for visually impaired people. They definitely play a crucial role in the current revolutionary changes in education for the blind, making the learning process more accessible, more “efficient, attractive, interactive and dynamic” [Isalia, 2014, 2192]. However, in spite of a wide range of assistive technologies available to the blind nowadays, the foreign language educational community is still striving to create a self-study distant course, able to fulfill all of their special needs.

The Before-MOOC era was distinguished in 2009–2012 by a set of short-lived experimental interactive distant courses — ELLVIS, VET4VIP, etc. — stemming from the Socrates ALLVIP project. The latter combined for the first time ever a screen reader for audio messages, a tactile screen interface, headphones with 3-D sound and a haptic force-back joystick in order to provide life-like experience while focusing on the oral language, listening comprehension and pronunciation alongside with various practice tasks and exercises [Deharde, 2010, 3]. As to our knowledge, the ALLVIP-family projects were all closed around 2012, claiming to be successful but leaving more questions than answers alongside with a certain amount of interesting technical and pedagogical ideas and presuppositions to be further investigated. MOOCs started spreading worldwide circa 2012, some of them trying to gain advantage by using some of the ALLVIP-like principles (such as screen-readers extensive usage for example) [Marques et al., 2019, 103].

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) have become widespread nowadays. They definitely possess a great number of positive features that make them popular all over the world. Designed to promote freely available, open access, high quality learning opportunities to all, they teach learners to self-regulate their learning process involving learners’ context to motivate, self-regulate and achieve higher results [Hood et al., 2015, 90]. Most MOOCs started as free of charge products, giving people an opportunity to learn anything anywhere. With growing popularity of this method, many universities took it on board and established whole degree studies. Today, there are several universities providing educational services but existing

only in online format, with no “material” representation of objects or people connected with them.

MOOCs are not flawless tools, though. To complete a course one must be a motivated individual, able to work individually and independently. Researchers from Portugal and the USA have presented data showing that less than 5 percent of low-level learners of a foreign language via MOOC exhibit necessary readiness and are highly determined to learn [Agonacs et al., 2020, 1175]. A research by Hew and Cheung presented additional data on the learners’ and teachers’ perspectives of using MOOCs. Enrolling to a MOOC, students wish to “refresh some information ... or are curious” about working in such a way, resulting in “mixed attitudes” [Hew and Cheung, 2014, 47]. Teachers also cannot agree on the point of using MOOCs. On the one hand, the popularity of such courses is enormous, course developers are altruists ready to provide top quality content for free and develop online pedagogical techniques which are highly motivating. On the other hand, the level of instruction is sometimes inferior to that provided in class, and the amount of time and energy necessary to develop and later maintain and renew a course as well as check feedback and learners’ writing is immense, whereas the whole course may not be successful or popular, or become “no more than a line in a teacher’s portfolio” [Ibidem, 49–51].

Today each institution considers implementing MOOCs a necessity to be competitive in the sphere of education. However, when it comes to teaching people with special needs, there arise a number of issues that need to be addressed to meet the needs of people with impairments. “A key concern is that <...> individuals accountable for supporting and implementing e-learning within postsecondary institutions, in the rush to integrate technology into teaching fail to think about the accessibility needs of students with various disabilities” [Fichten et al., 2009, 242]. In this respect, individuals with visual impairments and particularly the blind are mostly disadvantaged, as the very idea of MOOCs is to promote learning through various channels, most of which the blind do not perceive. A survey conducted in the higher education institutions of Slovenia, Portugal, Italy and Sweden witnessed that all blind and visually impaired students acknowledge the need for adaptation of learning materials at least to some extent and “more than 50 percent among the blind need total adaptation of learning materials for successful following up the study course” [Gaps and Needs Analysis, 2016, 45]. To make matters worse, there are subjects that are particularly hard for the blind learn-

ers to cope with. Such subjects feature a high percentage of abstract ideas. To name a few highly abstract subjects that are problematic to implement without a regular “human” guidance and support in learning, one would turn to mathematics, philosophy and foreign languages.

However, according to cognitive studies, mastering a foreign language by a blind person should not be supposed to be an unachievable goal [Czerwńska and Piskorska, 2018, 220]: “although blindness affects perception, it does not obstruct linguistic and verbal development. The only reason for the lack of success in foreign language learning may be due to the inadequate support and encouragement from the environment” [Jedynak, 2011, 270].

4. Results and discussions

The background research into the development of MOOCs for EFL blind learners brought to light the complexity of the task. In an attempt to develop an online course for blind low-level, especially beginner, learners, we took into account the following presuppositions and principles.

1. Multimodal way of presenting information

There is a common misconception that blind learners are helpless when it comes to dealing with digital devices. Contrary to this idea, learners with special needs are active Internet-users and gadget-users. Not only do contemporary devices and software allow blind learners to perceive information with the help of screen reading programmes, they also let them navigate through web pages by reading the content of the page aloud. There are special features of such programmes that the users are aware of but material designers do not take into account due to lack of knowledge on these features. For example, a special mode of presenting information (e. g. capitalisation of a word with periods after each letter) will make the software reader spell the word.

The point of criticism for MOOCs is poor adaptation of material presentation for the learners with special needs. Typical ways of making a course interactive fail when the designers realise limitations imposed: limited number of task types, inability to visualise, difficulty to describe some phenomena (e. g. colour), etc. To make matters worse, complete beginners might get stressed when given a lot of material to read with the help of screen-readers. This brings us to the idea of multimodal ways of presenting information. We consider it necessary to introduce the course materials in (at least) two ways: audio and screen-reader- friendly. By providing audio we focus the learners on pronunciation and create an illusion of a real presenter talking to a learner in conversa-

tional style, thus reducing the stress. What is more, both the accessible scientific data [Kamali Arslantaş, 2017, 101] and our own research witnessed a very strong preference given by the blind to the auditory input compared to reading either via Braille or with the help of screen-reader software. Researchers point out that the speaking/listening mode is the most logical, acceptable and natural way to interact and has proved to be “a successful means of conveying information to the mass”...“only audio can reproduce authentic aural stimuli, the two most common being spoken words and music”. [Moloo, et al., 2018, 103–104]. When teaching visually impaired learners online, firstly the presentation of information in such a way helps to develop awareness of pronunciation features in the target language (intonation, sounds, cohesion, etc.).

Research held by a group of Chinese scientists [Lin, et al., 2020, 9] suggests that conversational style of material delivery positively affects material retention. Besides, “if the learning material directly addresses the learners, they may feel that learning is more relevant to themselves and thus invest more mental effort in learning the material” [Ibidem]. Blind learners may feel disadvantaged when beginning to learn a foreign language, so a presenter who explains material in a friendly conversational way, addressing the learner, might help to decrease stress.

The second mode of information provision, i. e. screen-reader adapted, partially replicates the material presented in the audio file, focusing students’ attention on the spelling of the words and some extra features such as grammar, word order, cultural differences, etc. By providing the second presentation of the same lexical units or grammar we shift the focus from the pronunciation and the meaning of the word or structure to the form and function, which corresponds to the methodological principle of communicative method teaching. The same sequence of teaching language units (hear- speak — read- write) is described by Lewis and Hill [Lewis, 1992, 31].

It is also worth noticing that the screen-reader friendly part of the course can be easily transformed into Braille display-friendly text, enabling those who prefer reading Braille to do so. Braille displays being a rather expensive commodity and a significant part of the blind having quite a controversial attitude towards the Braille reading, we do not perceive Braille as a crucial integral part of the course, relying more on screen-reader software instead. Anyway, we find it necessary to provide our students with as many multi-modal ways of obtaining and processing the course materials as possible. The ability not only to orally communicate but also to read and write in En-

English being a must, we see the screen-reader-/ Braille display- friendly part of the course as an additional opportunity for the students to practice their reading skills either via Braille display or with the help of screen-reader software. It comes in accordance with the CALL and typhlopedagogy specialists' point of view [Belova, 2017; Kapperman et al., 2018].

2. Clear consistent instructions

It is true that successful task completion lies in the correct instruction. Typically, learners might try to guess what they are required to do in this or that task, skipping reading the instruction provided. It does not work with blind learners who perceive instruction as a part of the task. Instructions precede the exercises and are either given by the course presenter or read by the screen-reader. Therefore, they must be short, clear and contain enough detail. Care must be taken not to overcomplicate the instructions with high-level constructions which will hinder task understanding rather than make it clear. Moreover, instructions should be consistent enough to help learners navigate through the course. In the EFL course developed for the learners with visual impairment the number of task types will be rather limited. At first, it might take the learners some time to familiarise themselves with the instructions and the way tasks should be completed. Later on the course such instructions will be those necessary stepping stones for the learners to rely on. We suppose that learners will benefit from small tips to approach task completion in the instructions. If the task is changed or modified, so must the instruction. It is easier to add several points to the familiar instruction than invent a completely new one. Tips to help the learner approach the task may be given as a separate sentence after the familiar instruction. By doing this and repeating the instructions with the tips we build background knowledge of strategies which will be helpful for the course-takers.

Instructions should be provided to the course navigation as well as to the tasks. Not all the learners may exhibit outstanding computer skills. The task will be twice as complex since the course-taker cannot see. Engaging course content and activities will work better if the instructions for navigating the course itself are clear as well, even for the learners without special needs [Agonacs et al., 2020, 1175]. In other words, we help to promote learner's autonomy, so necessary for successful MOOC completion.

3. Teaching in L1

A learner's mother tongue cannot be eliminated from EFL teaching lower-level blind learners in an online course. At present, the communicative

approach is considered to be the best to teach a foreign language. Traditional implementation of this method suggests using as little of learners' first language as possible. This approach, however, does not work in a situation when a blind learner sits in front of a computer screen in order to learn the basics of a foreign language. Such learners need support more than any other group of people. Positive emotions, manageable tasks, situation of success together with reasonable explanation and material presentation in the learner's mother tongue constitute the basis of a motivating environment in an online course. A course-taker might struggle with typing, another system of coding information, new grammar, new words, intonation, etc., that is why it is particularly important to create a motivating background and introduce new elements gradually, few at a time, making strong correlation between a word and its image (whatever kind of it a learner might have) and its translation in the native language.

The grammar-translation method is not a failing way to teach. It brings us to different results but it would be incorrect not to take into account the benefits of using such a method of teaching. Providing background explanation in the L1 we help the learner focus on what they know, using familiar terms in the language they are proficient at. This is of utmost importance to the blind lower-level learners: they learn a word, a phrase, and by using the most straightforward way to understand the meaning make them a part of their learning experience to later rely on. Besides, this method is rather traditional and favoured by the blind [Belova, 2017, 592].

4. Practical tasks

Motivation plays a key role in any learning. When developing a course, designers strive for making the course engaging for the learner by using bright pictures, interest-provoking topics, cultural phenomena, etc. Unfortunately, all these tips do not work for the blind. One of the ways to engage the learner, especially a lower-level learner, into the course is to set real-life tasks and demonstrate the way to act in such situations. By making the tasks serious and realistic, we teach learners to face regular contexts and deal with real-life situations in English. We strongly believe that mastering the foreign language by our students is the most obvious, but certainly not the only aim as the course designers. To raise our students' self-esteem and self-confidence, to help them become more independent, more able, more self-sufficient in the reality of postliteracy era — that is the aim of equal importance for us, the authors.

5. Conclusions

In the period of postliteracy, with the development of technologies, there appear new ways of addressing complicated issues of teaching learners with special needs. Technological advances can be helpful for blind learners to get access to the courses, including MOOCs, provided that the materials presented are adapted to allow the course to be followed effortlessly in terms of the course structure and accessibility. Traditional ways of teaching are applicable and might be rather effective in helping learners to achieve language proficiency at least at lower levels. A number of principles proposed in the article aim to develop learners' autonomy in learning a foreign language and help MOOC designers of EFL courses adapt the materials.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Assessment Cultures and Virtual L2 Teaching and Learning

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Abstract. The unprecedented emergency remote teaching [Hodges et al., 2020] has created unique challenges, with educators facing higher demands placed on them as they have to assure quality teaching, learning, and assessment

under the constraints of time and additional commitments in their professional and personal lives. In this paper, we discuss how existing understandings and conceptualisations, applicable to both online and traditional classrooms, can guide educators in overcoming these challenges and, indeed, in understanding what online modality affords in learner assessment. Conceptually, we will above all, base our paper on the notion of assessment culture, namely assessment *of* learning and assessment *for* (AfL) learning cultures [Davison & Leung, 2009], arguing for the benefit of the latter in the classroom. We will also draw upon the notion of higher order and lower order thinking skills [Anderson, Brunfaut, & Harding, 2001], eliciting language functions rather than linguistic, grammatical, and syntactic categories as the object of assessment. We will base our discussion on a number of recently completed and ongoing studies in several L2 (second or foreign language) contexts. We will discuss how assessment cultures and language functions externalising thinking processes can inform educators' assessment practices, alleviating educators' concerns for reliability in inferences made from learners' performance on online assessments and learner engagement.

Keywords: classroom-based assessment, assessment cultures, emergency remote teaching, LOTS and HOTS

1. Introduction

With the novel COVID-19 pandemic, the world is facing challenges that are unprecedented in modern times. This is true for education as well [Abdul Rahim, 2020]. While institutions may possess tools for, and models of, online instruction, Hodges et al. (2020) warn against likening the swift shift to the online modality of teaching and learning happening in response to the public health emergency with well-planned learning experiences. They propose the term 'emergency remote teaching' (ERT) to refer to this: "a temporary shift of instructional delivery to an alternate delivery mode due to crisis circumstances." The main rationale for this term, given by Hodges et al. (2020), was to differentiate between the current situation and traditional online teaching (learning, instruction, or any other such term), the latter presupposing careful instructional design and planning. This is not to say, however, that principles and models of successful online education as well as the body of research on it should be disregarded when searching for reliable solutions for challenges emerging with the shift to ERT. The same holds true for the concepts, solutions, models, and frameworks coming from face-to-face education informing ERT.

In this paper, we would like to focus on assessment in ERT (and online learning alike), offering some, though by no means comprehensive, vision of what assessment in ERT can be. We should note that we are not aiming at a comprehensive discussion of taxonomies and ecologies of online learning with the goal of outlining how these can inform ERT. We refer the reader to excellent works on online learning by Cope and Kalantzis (2017) and Means, Bakia, and Murphy (2014). The reason for us focusing on namely assessment in ERT stems from concerns brought or intensified with transitioning to ERT with regard to learner anxiety and engagement, reliability concerns, and equity threats [e.g., Gao, 2020; Gares, Kariuki, & Rempel, 2020; Osman, 2020; Whittle, Tiwari, Yan, & Williams, 2020]. In the paper, we will base our discussion on the notions of assessment cultures and higher-order thinking skills, building on several studies, both completed and ongoing, conducted in various L2 (second/foreign language) education contexts. In the two sections to follow, we will outline the theoretical basis for our discussion.

2. Assessment culture and ERT

The current understanding of classroom assessment and learning is that they are intrinsically linked [Alderson, Brunfaut, & Harding, 2017]. The way this link is made, though, depends on how the role of assessment is perceived: as a measurement of learning outcomes or as a way to promote learning. The first rests on the positivist paradigm, concerned with learners demonstrating the outcomes of their learning, issues of reliability and equality, and emphasising the product of learning. The second, placed within the socio-constructivist paradigm, is concerned with the question of how assessment should promote learning, rather than measuring it, the process of learning and equity being forefronted [see Lam, 2016]. On the level of function of separate assessment activities, these two views have been realised as summative and formative assessments respectively.

With regard to ERT, it has indeed been found and proposed in ERT guidelines that formative assessment and feedback (or a balance between formative and summative assessment) should decrease anxiety, increase student engagement, and indeed, guide learning [Gao, 2020; Abdul Rahim, 2020]. However, it remains a challenge for educators to understand differences between formative and summative assessments and more importantly implement formative assessments in their practices alongside summative

assessments [Black & Wiliam, 2018; Hopfenbeck, 2018]. This challenge is exacerbated in the ERT context [Gao, 2020].

Outside the ERT context but, in our view relevant to it, a suggestion which has been proposed by the first author elsewhere [Leontjev & deBoer, 2020b], is to go beyond the function of individual assessments in the classroom towards thinking about the purpose of classroom-based assessment and linking it to the larger context of assessment culture. Davison and Leung (2009) provide an excellent discussion of ‘assessment as culture’ based on Davison’s (2008) model of teacher-based assessment (see Figure 1). Davison and Leung (2009) bring forth fundamental differences between the two cultures of assessment, assessment *of* learning and assessment *for* learning culture. Whereas in the former, Davison and Leung (2009) argued, the roles of the teacher and the assessor in the classroom are clearly demarcated, and so is the role of summative and formative assessment, in the latter, regardless of the form (i.e., a test), assessment should above all promote learning, i.e. above all, have a formative function, the teacher’s and the assessor’s role being one and the same. Leontjev and deBoer (2020b) further argue that the considerations of assessment culture should go beyond the educational policy and place the classroom assessment practices within the wider context of beliefs, ideologies, and educational histories [see also Black & Wiliam, 2018]. This, we argue, elicits the complex nature of how classroom assessment culture comes into being as a result of complex interactions at various levels — individual, classroom, institutional, and societal — becoming the more so relevant in the ERT context. A change in classroom assessment from *of* learning to *for* learning, which operationalised above all, as a shift from assessing the product of learning to that of the learning process, requires taking these factors into account.

Davison’s (2008) model can be useful in informing this shift, as it visualises the process as a cycle of interconnected changes, moving the focus from individual assessment events to a continuity in teaching, learning, and assessment.

Briefly, the model places assessment activities within the cycle of interconnected phases of planning, and implementing assessments, making inferences, each of the phases informed by the previous, adjustments made to teaching, learning, and the following assessment if needed. Furthermore, the phases in the following cycles, as argued by Leontjev and deBoer (2020a) should not only be informed by the immediately preceding cycles, but by all of the assessment cycles. We will later in this paper discuss with reference to Leontjev and deBoer (2020b) how, informed by this understanding, as-

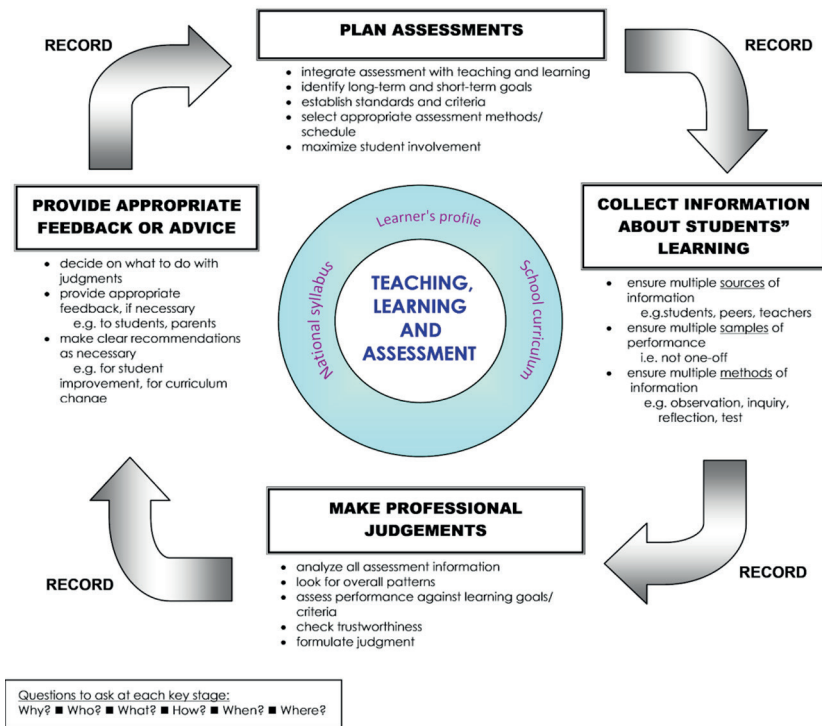


Figure 1. Teacher-based assessment cycle [Davison, 2008]

assessment happening during a course can lead to and inform the assessment of the 'product of learning'. Assessment of the process informing assessment of the product of learning, we will argue, can alleviate the reliability concerns intensifying with the shift to ERT. We will also, describing our ongoing study of educators' and learners' experiences with the ERT, discuss the importance of learners' beliefs about expectations of assessment, placing thus the discussion more strongly within the notion of assessment culture.

3. From language to its functions: higher-order thinking skills in ERT assessment

At its core, the role of educational assessment is to elicit and externalise learners' cognitive skills. Learning as a cognitive event is not observable directly, so, as Dalton-Puffer [2013, 220] stated, "the nearest we can hope to get

is its observable analogues.” The first conceptualisation, that comes to mind with regard to externalisation of learners’ cognitive processes, is clearly Bloom’s Taxonomy [Bloom et al., 1956] including its more recent developments [Anderson et al., 2001; Heer, 2012], which conceptualises thinking skills as learning objectives of increasing cognitive demands, ranging from *remembering* at the lower end of the scale (lower-order thinking skills; LOTS) to *creating* at its higher end (higher-order thinking skills). The cognitive dimension is further enhanced by the knowledge dimension, ranging from factual knowledge at the lower end of the scale to metacognitive knowledge at its higher end [Heer, 2012].

The applications of this thinking are numerous, the performative verbs representing these cognitive and knowledge processes, embedded in numerous curricula throughout the world and in impactful tools for teaching, learning, and assessing languages such as the Common European Framework of Reference [CEFR; CoE, 2018], in the form of can-do statements. There have also been developments such as that on the construct of cognitive discourse functions [CDFs; Dalton-Puffer, 2013] for conceptualising learner academic proficiency as integration of content knowledge and linguistic knowledge. Dalton-Puffer (2013) argued against the essentialist thinking behind the hierarchical positioning of thinking skills / learning objectives and we recognise the value of Dalton-Puffer’s stance, particularly that which concerns the ongoing assessment promoting learning in centrifugal processes and their products (e.g., interaction with learners in the classroom or learners creating a text). However, particularly as far as learning objectives and their elicitation in assessment are concerned, such thinking becomes indispensable [Phakiti, 2018].

Assessments, particularly assessments of learning outcomes, are easier to design as they often elicit LOTs, and these lend themselves more readily to be elicited in task types, such as multiple-choice, easier to score objectively and easier to implement online. However, with the ERT shift, these are also a source of concern for academic integrity, learner cheating and plagiarism, and especially what regards written exams [e.g., Gares et al., 2020]. The authors did not elaborate on the way these exams were designed. However, considering the authors’ questioning whether students presenting their own work or not being an issue, the exams might have targeted LOTs, or, perhaps there was a combination of factors, including lack of online proctoring, plagiarism detection, lack of systematic information about students’ learning,

as well as, taking into account the high-stakes nature of written examinations, learners' desire to excel in demonstrating the learning outcomes beyond their actual ability (or the instructors' beliefs of that being the case, or both).

It certainly is important not to interpret any phenomenon in a limited way, with reference to but one factor. Still, for the benefit of the argument in this paper, we will in the following two sections, outline a number of our ongoing and completed studies relevant for improving L2 assessment in ERT from two perspectives: assessment cultures and language functions with the focus on HOTs. As these studies have been either reported or in the process of reporting elsewhere or works in progress and considering the lack of space, we will not give a full account of these studies, but provide, hopefully sufficient detail for building our argument and helping the reader to follow it.

4. Assessment cultures in online assessment: teachers' and learners' views and successful implementations

The first study we wish to outline in this section is our collaborative work in progress in which we embarked in observing two teacher-training courses, one being an example of ERT (CELTA) and the other, an example of what Hodges et al. (2020) refer to as well planned, prepared, and developed (EMI). Both courses were designed and developed by Cambridge Assessment English. Both courses had ended by the time we started writing this paper. We are now in the process of collecting the experiences of learner-participants and the instructors on the courses. Hence the present outline is based on incomplete data. We plan to report on the findings once the full data set has been collected and analysed. The second author was also the instructor on the CELTA course in the study. The two courses are summarised in the following Table 1.

To add to Table 1, the two courses are similar in that (a) both are designed for professional development of English language teachers, (b) both are conducted fully online, (c) trainees have to go through a selection procedure, (d) the selection process was based on the trainees' level of language proficiency, and (e) both focus on written assignments. The difference between them is that the CELTA course should, based on Hodges et al. (2020) be classified as ERT. It appeared in March–April 2020 as a response to the novel coronavirus pandemic, as the lockdown caught centres delivering the courses off-guard and they had to cope with the situation and finish the courses. The other course, EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction), had existed

in a completely online mode for several years before the pandemic situation, and was a well-designed, carefully planned course. It was concluded that no modifications were required for this latter course, so it continued as planned. CELTA trainees chose the online modality voluntarily, coming

Table 1

The Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults and English as a Medium of Instruction teacher-training courses in the study.

	CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults)	EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction)
Modality	Fully online	Fully online
Instructor role online	Active instruction online	None
Pacing	Class-paced with some self-paced (duration — 5 weeks)	Self-paced (open entry, open exit) within certain time limit (duration — 4 weeks)
Student Role Online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborate with peers • Complete problems or answer questions • Explore simulation and resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen or read • Complete problems or answer questions • Explore simulation and resources
Online Communication Synchrony	A blend of synchronous and asynchronous	Asynchronous only
Source of Feedback	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automated • Teacher • Peers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automated • Teacher
Role of Online Assessments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determine if student is ready for new content • Provide student or teacher with information about learning state • Input to grade • Identify students at risk of failure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide student or teacher with information about learning state • Feedback to grade • Identify students at risk of failure
Motivation	Mainly intrinsic (trainees enrolled on the course voluntarily)	Mainly extrinsic (the requirement of the University)

from different backgrounds and teaching contexts, with or without prior teaching experience. All of the learner-participants self-funded their studies. The EMI trainees were part of a grant-funded project, coming from the same university context.

An interesting difference between the two courses emerged with reference to academic integrity. In the CELTA course, the amount of resubmissions based on 'lacking the academic integrity criterion' was minimal. Meanwhile, the EMI instructor oftentimes questioned the independent nature of the learners' submitted assignments, noting the verisimilitude of these among several learners. We suggest that the issue can be discussed with reference to assessment culture, the institutional constraints and institutionalised struggles. On the more macro level, assessment culture is a result of tradition, beliefs, and ideologies [see Leontjev & deBoer, 2020b], which explains the concerns for academic integrity by the instructors in both courses. Even if not adhering to the assessment of learning culture, the instructors, we assume, could recognise the learner participants' desire to demonstrate their successfulness in learning outcomes, which could override their desire to develop. Whether there was indeed an issue with the academic integrity or whether this was the interpretation by the instructors remains to be seen. However, what is clear is that the institution requiring their academic staff to participate in the course played its role in that apparent difference between the two courses. We are not going to investigate further whether the learners indeed copied their work from one another for ethical reasons; we note only that the academic integrity concerns emerged not as the result of the study, as we did not direct the EMI instructor to voice this concern. Still we plan to explore it further with the instructor of the CELTA course as to how assessment culture and institutional structures might have impacted on her interpretations. To elaborate, in the EMI group, the institutionalised struggles introduced by the top-down requirement of the course participation could have increased the participants' anxiety and the (perceived) expectation to succeed on the course. This, combined with the perception of the course being extra work on top of other commitments, could have resulted in the trainees resorting to copying the assignments from their peers. Alternatively, the instructor's recognition of the role of the institutional structures and power relations involved in the EMI course could have led to the instructor interpreting some trainees' work as lacking academic integrity also in cases where the verisimilitude of their work stemmed from

the learning materials and lectures, the trainees appropriating others' words in their work. Regardless of the interpretation, we note that assessment culture in specific courses is a complex phenomenon resulting from the interaction of various factors on micro, meso, and macro levels.

Based on these preliminary observations, the following issues should be considered: (1) motivation of taking courses during the ERT times; and (2) assessments eliciting HOTS (to eliminate doubts on 'academic integrity'). With regard to this latter point, in the following section, we outline an early work in progress which is currently in the design stage emerging as a follow-up to the study we discussed so far. We next give a brief outline of one study informed by Davison and Leung's (2009) discussion of AfL culture and assessment cycle which can offer a way of minimising the academic integrity concerns which emerged in the EMI course in this study.

The first author and his colleague [Leontjev & deBoer, 2020a] have recently reported, building on Davison's (2008) model of assessment cycle, on how assessing the process of learners working towards the final product can meaningfully inform the assessment of this product. Namely, the authors demonstrated that even when learners use somebody else's words in their performance, it can be discerned whether there is understanding behind the words learners used.

To elaborate, the study was conducted in the context of an L2 English course in a Japanese university, where the learner participants were L1 Japanese undergraduate students of engineering or agriculture, their English proficiency being roughly at level A2 on the CEFR scale. The instructor, the second author, designed an activity where the learners, having watched an unadapted video on a phenomenon (Earth breathing in the case of the group whose performance the authors analysed), were requested to work in an online forum, first building their understanding of this phenomenon and then creating a presentation for their peers and the instructor. The authors traced how "the learners developed their conceptual understanding and were able to present it in academic English; despite the fact that in the beginning, they were given language and a concept beyond their unassisted level of performance to discuss" [Leontjev & deBoer, 2020a]. In other words, having at the outset the language that the speaker in the video used, which the learners did not fully understand, and a phenomenon the learners did not have a full conceptual understanding of, the learners using both as a resource and relying

on their histories brought into the interaction, gradually co-constructed the understanding of both.

Hence, when a learner used the speaker's words in their final presentation, the teacher could be reasonably sure that the learner used this language *with* understanding. We note that the instructor never intervened in the learners' online asynchronous interaction, using it rather as a history of the whole process, which, then, in the following assessment cycle, informed the teacher's assessment of the learners' presentations. The online environment of the study was, therefore, not an obstacle for assessment but an affordance, both developing the learners' understanding and their use of academic language and informing the teacher's assessment.

The cyclic model of classroom teaching, learning and assessment can, therefore, be used to inform ERT. Online modality offers ample opportunities for documenting the learning process, which can be used to make adjustments to teaching and learning in the following cycles and to inform the understanding of the product of learning, thus alleviating reliability concerns.

5. Language functions informing learner assessment

As we discussed in the previous section, there is a follow-up study being designed at the moment based on the emerging result of our study of a CELTA and an EMI course which we outlined in the previous section. The study is informed by Davison and Leung's (2009) assessment cycle, the argument by Leontjev and deBoer (2020a) for assessment of the process informing the teacher's assessment of learning outcomes, as well as the notion of higher-order thinking skills. A tool we suggest to inform classroom assessment and learning is a guided self-reflection (i.e. self-assessment). The learners will be asked to reflect on their learning process during the course with reference to particular examples from their own and their colleagues' learning experiences on the course. The participants' reflection will be guided by the performative verbs reflecting higher-order thinking skills. These verbs will be a part of the prompts used as a part of the instruction to the participants' self-reflection, e.g., 'think how you can **integrate** what you have learned in this session with your prior knowledge and professional experience' (analysing on the procedural level of knowledge), 'propose how you can use the techniques we covered in your teaching' (applying on the metacognitive level), or 'which of your own biases can you **deconstruct** using theory X as a critical lens and how' (analysing on the metacognitive level) [see Heer,

2012]. Recognising that these are learning objectives rather than learning activities, alongside the instrument, we will design and modify activities leading to these reflections. We, nevertheless, based on Dalton-Puffer's (2013) argument, suggest that guiding the function of the participants' reflection in this way will elicit both the teacher-trainees' higher-order thinking skills and help them mobilise their linguistic resources required for externalising their thinking.

We envision several benefits of this recurring activity. First and foremost, we suggest this will further guide the participants' learning process. Furthermore, this will serve as assessment *for* learning, stretching across assessment cycles and allowing for making adjustments in teaching when needed. Finally, this will make the writing process highly individual, reducing the possibility of the participants reproducing others' words in their work. This latter will, therefore, also give the course instructor confidence that there is an understanding behind the participants' words when the participants repeat the words of others [see Leontjev & deBoer, 2020a]. We plan to recruit one instructor and teacher participants in an EMI course, collecting qualitative data from the learners' reflections and three interviews with the instructor (at the outset, in the middle, and after the course will have finished) as well as the instructor's reflections throughout the course to trace how the instructor's understanding of the trainee's learning process changes and how the trainees develop throughout the course.

The second study we would like to give an outline of in this section is another work-in-progress conducted by the first author and several of his colleagues [deBoer, Leontjev, & Friederich, submitted]. The study grew out of the desire of the third author, who was an instructor in an academic writing course to develop the assessment rubric from being a tool for grading to being a tool for self-, peer-, and teacher-based assessment whose goal is development. Conceptually, the study is positioned within the Action-oriented Approach [AoA; Piccardo & North, 2019] and is strongly informed by Dalton-Puffer's (2013) construct of cognitive discourse functions, which, as we briefly mentioned above, is a non-hierarchical list of performative verbs which both serve as an externalisation of thinking processes and communicative intentions. The Action-oriented approach, in turn, conceptualises development not as a linear but as a complex process of learners mobilising different competences and resources in unique ways in unique contexts. Hence, learner reflection and agency are preconditions for development,

the teacher's goal being creating conditions for learners to mobilise their resources. The tasks in AoA should not be a mock-up of the potential future but should be meaningful in the here and now, learning objectives being authentic and meaningful. The purpose of assessment becomes then to collect information to help learners to reach these objectives.

The first step in the rubric development was analysing the functions of the text the learners were required to write — introductory sections of an academic report leading to research questions. From there, the authors worked backwards, suggesting which functions were the prerequisite for these, gradually working backwards in terms of quality of the argument in learner papers. The following step was making sure that learner agency and reflection were elicited at every step, but guidance with regard to how the learners could improve their text was included at every step.

The outcome was a scale which included statements such as “I have identified the facts surrounding my research and now I need to identify how these facts support arguments people are making about my topic” at its lower end to statements such as “I have presented all the arguments in a coherent manner and identified several complex perspectives and gaps ... Now I need to provide a link between the arguments...”. The scale also contains a space for the learner's elaboration, asking how they are going to improve the text for it to include the functions as advised in the rubric.

The rubric, therefore, (a) focuses on the learner, as the main agent in assessment, (b) elicits the process of developing writing rather than issues in the text at hand, and (c) leaves it up to the learner to mobilise their linguistic resources to improve their text such that it expresses the specific functions enabling also learner reflection by explicitly asking them to report how they are going to improve their texts. This reflection together with the changes in the learner's text provides valuable information to the teacher which can then be used to give further feedback to learners and make adjustments in the teaching. Furthermore, this information can inform the teacher's final evaluation of the learners' work, or, indeed, change it, as the teacher shifts focus from accuracy to how successful the learners are in building their argument.

There has only been only some preliminary work so far with regard to exploring learners' experiences in using the rubric, but the results suggest that learners use the rubric to develop their texts in their unique ways, which is exactly what the goal of the rubric is.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

As we elaborated at the outset of the paper, we, focusing on some issues raised in recently published works on Emergency Remote Teaching [see Hodges et al., 2020], discussed how some existing concepts — assessment cultures, higher-order thinking skills, and cognitive discourse functions — both deepen the understanding of these issues and guide us towards finding solutions to them in the time of ERT. We based our discussion on both completed and on-going studies we have completed, are conducting, or are in the process of designing.

To repeat, the first on-going study is about two professional development courses for teachers of EFL (CELTA & EMI), both courses designed and delivered by Cambridge Assessment English. Our qualitative analysis of the currently populated data set informed by the notion of assessment cultures suggests that the learning process is also shaped by factors other than the nine dimensions, mentioned by Hodges et al. (2020), depending on motivation and the desire to grow professionally, as well as is constrained by institutional structures and struggles, all of these factors intertwined.

The second study [Leontjev & deBoer, 2020a] we outlined in this paper explored how the teacher's assessment of the learning outcomes can be meaningfully informed by the assessment of the learning process, as learners co-construct meanings in asynchronous interaction. The study furthermore illustrated the benefit of the online modality, capitalising on the affordances of recording the process of the learning as externalised by learners' posts in an online forum, the teacher having access to the whole of this process.

The third study is how the learning process of academic writing and its assessment by the learners and the teacher can be meaningfully guided by the notion of CDFs. The study discussed how shifting the focus of an assessment rubric from academic language to the functions of learner writing can both develop the learners' understanding of the writing process and yield important insights into writing for the teacher, as learners mobilise their linguistic resources in their unique ways to express the functions of academic papers.

We also briefly introduced a study which is currently being designed, informed by the notion of higher-order thinking skills, whose goal is to (a) minimise issues with (perceived) academic integrity, (b) inform the instructor's assessment of their learners, and (c) further guide the learning process in the course.

Online learning and teaching require much effort on the side of the educators and instructors. This is exacerbated by the further challenges that ERT brings with it. Admittedly, but perhaps, understandably, we have not given any one-size-fits-all solution to the challenges we outlined. However, we hope that the applications of the concepts of AfL, HOTS, and CDFs to change assessment and teaching activities and practices that we outlined in the paper can inspire creative solutions to the challenges of the ERT time. This latter, of course, does not mean that these solutions should not be well-planned, designed, and tested, as the learners' success depends on how well educators face these challenges.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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1.2. FEATURES OF MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN A MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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Formation of Cultural Identity of Bilingual Children in the Conditions of Russian Everyday Life

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Abstract. In the 21st century, many children learn different languages from an early age. The teaching practices of everyday life are considered as an environment. The purpose of the study is to identify the features of the formation of the cultural identity of bilingual children in everyday life. In such circumstances, the 'guide' is an important adult who is not only a parent, but also a teacher for the child. Overcoming the binary oppositions of the culture 'friend or foe' and the development of a culture of dialogue becomes possible precisely in this context. The authors' appeal to the problem of the formation and development of the cultural identity of bilingual children in the socio-cultural conditions of the 21st century is due to a number of factors. The main results of the study are that, firstly, bilingualism and polylingualism are common everyday practices that have become an integral part of the life of a modern person. Secondly, the parents are interested in the child speaking two or more languages, which in the future will allow him to adapt in a multicultural environment and successfully build communication. Thirdly, teaching several languages from early childhood has its own specifics, since thinking and the speech of bi- and polylingual children differs from thinking and the speech of monolinguals. The conclusions reached by the authors are that the combination of online and offline technologies in teaching foreign languages contributes to the harmonious entry of students into the language environment in a multicultural world; maintaining interest in the language and the application of educational practices in everyday life is a task that is solved not only by teachers,

but also by parents; language learning from early childhood has a special effect on the child's thinking. The authors point out the problem associated with the formation of cultural identity: how much the knowledge of a foreign language and the maintenance of the practices of the 'other' culture at the everyday level ensures overcoming of binary oppositions of culture and contributes to the development of a culture of dialogue in modern communicative practices.

Keywords: cultural identity, language teaching, monolingual environment, non-formal learning, polylingual children

1. Introduction

The relevance of addressing the study of the phenomenon of bilingualism at the turn of the XX–XXI centuries is due to the very fact of the existence of the modern society in the form in which we observe it now. The loss and search for traditions, ease in overcoming distances and boundaries allows a person not only to choose and change their own cultural reality, but also to influence changes in the society as a whole. The processes of globalization associated with the integration and unification of value-semantic principles in the field of economics, politics and culture, influence the formation of the cultural identity of nations, peoples and individuals. In a multicultural world, a person has the right to choose life strategies and tactics for mastering culture, gaining special experience at the level of acculturation, socialization, identification, as a result of which a type of a polycultural personality develops. The cultural identity of such a person, as a rule, is interpreted by researchers in the context of everyday life, its processes and practices.

The practices of everyday life in the situation of the lockdown in 2020 are actively synthesized in online and offline communications. In this paper, we are not talking about the exceptional advantages and disadvantages of each of the methods of communication but emphasize the appropriateness of their use when they complement each other. To achieve educational goals, the format of online social interaction is convenient and practical, since it allows the student to 'move'/'intersect' in hypertext reality, has a multimodal nature and opens up the possibilities of multilingual communication. The advantages of placing cultural content online are the ability to transfer meanings, transmit information about cultural values to a wide range of consumers; this is the most convenient and accessible space for a large number of potential consumers; cultural content can be uploaded by a user or institution, an author, an agent aggregating the thematic content [Bokova,

2020]. In the conditions of everyday life, the appeal of teachers and students to the cultural content allows the use of communicative, educational, leisure and entertainment mechanisms that determine the formation of the identity of both an individual and a community. In offline practices, the lack of direct, live communication is compensated for; a communicative aura and empathy are created. Students experience immersion in the language environment at the level of everyday practice in different ways. For young children, when communication in the family takes place in several languages, this process is the least painful and is often perceived as natural.

For domestic research, the topic of bi- and multilingualism is traditional and is included in the range of interests of linguists, psychologists, educators and culturologists.

2. A theoretical insight into the problem of bilingualism

Traditionally, a bilingual is a person who is able to use two or more languages in communication, learned naturally in early childhood, and to switch between them, and the individual does not need to make a decision or translate. Language is the realization of knowledge about the world, the experience of previous generations and culture as a whole, proficiency in several languages allows a person to understand reality in a new way, expanding the consciousness by the 'alien' image of the world, finding mutual understanding with the carriers of this image, another language and culture, helping cultural dialogue [Galavova, Teganyuk, 2019].

Since speakers of different languages have different images of the world, their understanding of various phenomena differs from each other. Any process of language acquisition implies a person's acquaintance with the culture broadcast by this language. For correct understanding of each other, it is necessary that the images of consciousness of the interlocutors coincide; otherwise, this leads to misunderstanding in intercultural communication. That is, the main reason for the misunderstanding of representatives of different cultures is not the difference in languages, but the difference in the national consciousness of the communicants [Tseitlin, Chirsheva, Kuzmina, 2015]. Polylinguism helps people to achieve a higher level of cultural development, acts as a key to accessing the world knowledge, helps to expand intercultural ties, get to know the cultural heritage of other peoples, and those who have great communication resources and opportunities to spread their own ideas achieve success [Pokamestova, 2015].

Language is a means of communication, cognition and accumulation of experience, an instrument of thinking, a means of transferring knowledge. In addition, language is a means of representing a people, a manifestation of their cultural identity. A. A. Lisenkova notes that the entire identity system is built on images and words and depends on the language that describes them [Lisenkova, 2018]. Cultural codes of different languages sometimes differ from each other so much that 'the impression of complete incomparability of the thinking and behavior of their speakers' is created [Zavyalova, 2018, 1]. The picture of the world is a 'complex system of images reflecting reality in the collective consciousness' and sometimes creates the impression of complete incompatibility of the thinking and behavior of their carriers [Karasik, 2002, 74]: the way a person sees and perceives reality, his system of values and all phenomena present in his consciousness and understanding, the existence of which he admits, is fixed in the language and becomes the property of the collective memory. The picture of the world, whether linguistic or cultural, is formed on the basis of a person's ideas about the surrounding reality, nationally and ethnically coloured.

Since the development of languages presupposes the process of comprehending the world, then through the assignment of language signs in childhood, the child's perception of the world is formed, which will further influence the development of norms, values and meanings of culture. Communicating with people, the child transforms the signs of the language into internal symbols of thinking, which are fixed in consciousness and are manifested in everyday behaviour, actions and communicative practices. The formation of cultural identity is a pressing issue for those families where they speak several languages, since children are drawn into this environment. Any manifestations of everyday life that exist in the life of parents have an impact on the process of identifying a child with a certain culture. Parents are mature members of a society with a certain cultural identity, which they daily (like the society in which the family lives) pass on in the form of values and cultural meanings to their own children. In this context, the upbringing of bi- and multilingual people in a multicultural environment helps to reduce the general cultural and ethnic tension, develop empathy and tolerance among members of society.

However, in recent decades, a person's belonging to one culture has eroded, allowing him to choose his own cultural identity. That is, cultural identity ceases to be an immutable given, always determined by the origin and

place of residence of a person. During his life, a person finds himself in different situations, enters into communication with representatives of various groups and communities, but in the conditions of the destruction of stable social ties, a person is immersed in the search for a new identity. The older he becomes, the more consciously he can make a choice in favour of this or that type of identity. In childhood, while mastering the language, the child automatically assimilates the culture becoming its representative and bearer. In the case of bi- and multilingualism, the individual becomes the bearer of not one but several cultures at once, as well as several languages.

The development of images and samples of native culture in early childhood in comparison with other cultures, along with the development of languages, does not give preferences to any of the cultures, therefore, a value judgment on the principle of 'friend or foe', 'good or bad' is removed in the minds of a bilingual expanding understanding binary oppositions that form the basis of the individual's worldview.

Bilinguals are not born 'speaking' several languages at once. The formation of bilingualism most often begins from the moment a child develops the ability to speak. Communication between parents and a child not only helps to establish a bond between them but is also vital. Constantly using hearing and catching various sound combinations and intonations, supported by the actions of adults, the child begins to assimilate not only the sound of words but also their meaning. He hears the word and gradually comes to understand that the very sound of the word does not coincide with the thing it designates but represents an 'abstraction from the thing' [Kudryavtsev, 2008]. This means that thinking which 'in unity with memory forms the basis of intelligence and mind' [Salikhova, 2018], synthesizes and analyzes the world around us. Thinking arises on the basis of reality and at the same time goes beyond the framework of 'sensory cognition'. In this way, the child learns not only the meaning of the word, but also its meaning. According to L. S. Vygotsky, the meaning is an objectively formed system of connections in the course of the history of a society behind a word, and the meaning is the individual meaning of a word (it is individual-personal and situational) [Vygotsky, 1934]. Consequently, the process of verbalization, that is, the child's mastering of speech, is the process of translating a personal meaning into a generally understandable meaning.

For a more visual understanding of the processes of language acquisition by a child, L. S. Vygotsky in his work *Thinking and Speech* gives data on

the observation of chimpanzees, the level of development of which is similar to that of a pre-schooler at different age stages. The scientist describes chimpanzees as very social animals that actively use facial expressions and gestures for communication, and also understand each other well. Due to the lack of speech, in the process of communication, in order to induce another monkey to do something necessary, the first monkey makes grasping movements to show that a banana is needed, or movements imitating walking to show that one must go along with it, etc. That is, understanding each other in chimpanzees occurs through the use of body language, as it happens in young children [Vygotsky, 1934].

Considering that at first a request for an indication is formed, and then only the connection of words, objects and actions, it is natural to surmise the child's language acquisition. Therefore, you can use this data when planning a child's teaching a foreign language: you must first use just instructions and gestures, repeat actions and name them. Observations of children show that the assimilation and understanding of speech by a child occurs not only through words, especially in early childhood, while he is still unable to speak, but also through mental images that the person who generates speech means. Thus, when addressing a child in a new language for them with a simple phrase that is not yet fully comprehensible to the child, an adult puts in a certain emotionally and intonationally coloured meaning expecting certain actions from the child. Probably, the micro movements of an adult, eye movements and intonation help the child to orientate and include linguistic intuition in active use: '... the speech behavior of an adult, even if it is intuitive, not fully comprehensible to them, promotes the child's progress in language acquisition' [Tseitlin, Chirsheva, Kuzmina, 2015, 8].

G. N. Chirsheva notes that practically everything connected with bilingualism affects its formation. That is the method, the time of language acquisition, the principles of education and the nature of language interaction, the degree of kinship of languages, their prestige in society and so on [Chirsheva, 2012, 16–17]. Researchers believe that it is easiest for a person to master a second language before the age of three, until the linguistic picture of the world of the first language has been formed. There is a version that even up to the age of 6 a second language can be mastered in the process of communication, and not learning. At the same time, in the period up to about the age of 14, a child who has fallen into a different language environment (for example, adopted in another country) may completely forget his

native language and switch to a new one. This means that the high plasticity of the child's brain can be used for the deliberate formation of bilingualism in the situation of creating an artificial multilingual environment.

2.1. Sub-section

By everyday practices, we mean a series of actions that are repeated on a regular basis, not amenable to the influence of the external environment, that is, taking place every day. These practices have the following characteristics: presence of a social context; recurrence and reproducibility of events in everyday life; spatio-temporal and territorial limitations. The main types of everyday practices include game practices, educational, labour, household, cultural and leisure, experience transfer practices, communication practices, consumer, religious, volunteer, health protection practices; deviant and other practices that arise situationally in various societies and families. In the context of the formation of polylingualism, game practice, educational, household and leisure practices become the main ones. Educational practices are those that aim directly at mastering a certain skill, for example, studying shapes and colours, teaching reading, writing, memorizing poems, etc. This also includes watching cartoons and using various multimedia technologies (applications on a smartphone or tablet, educational games, etc.)

By introducing the child to the multilingual reality, the naturalness and 'commonness' of using several languages in life is demonstrated. Through the creation of a unique cultural space around the child, he acquires the opportunity to master all the necessary social skills and abilities without changing his place of residence and at the same time staying in a familiar family environment. The game becomes commonplace, a natural practice of communicating in another language. As communication in a foreign language ceases to be something special, the element of the game may disappear, giving way to other practices, in particular, educational or entertainment. You can also return to, and update, the use of languages through the introduction of the game.

Mastering the language, a person not only learns to use ready-made canonical schemes, but also, connecting linguistic intuition, to influence the language, creatively transform the experience gained through a language game. It becomes one of the most important means of forming a linguistic picture of the world, since the language itself appears and is mastered in its systemic nature, through representation, and later on comprehension, understanding of binary oppositions. Everyday life, although it contains

an element of stability, is subject to change and promotes the manifestation of creative activities.

One of these is artistic and creative activity. It is determined by E. G. Kalyuzhnoy as 'a type of personality activity aimed at the perception, creation and / or interpretation of works of art or other products of artistic creation in order to generate new meanings in the appropriate motivational, plot, figurative forms, as well as their transformation, taking into account already existing motives, the plot, images and symbols of world culture and art' [Kalyuzhnaya, 2018]. The generation of new meanings and the introduction of novelty are those characteristics that allow us to consider artistic and creative activity as a means for mastering culture and language. Artistic and creative activity allows one to master reality in the unity of knowledge, creativity and self-expression of the subject of activity.

In our opinion, the following can be attributed to the types of artistic and creative activity that are most applicable to the situation of mastering several languages by a child and are interesting for him: drawing, modelling, vocals and music, design (applique work, origami etc.), as well as oral creativity.

The simplest type of artistic and creative activity, implemented by parents from the moment the child is born, is vocal. Regular listening to children's songs and nursery rhymes not only has a general developmental and entertaining effect on the baby, but also teaches him/her to distinguish the sounds, intonations and words of the language used. In a few months (at the age of 8 months and older), the child will be able to independently reproduce the melodies and actively respond emotionally (smile, laughter) and physically (claps, active body movements) in response to familiar music. The same applies to the use of fiction and elements of folklore: poems, nursery rhymes, finger games and fairy tales. Games, fairy tales and poems traditional for a particular culture should be included in language practices as soon as the opportunity arises. Prose and poetry reflect not only the mood of the author, but also broadcast traditional values and norms, which means that the child subconsciously reads them and takes them as 'his own'. Immediately after birth, the child only listens, and as he grows up and speech appears, he begins to reproduce texts, including learning to formulate his own texts on their basis.

3. Results and discussions

Despite the fact that the process of forming thinking and speech in early childhood follows different paths, at the age of about two years they alternate,

and then thinking becomes verbal, the child actively studies and remembers words, active speech is formed. Speaking can take longer for multilingual children than for monolingual children. And the inclusion of language in everyday practices, which are characterized by repetition and are an integral part of family life, not only contribute to the socialization of the child, but also have a beneficial effect on the development of thinking and replenishment of vocabulary. For example, these are games, reading children's literature, memorizing poems, organizing leisure activities (walking, watching cartoons in a foreign language, etc.) or solving everyday issues (washing, dressing etc.).

The child's language acquisition depends on the role that an important adult plays in this process, since the latter supports and/or organises communication. If in the traditional socialisation system the native language is acquired spontaneously, then in the process of teaching another language, the parent and/or teacher consciously focus on the equivalence of languages and pay increased attention to the formation of a multilingual picture of the world. At the same time, the level of language proficiency of the parents and/or teachers themselves is not decisive.

When connecting various means of creating a language environment (books, cartoons, limiting language space and time, and so on) and a systematic approach, in a significant number of cases known to us, mastering a second language (most often English) in Russian cities is successful. On the way of forming the child's ability to speak two languages, it is necessary to make efforts for a long time so as not to lose the already obtained result [Protasova, 2013; Salikhova, 2018].

There are several principles for the formation of children's bilingualism: 'one person — one language', 'one situation — one language' or 'one country — one language', the temporal and subject-thematic principle, the principle of 'outside listener' and so on. The most widespread principle is 'one person — one language' (or one parent — one language), which was formulated by M. Grammon [see: Barron-Hauwaert Suzanne, 2004]. It represents a restriction on the use of a language by a specific person. For example, the mother always speaks to the child in English, and the father in Russian. It is believed that in this way, purity in the use and acquisition of language by the child can be achieved. Another principle widely used in the world is the so-called local, when the use of languages is divided according to the place of use: at home they speak one language, and outside

the house in another; or, when, while in a country, the family speaks one language, and in another one in another language.

Since 1913, after the publication of the study by J. Ronjat [Ronjat, 1913] and until recently, in the scientific community it was believed that in order to obtain a high-quality result, that is, a child's fluency in several languages, it is necessary to distinguish speech in different languages by clearly tracking who and what language a person speaks with the child. In reality, however, the distinction should primarily relate to the use of one language in one sentence. The rest can be variable in nature.

In our opinion, the most balanced principle in the situation of educating bilinguals in a monolingual family may be the temporal principle, when both parents alternate communication with children in different languages at regular intervals. Besides, the separation of languages can be built on the subject-thematic principle (speaking in a certain language on some topics) and the principle of 'outside listener' who assumes that parents communicate with the child in one language, and among themselves in another language. Thus, regular listening to speech in another language leads to the fact that the child also learns this language; however, he may not speak it, if there is no such a need, forming passive bilingualism [Chirsheva, 2012].

These principles can be applied both separately and together in various variations (for example, a mother speaks to her child only in English and only at home, that is a combination of the personal principle 'one person — one language' and the local principle — only at home). With the help of various principles of the formation of bilingualism, parents can influence this process, helping the movement or slowing it down. Of course, the benefits accruing to children who can communicate in several languages outweigh the difficulties and fears in the formation of bilingualism. Multilingual children, in particular, have the ability to give clearer definitions and concepts in communication with their peers, since they are metalinguistic and have more pronounced abilities than their monolingual interlocutors. Bilingualism has a positive effect on the child's brain, decreasing the likelihood of Alzheimer's and Parkinson's in adulthood [Suvarna Alladi]. It was assumed that the ability of a person to speak two or more languages can delay the development of dementia by an average of 4–5 years. This assumption was, however, later refuted [Berkes, Bialystok].

Since the fixed result of language acquisition is significantly delayed (you need to wait for the child to reach about 15 years of age), this leads to the fact

that not all parents 'go the distance' to the end. Some parents at some point decide that it is no longer advisable to spend time on languages, as a result of which bilingualism is either lost or not even formed.

It is important to note that mastering several languages as native languages most easily occurs at the age of three years; the previous fact of immersion in the language, listening and communicating in it do not pass without leaving a trace, and it seems more than to return the knowledge that was already acquired by a child before reaching three years an easy option compared to learning and mastering the language by a child completely after three years of age. While forming, multilingualism, in particular — bilingualism — has a great influence on the thinking of the child, his mental abilities and the peculiarities of the functioning of the brain. Unlike monolingual children, bilingual children do not learn two languages so clearly and completely non-linearly. Often, such children begin to speak later, and the vocabulary in each of the languages they learn consists of fewer words than in monolingual children who speak selectively in any of these languages [Efremenko, 2018].

In general, the speech development of a bilingual child follows the same principles as the development of monolingual children. So, at the age of three months, the child listens to sounds and reacts to them, emits vocalizations, and then goes on to babble, indicating his/her needs with a cry. At the age of 3 to 6 months, s/he already understands angry intonations or calms down when s/he hears the mother's voice, makes many different sounds, even when s/he is alone, and also understands the expression on the face of an adult. Further, up to 9 months, the baby already begins to react to his name and the word 'no', tries to imitate sounds and respond to speech addressed to him/her, and participates in finger games. By the age of one, the child already knows his/her name, and can show or bring something in response to a question, pronounces not only vowels, but also more and more consonant sounds. By the age of one and a half, the baby already knows the parts of the body and understands about 200 words, several times in a row, many times a day, tries to pronounce a word.

By the age of two, the child's vocabulary is already about 500 words, of which he can independently pronounce up to 300, combining them into sentences. From two to four years, the child's perceptual vocabulary increases to 1500 words when using several hundred in his own speech including cohesive devices ('because' etc.), can tell about what has already been or

will be. From 4 to 6 years old, a child begins to understand almost everything that they talk about at home, watches and understands films, begins to read and write. The child's active vocabulary grows up to 10,000–14,000 words, the child learns to explain words, can compare them with each other and highlight sounds, the native language is currently learned by the child by about 50 % [Protasova, 2013, 20–22]. However, in reality, speech lag is typical for 5–10 % of children, and moreover, it is 4 times more common in boys, regardless of whether the child is bilingual or multilingual [Steiner, 2015, 31].

Nevertheless, bilingual children, as a rule, quickly remember where and when one or another language is used, clearly distinguish with whom and how to speak, intuitively choose the necessary words and expressions for various situations and ask questions 'indicating the development of their metalinguistic abilities'. Research data indicate that bilinguals have one system of perception and two (or more) different systems of speech production in each of the languages [Andreeva, 2009]. All this suggests that the brain and thinking, as well as speech activity, in bilinguals are built in a special way, which differs from the organisation of the same systems in monolingual people.

Another important feature of the organization of the speech activity of bilinguals is the situation of mixing languages, which is alternating switching between languages in the process of their use. It should be noted that for bilinguals the problem of mixing languages is quite typical. With the emerging bilingualism and, accordingly, the presence of two separate language systems, the addition of certain words to accurately convey the meaning of what has been said is an auxiliary function that does not affect the quality of language proficiency and perception. As a rule, this phenomenon is temporary and passes with the establishment of confident speech in both (several) languages.

In the course of a family experiment (two parents, two daughters and a son) which has a longitudinal character, it can be argued that the best option is to teach a child from birth to speak not one, but two or three languages. Without experience and in the absence of a large amount of information about the methods and features of bilingual education, the family usually goes through difficulties and doubts, drawing up a plan on their own and gaining the language acquisition experience by their children, first Chinese and Russian, and then English.

So, the eldest daughter Dasha began to learn to speak Chinese from three months. By the age of one, she already understood all the speech addressed to her, and closer to one and a half years she could already construct phrases.

It turned out that Chinese words are easier for a child to master, because they are often much shorter than Russian ones. Compare: 'open' — 开 (kai), 'cat' — 猫 (mao), 'fish' — 鱼 (yu), and so on. After mastering simple speech constructions in Chinese, the child moved on to learning Russian words. By the age of two, she could already easily speak and express her thoughts in Chinese and Russian, communicated with native speakers and did not see any difference between herself and other children. In this way the child learned the basic norms of languages, thanks to which the linguistic picture of the world was formed. After that, at the age of two and a half, there was a 'connection' to the English language, which contributed to the easier mastering of the skills of speaking. Over the next 5 years, the child actively communicated with peers and in the family in three languages, while learning to write and read in each of them. It is interesting to note that the presence of examples of correct reproduction of words in the required languages in everyday life at the early stages of language acquisition played a certain role: the child speaks all three languages without an accent. During the period from one and half years to four, the child spoke Russian with a Chinese accent, which became a manifestation of linguistic identity. Proficiency in several languages by the age of 7 determines the basic foundations of a multilingual picture of the world, which will further contribute to the removal of contradictions in a multicultural and multilingual world.

The second daughter heard speech in three languages since birth, and the number of people expressing thoughts in these languages was growing. Now three people around her (parents and an older sister) regularly spoke in several languages. From the very birth, several languages were present in the child's life, which influenced the lack of coherent speech up to two years. After the age of two, the child began to speak immediately in sentences, mainly in English. The use of the Russian language did not happen immediately. English has become one of the main languages, including Russian, for the sisters' communication in everyday life. The speech of the second child in all languages does not have an accent by which it would be possible to determine linguistic affiliation and identity. From that moment on, the multilingual environment in the family became an integral part of everyday life. Speaking about the principles of teaching, the most optimal for a family is the principle of alternating languages by day. In this way the development of various speech patterns on all basic everyday topics occurs, the child does not have time to forget phrases in another language and does not have time

to get out of practice. Correlation of language and norms of everyday life contributes to the formation of cultural identity.

It is worth noting that the language of the environment is a serious competitor for other languages that children learn. Indeed, it is necessary to minimize the introduction of words in this language, however, one should not forget about the development of the culture of this language. This means that it is necessary to include literature, songs and everyday communication in this language sufficiently so that the child can grow up as a full-fledged bearer of this culture. It makes sense to clearly select the incoming information whenever possible, not to duplicate cartoons and books in different languages, to give preference to literature and other works of art and culture in the original language, and so on, in order to make language acquisition as interesting and concentrated as possible.

The cultural identity of children in a given family is a conglomerate of identities. Of course, the fact that the children live in Russia all their lives affects their perception of themselves. Now, when the identification process has not yet been completed, it is difficult to state with certainty that the children are representatives of a particular culture. However, the fact that there is a combination of Chinese, American and Russian lifestyles in the family leaves its mark. In the family, they not only speak several languages, but also watch cartoons in these languages, learn songs and finger games. Besides, they attend a Russian-Chinese kindergarten. Holidays and folklore greatly influence the formation of cultural identity. So, for example, every year the family celebrates Catholic Christmas, then New Year and Spring Festival, or Chinese New Year. When changing teeth, the Tooth Fairy comes to the eldest daughter and brings a small gift. The family monitors the release of new interesting cartoons in the original languages and watches them. At home they prepare not only Russian dishes, but also Chinese (and eat with chopsticks), and sometimes American. The literature read to them and by them has a great influence on the children and their self-identification. Works of fiction written in Chinese and English in their original versions are read in these languages, which allows them in their understanding of reality to be guided not only by the traditional values of the Russian culture, conveyed in fairy tales in Russian, but also in fairy tales in Chinese and English. So, the simplest of children's favourite fairy tales are Goldilocks and the Three Bears in English and 小蝌蚪找妈妈 (Little Tadpoles Looking for Mum) in Chinese. We believe that in a situation where a child has a sufficient

amount of communication with peers in the languages studied, the formation of cultural identity and the formation of a multicultural personality occur more smoothly and effectively, since, having friends with other ethnicities and understanding their speech and way of life, the child begins to associate him/herself not only with his/her parents as bearers of culture, but also with that ethnicity that is extensively and regularly present in his/her environment.

Connecting online resources and informative content by parents when teaching the languages to children, participating in groups and sharing experiences on social networks (blogging on Instagram (2015–2020)), creating a Youtube channel in modern conditions and especially in lockdown circumstances optimize educational and leisure practice of the language acquisition. Parents, being at the same time teachers for children, perform the functions of a language curator within the framework of the cultural content, selecting and systematizing information (information content, methodological, psychological and pedagogical information). They become guides for their children into the world of culture.

The given experiment is of a private nature and is incomplete. But the experience gained by its participants demonstrates the importance of including parents, children and the intimate environment in the process of learning languages, the need to use online and offline communication technologies. The meaningfulness and understanding by parents of everything that happens in this plot is of particular value.

4. Conclusions

Scientists do not know exactly how the switching of languages occurs in the consciousness of one person, but it is known that it occurs automatically and is not realized by the bilingual him/herself. In fact, such a code switching system is also typical for monolinguals in situations of use, for example, of different styles of speech in various life situations, with the only difference that bilinguals use not just different styles, but also different languages.

Roger T. Bell gives the following example: a six-year-old boy who speaks Italian at home and attends school in English, having difficulty describing the words 'caregiver' and 'playground' in Italian, told his parents about school events at home. Since he did not know the specific words regularly used by the boy in school, he decided to insert words in English into the sentence in Italian. Thus, the meaning of what was said was understood, the code switching system was not violated, and the problem situation was resolved [Bell, 1980].

Mastering several languages as native ones occurs most gently, as a rule, in early childhood under the influence of the culture of native speakers. Most often, bilinguals are brought up in international families, or in families whose mother tongue differs from the official language of the territory in which they live. However, at present, the cases of bilingual education in monolingual monocultural families have also become more frequent. Since language is acquired through culture, and culture through language, different mechanisms of mastering one language or culture affect the mastery of another one. The formation of a child's cultural identity occurs naturally and harmoniously in the process of everyday life, which affects the child's perception of reality and the development of the linguistic picture of the world. The culture is absorbed by the child through communication in the language that permeates everyday life as a familiar and close environment. It is the world of life that has a tremendous impact on the formation of the personality, which means that through making changes in everyday life and daily practices, we can influence the formation of a child's cultural identity.

The assimilation of the norms, values and meanings that form the language and culture basis in everyday practices act as the main mechanism for the formation of a multicultural personality. Receiving new information, the child ranks it according to the principle 'friend or foe', which also influences the formation of his/her ideas about the world. In our opinion, games and everyday practices have the greatest potential in the situation of mastering the culture by a child, especially in early childhood, since educational practices may not yet be available to him/her or not interesting to him/her.

By creating an artificial multilingual environment, parents contribute to the formation of a natural bi- or polylingualism in children, expanding the possibilities for choosing life strategies and tactics of children's behaviour in the future. The formation of the cultural identity of any child occurs continuously, at least until s/he reaches adolescence. In a situation with bilingual children, in the process of mastering a culture, other mechanisms are connected, associated with the development of values in everyday life through direct activity, as well as the role of a parent and/or a significant adult who becomes a teacher for the child. Multicultural interaction, which develops in a family that supports everyday practices characteristic of different cultures and consolidated in the language, serves as the basis for the formation of a multicultural personality, and also helps to implement interaction with the 'bypass' contradictions and relieve tension (social, cultural, national, etc.

etc.) that arise in situations of communication with representatives of other cultures and differ at the level of cultural identity.

The cultural identity of a multilingual person is a multifaceted structure that includes a person's identification with certain cultures and their involvement in these cultures, as well as the ability to influence their life. The thinking of an individual formed under the influence of heterogeneous cultures, perceives their manifestations as 'their own', which contributes to the development of a dialogue in a multicultural world.

Linguistic identity is one of the basic elements of the formation of cultural identity. In connection with this, the concept of a linguistic picture of the world has been concretized, into which, in the process of mastering several languages, elements of other cultures are "included". Multilingualism and bilingualism, in particular, are extremely common in the modern world. Mastering several languages at the same time, a person masters the value-semantic potential of cultures, fixed / reflected / embodied in each language.

Everyday life in the process of forming a multicultural personality acts as a 'melting pot'/'melting crucible' (I. Zanguill): cultural identity is acquired through the assimilation of the experience of culture, presented in various forms. The main mechanism developed in culture and become traditional is the development of values in everyday life through activities. For children, this is creative activity, including games, everyday and situational elements, as well as a language game. The parent thus acts as a teacher, ensuring the child's organic entry into the multicultural world.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Cultural Assimilator Technique as a Creative Method for Increasing Intercultural Competence in Multicultural Groups of Students

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Abstract. The purpose of the research is to develop and implement the technique of general cultural assimilators in the process of teaching multicultural groups of students. The work reveals the methodology for constructing cultural assimilators as an addition to language learning in a variety of settings (education, business, public space, family and friendships, everyday life, etc.). It also considers specific cases that help to overcome cultural differences and adapt to the sociocultural context of Russian society.

Keywords: intercultural competence, cultural assimilator, multicultural groups of students

1. Introduction: Intercultural Competence Concept

In the course of the internationalization of the Russian higher education system, along with teaching the Russian language, the formation of intercultural competence of students from near, and distant foreign countries acquires particular relevance. Intercultural competence is usually understood as behavior that corresponds to a certain context and is effective in this context [Samovar, Porter, 2004, 302]. A more specific definition of intercultural competence can also be found in the literature. Thus, the American researcher J. Kim defines it as the internal ability of an individual to cope with the challenges of intercultural communication, namely, with cultural difficulties, uncertainty, the position of local residents, as well as the accompanying stress and cultural shock [Kim, 1991, 259].

According to experts, successful (effective) communication can be recognized as such interaction in which sufficiently motivated people with the necessary cultural knowledge and communication skills take part. A sufficient level of motivation means that the communication participants strive to cope with all the goals set for them, that is, they internally form a positive

image of upcoming events and make maximum efforts to obtain the desired result. Cultural knowledge is associated with the idea of what needs to be done or said at a specific time and in a specific context. Knowledge of this kind is divided into substantive and procedural. Content knowledge includes knowledge of the subject of interest, the right words, their meanings. In other words, knowledge of everything that is necessary in a specific situation of intercultural contact. Procedural knowledge is associated with planning and achieving the desired content. Communication skills are specific patterns of behavior focused on the achievement of specific goals, and vary greatly in different cultures.

The Russian specialist in the field of cultural studies A. P. Sadokhin proposes to consider intercultural competence in broad and narrow senses. In a broad sense, it implies a person's desire to construct a new cultural identity for him/herself, which is achieved through the study of a foreign language and the development of foreign cultural values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior. The main goal of intercultural interaction in this approach becomes the achievement of full or partial acculturation, involving assimilation or integration. In a narrower sense, intercultural competence is aimed at a person's striving for efficiency in communication with carriers of other cultures, even without extensive cultural knowledge. This kind of competence is often necessary for temporary educational, professional or labor migrants. According to the researcher, the second version of understanding intercultural competence requires the creation of special methods for its development [Sadokhin, 2007, 133].

In the scientific literature, there are three main methods for the development of intercultural competence: culture-specific, context-specific and general cultural [Samovar and Porter, 2004, 324–355].

The culture-specific method is focused on preparing people for foreign travel and activities in a specific culture. For example, those who go to work or study in Japan or Korea should be aware that it is customary there to exchange business cards and gifts, use a formal type of communication with business partners, try to avoid harsh, aggressive forms of interactions, and make every effort to maintain harmony and stability in relationship.

A context-specific method for the development of intercultural competence is a detailed preparation of students or professionals for communication in a specific cultural context, for example, for communication in a special business environment, healthcare institution or education organization.

A general cultural approach to the formation of intercultural competence was first proposed by the American researcher R. Brislin. It is offered to people who “cross cultural boundaries”. It is assumed that all people, regardless of their initial characteristics (ethnic, gender, subcultural, age, status, etc.), go through similar stages of adaptation to the host cultural environment. Therefore, there are offered common methods for overcoming culture shock and acculturation, which are effective in any cultural context [Cushner and Brislin, 1996].

All three methods of developing intercultural competence have become quite widespread, primarily in the form of training programs to increase intercultural sensitivity. Intercultural competence building techniques generally serve two purposes:

- to familiarize the audience with cultural differences by staging situations characteristic of certain cultures;
- to familiarize the audience with the typical behavioral manifestations of carriers of other cultures, and on this basis prepare them for the use of new knowledge in a foreign cultural environment. Generally, several types of techniques for increasing intercultural competence can be distinguished: self-analysis, empirical training, field trips and acquaintance with local cultures [Triandis, 2007] as well as a set of cognitive training and cultural assimilator techniques.

In the context of adaptation of foreign students and professionals who come to work in Russia these creative methods have received very limited application. Therefore, the team of St. Petersburg State University prepared a methodology for constructing cultural assimilators for adaptation to life and study in a large Russian city, compiled a training on this technique, and also carried out work to introduce this technique into the educational process [more details can be found: Tangalycheva, 2015, 2014, 2011]. The purpose of this paper is to present this methodology and highlight the work in multicultural groups that is carried out regularly at St. Petersburg State University.

2. Cultural Assimilator Technique as a Creative Method for Increasing Intercultural Competence

One of the most effective methods of such training is the cultural assimilation technique. This method allows participants of intercultural contacts to feel themselves in the role of representatives of the host culture (in our case Russian culture). The moderator reveals to newcomers the norms, values and rules of behavior in the receiving society. Thus, it becomes possible to compare and analyze the cultural differences between one's own, native

and new cultures and to develop the ability to notice these differences, to pay special attention to them. In the course of training, possible conflict situations are considered, as well as guidelines for their effective resolution are given.

A cultural assimilator is a short story based on communication between carriers of two different cultures. In the process of such communication, partners are faced with a problem that complicates the positive course of their interaction. This story offers 4–5 possible solutions to the problem, of which trainees need to choose only one, the most correct. In addition, an expert interpretation is attached to each possible solution to the problem.

The training program based on the technique of cultural assimilation consists of 100 to 150 stories of interaction between representatives of different cultures. All critical incidents are explained from the point of view of the carriers of Russian culture. Program is recommended for individual work with a computer program or group work in a multicultural group under the guidance of a trainer. After studying this program, students are capable of a better understanding of the subjective culture of Russian culture and, therefore, they are ready for more successful intercultural contacts.

It is worth noting that when constructing assimilators, it is necessary to prepare significantly more stories than will remain in the final version of the training program. Since some will not contain real intercultural differences and will not pass an expert assessment, therefore, they will not be included in the program.

The construction of cultural assimilators is based on interviewing individuals who have extensive experience and knowledge of the two cultures. Any indicator of cultural difference can be included in the training. K. Kushner and R. Brislin in the book “Cultural assimilator. A Practical Guide” proposed 18 topics for the construction of common cultural assimilators: anxiety; unconfirmed expectations; affiliation; uncertainty; opposition to prejudice; communicative and linguistic knowledge; roles; individualism / collectivism; rituals / superstitions; social hierarchy / class and status; values; work indicators (problem solving; focus on completing tasks or on interpersonal relationships; decision making practices); orientation in time and space; categorization; differentiation; distinction between “insiders” and “outsiders” of the group; styles of assimilation of cultural knowledge; attribution [Cushner and Brislin, 1996].

This form of training develops participants’ cognitive breadth of thinking. Cognitive complexity, in turn, helps to view the subjective culture of another

group as “suitable”, therefore, in relation to it, the level of prejudice and stereotypical judgments decreases. At the same time, training based on cultural assimilators does not always stimulate sympathy for another cultural group or reduce social distance towards it. The development of sympathy depends on the positive experience of interaction with another group. Knowing how another group thinks and perceives the world around them does not change the emotional attitude towards it. Social distance often depends on the norms of our own home group and if our group norms encourage the formation of friendships with another group, we will be more inclined to establish them than when they hinder us.

Another limitation of the cultural assimilation technique is that it does not change behavior itself. It is one thing to know how to behave, and quite another to really behave correctly. To achieve this, it is necessary to undergo training in behavior modification and acquire the skills of “new” behavior.

3. Methodology of Applied Research

The object of this applied research was foreign citizens living in St. Petersburg for at least three months. The following target groups of foreign citizens were distinguished:

- personnel of foreign, joint and Russian companies and institutions;
- undergraduate and graduate students;
- foreign citizens married to residents of Russian cities;
- labor migrants.

The study participants were also divided into several groups by region:

- representatives of Western cultures (USA, Western Europe, including Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia);
- representatives of the Far Eastern countries;
- representatives of the CIS countries;
- people from African countries.

The subject of the research is the intercultural communication of foreign citizens from various countries with the residents of St. Petersburg, as well as the problems and difficulties faced by participants in the course of international cooperation.

Two qualitative methods of collecting and processing empirical data were used:

1) semi-structured interviews of experts with communication experience and knowledge of the specifics of two different cultures;

2) series of focus groups combined with interactive video filming.

The study involved 70 people representing five regions and cultures (East, West, Africa, CIS), or 32 countries. The largest number of participants was represented by foreigners from Western countries (27 people). Foreign participants were represented by 44 men and 26 women. The age of the participants is from 17 to 59 years old. The study involved employees of foreign, joint and Russian companies and diplomatic services, teachers of foreign languages, students, graduate students, persons married to foreign citizens, as well as forced migrants who came to St. Petersburg in order to find better living conditions and earnings.

Almost all of them spoke Russian more or less well. The only exceptions were a few high-status employees of foreign companies (they were interviewed in English) and a few young labor migrants from Central Asia who graduated from school after the collapse of the Soviet Union and therefore speak Russian poorly.

Highly qualified employees of foreign companies and diplomatic services, as well as some graduate students, were invited as experts with extensive experience in communication in different cultures. There were interviewed 10 foreign teachers working in various educational institutions of St. Petersburg and teaching their national languages. The method of individual interviews has certain advantages over the group method as the organizers of the study themselves came to the informants at a convenient time and place. In addition, some of the informants, despite the fact that they had lived in Russia for several years, did not speak Russian, so English could be used during the individual conversation. A total of 25 expert interviews were received.

Four focus groups were conducted with the rest of the study participants. The objective of this part of the study was to identify free associations and stories connected with living and studying (working) in St. Petersburg for the further construction of cultural assimilators.

The most contrasting patterns of interactions were recorded in contacts with representatives of Western and Eastern cultures. It should be noted that the strategies of acculturation of representatives of these cultures differ greatly. Foreigners from Western Europe and the United States tend to associate the difficulties of their adaptation with the lack of culture of local residents, while foreigners from Eastern countries make every effort to understand the motives of behavior of Petersburgers and adapt to them.

4. Results: Construction of Cultural Assimilator and Elaboration of Training Program

As a result of the applied research a large number of cases, stories and plots of intercultural interactions between foreign citizens and residents of St. Petersburg were collected. The tasks of the authors of general cultural assimilators were as follows.

1. Use interview materials and select specific situations for constructing assimilators.
2. State each specific situation in literary Russian, without stylistic and grammatical errors.
3. Identify the main communication problem in each specific situation.
4. Think over and write four possible solutions to the identified problem, only one of which is correct from the point of view of representatives of the Russian culture.
5. Prepare an expert interpretation of each of the four answer options; each of these interpretations should immerse foreigners in the context of local culture.

Let's consider the process of constructing a general cultural assimilator using a specific example.

At the first stage, we select the situation told by the informant. In our example, this is a young Korean woman studying at one of the St. Petersburg universities.

"You know in Korea, foreigners and Koreans are very different. Nobody asks a foreigner for directions or the bus number. When I was standing at a bus stop in St. Petersburg, Russian "babushka" asked me: "Tell me, please, which trolleybus will get me to the Vasileostrovskaya metro station? at that time I had just arrived in Russia and did not know... I was so amazed: how could she approach me, a foreigner, and ask for directions? I was so amazed... And she asks for directions... in Russian, speaks Russian... it was so strange... Now I am already adapted and if they don't even ask me... I myself tell everyone what, how much, which minibus goes where; I tell it by myself."

Then, with the help of leading questions, it was found out how the situation was resolved. It turned out that, seeing the confusion of a young Korean woman, the elderly Russian woman waved her hand and ran on. As you can see, the situation is stated quite clearly, but in not the best Russian language. Also, without further questioning, this story was not complete.

At the second stage, we present the same situation in the normative Russian language without stylistic and grammatical errors and give it the form of a small story. It turns out the following version.

A young Korean woman came to St. Petersburg a few days ago to study at one of the universities. Now she was walking to the apartment she had rented the day before. The girl felt extremely insecure: she could hardly speak Russian and was very careful on the street, since she did not yet know either the city or its inhabitants at all. She also tried to remember the way to her place. She felt like a stranger in this unfamiliar district.

Suddenly, an elderly Russian woman who in Russia is often called “bushka” approached her and asked: “Could you tell me how to get to the Vasilostrovskaya subway station?”. The Korean woman was confused because she did not quite understand what the passerby wanted from her. She smiled politely, trying with all her appearance to show that she did not understand her question. The elderly woman only looked at the girl with condemnation, waved her hand and hurried on. When, finally, the Korean woman realized what the elderly woman wanted, she was deeply amazed that the local resident had not noticed that she was a foreigner. In her own country, she is used to unmistakably distinguishing foreigners within a crowd.

At the third stage, we identify the problematic situation in this story and formulate a question related to the behavior of a local resident: *Why did an elderly Russian woman turn to a Korean lady with a question about how to get to the subway station?*

An important issue in our research is that the question should be formulated in such a way as to explain to foreign citizens the motives for the behavior of residents of Russian society, in our case citizens of St. Petersburg.

At the fourth stage, we construct four possible answers to the question posed, only one of which is correct.

- 1. Due to her elderly age, a local resident could not see well.*
- 2. An elderly woman had no idea that foreigners, who did not speak Russian and did not know the city well, could walk unaccompanied.*
- 3. According to the elderly woman, the young Korean woman was no different from other passers-by. (CORRECT ANSWER)*
- 4. The elderly woman did not think that the foreigner did not speak Russian.*

At the fifth stage, expert interpretations are constructed for each answer. These interpretations are intended to immerse foreign citizens in the context of local culture. In the process of preparing interpretations, the method-

ological approaches to the study of intercultural communication by E. Hall, G. Hofstede and other researchers were taken into account [Kluckhohn, Strodtbeck, 1960; Inghart, Vel'tsel', 2011; Hall, 1959; Hofstede, 1991, 2001; L'uis, 2001]. At the same time, the authors of cultural assimilators relied on their cultural and everyday experience of life in Russia, as well as their professional knowledge in the field of intercultural communication.

1. We cannot rule out this possibility. However, in the description of the situation there is no indication that the elderly local woman had vision problems. On the contrary, we know that the woman was very mobile, quick and well oriented in the situation. After all, she did not wait for the young Korean woman to understand what she had wanted from her, but, waving her hand, hurried on. We have no reason to believe that she saw poorly. Try another answer.

2. It is quite understandable that people who first come to a new country can usually count on support from local residents. At the same time, many tourists and migrants explore the new space on their own from the first days. A foreigner walking along the city streets unaccompanied by friends or acquaintances is not unusual in St. Petersburg. However, the elderly local resident hardly ever thought about who to ask for directions. She just needed to get to the metro station faster. Try another answer.

3. This is the correct answer. Representatives of more than 120 ethnic groups and nationalities live in St. Petersburg. On the streets of the city you can meet people with eastern and western roots, visitors from northern and southern regions. All these people have the most varied appearance: hair color, eyes, height, facial features, etc. Often on the streets of Russian cities you can see people from Korea who have lived in St. Petersburg for several generations. They, as a rule, speak Russian fluently, without an accent, know the city space very well and can help a passer-by by pointing the right direction. Therefore, the old Russian woman, who asked the young Korean lady how to get to the metro station, simply had no idea that she was a foreigner.

4. This is partly the correct answer. Many guests of St. Petersburg speak Russian quite well, and, of course, an elderly woman could not assume in advance that a young Korean woman does not speak Russian. However, this explanation does not fully disclose the situation. Please refer to another answer.

To create a training program on the technique of cultural assimilator, we collected 130 cultural assimilators, united in several headings. The section "Business" contains situations related to the specifics of doing business in Rus-

sia: distribution of profits, hiring employees, negotiating, the role of informal relationships, attitude to work, communication errors, etc.

The “Education” section reflects the relationship between teachers and students, the organization of the educational process in Russian universities, communicative failures associated with misunderstanding the meaning of words and grammatical structures, ignorance of the rules, norms and expectations of representatives of different cultures in the field of education, etc.

The topic “Space of the city” includes stories dedicated to the peculiarities of the functioning of urban space: problems of politeness of citizens, the relationship “between fathers and children”; transport, road conditions; smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages; variety of styles of behavior of Petersburgers, etc.

The topic “Home and Family” covers situations such as the culture of feasts, food culture, home improvement, relationships with neighbors and family members, omens, superstitions that guide local residents at home, etc.

The section “Leisure and Entertainment” contains a description of episodes from intercultural interactions in the free time: while shopping, visiting museums, restaurants, cinemas, celebrating birthdays, etc.

The last section “Services and Services” addresses situations related to medical and educational services, as well as serving people in shops, banks, post offices, repair shops, restaurants and cafes.

All these headings include differences in verbal and non-verbal communication, in roles (gender, age, status), differences in rituals, holidays, superstitions, values and expectations. In addition, great attention is paid to differences in the perception of space and time, in relation to collectivism / individualism.

5. Conclusions: Prospects for the Use of Training Program on the Technique of Cultural Assimilator

The results of our study and the developed cultural assimilators were shared with all study participants. According to employees of foreign companies, diplomatic services, teachers of their national languages working in St. Petersburg, as well as students and postgraduates, the cultural assimilators turned out to be useful for them. They independently worked on situations of intercultural interactions and expert explanations of them, and, as a result of which, they discovered many previously unknown nuances of intercultural communication.

Currently, the training materials are used primarily to work with students in multicultural classrooms in the process of teaching a number of courses at St. Petersburg State University on intercultural communication, sociology of culture, social communications, social work, etc. After getting acquainted with the situations from the training program, students are invited to independently collect material and develop similar episodes with original stories. It is worth noting that the greatest difficulties in the work of students are caused by the requirement to formulate the main problem of the selected situation, as well as the requirement to identify 4–5 relevant options for resolving a difficult situation. To do this, students should have a sufficiently rich imagination and some personal experience of intercultural communication. Often, students do not have sufficient knowledge about the culturally specific context of representatives of other cultures who are involved in the assimilator story.

At the same time, conducting classes on the technique of cultural assimilation allows students to significantly expand their cultural outlook, gives them the idea that the culture of the host country should be perceived based on its own assessment criteria, and relieves students of excessive ethnocentrism. They begin to understand that intercultural contacts can bring satisfaction and pleasure, that these contacts can be effective and lead to the successful fulfillment of educational and professional tasks.

As the experience of several years of popularizing the developed training on the technique of cultural assimilation has shown, the important target groups of such work, in addition to students and university teachers, could be:

- journalists who cover interethnic, intercultural relations in the Russian sociocultural environment;
- leaders of diasporas of various national and ethnic groups in Russian cities;
- religious leaders in large cities;
- workers of social services, local self-government bodies and workers of non-profit organizations involved in the harmonization of interethnic and intercultural relations.

Further methodological and practical work on the technique of cultural assimilation should be associated with the development of culturally-specific situations of interaction in different settings and cultural groups. Since the problem of labor migration from Central Asia is the most urgent in recent years for many large cities of Russia and for the country as a whole, it is prob-

ably necessary to concentrate on solving this problem. At the same time, this kind of work should not be carried out with the labor migrants themselves, but with representatives of those administrative bodies that will be responsible for the adaptation of migrants. Nowadays labor migrants in Russia are mainly concerned with survival and earning a livelihood. In addition, the level of Russian language proficiency among the representatives of the young generation of migrants who graduated from school after the collapse of the USSR does not allow them not only to receive specific intercultural knowledge and skills, but also to adapt to the most elementary requirements of the host society. To help them fully master the new socio-cultural environment, it would be better at first to train moderators and social workers who can carry out activities on the adaptation of labor migrants and their children.

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Laboratory of Linguistic Meanings Within Communication Trends of the Post-Literacy Era

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Abstract. The article investigates the problem of forming polyliteracy within the framework of the University Laboratory of Linguistic Meanings. The choice of activities is justified: ontolinguistics; Russian as a foreign language; linguoecol-

ogy; creative linguistics. The paper describes the following forms of work: virtual Museum “Samara linguistic school”; linguistic club “Language and the world”; international recitation competition; online conferences with leading linguists; interactive classes; regional interuniversity linguistic competition. The article presents the results of a pedagogical experiment undertaken at Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education.

Keywords: cultural identity, language teaching, monolingual environment, non-formal learning, polylingual children

1. Introduction

Literacy is an increasingly urgent issue in the Russian scientific community today. It should be noted that the concept of literacy, that has been recently interpreted as “the ability to read and write”, has expanded its meaning: now it is studied as “functional”, “multiple”, “multimodal”, “informational”, “media”, “computer”, “visual”, “audiovisual” and “network” literacy. In the context of digitalization of all spheres of human life, the variability of the modalities of transmission and reception of information, the transformation of traditional methods and forms of work with students in higher educational institutions is natural; the emergence of new educational technologies is justified. The purpose of this study is to summarize the experience of the Higher Education Laboratory of Linguistic Meanings in terms of communication trends of the post-literacy epoch — the formation of students polyliteracy.

2. Studied material

The article analyzes four sections (ontolinguistics, Russian as a foreign language, linguistic ecology, linguistics of creativity) and six forms of work (international recitation contest, linguistic club “Language and the World”, virtual museum “Samara Linguistic School”, Online conferences with leading specialists in linguistics, interactive classes, and the regional interuniversity linguistic contest). Laboratories of linguistic meanings, as well as participants activities in the educational process in the aspect of the polyliteracy formation among students.

3. Research methodology and methods

The methodological basis for the study was the post-literacy theory developed by M. Yu. Gudova [Gudova, 2015; 2019], considered “a distinguishing modern culture of coexistence and systematic (interrelated) functioning of all

forms of literacy formed in the history of culture, based on computer technologies and mass media” [Gudova, 2015, 28]. In carrying out this study, a complex of complementary methods was used: 1) theoretical methods (analysis, synthesis, description, generalization); 2) empirical method (pedagogical experiment).

The study was conducted in several stages.

At the first stage (2013–2015) the works on cultural studies, linguistic, linguo-methodical and pedagogical literature were studied. The creation of the Virtual Museum “Samara Linguistic School” started. An experiment, which revealed the level of polyliteracy of students, was carried out in Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education.

The second stage (2015–2018) was dedicated to the development of experiential learning.

At the third stage (2018–2019) the experimental training continued and the results of the control experiment were analyzed.

4. The conceptual framework of the study

In this study, we use the concepts of “multimodality”, “multimodal text”, “creolized text”, “multiculturalism”, “polyliteracy”. The meaning content is as follows.

The terms “multimodality” (“polymodality”) and “multimodal” are used in scientific works on cognitology, psychology, neurophysiology, linguistics, etc., for example, Sizikova, 2019; Blinova, 2019a; Bhaskar et al., 2017; Baldry, Thibault, 2010; Anderson, Kachorsky, 2019; ÓHalloran, Smith, 2012. Multimodal interpretive practices are studied in Lewkowich, 2019.

It is important to state that multimodality describes communication practice in terms of various resources or modes, used to create messages: text, auditory, visual, spatial messages, etc. The set of these modes determines how multimodality affects various rhetorical situations, the ability to guide the audience’s perception of an idea or concept [Kress, 2010; Lutkewitte, 2013; Murray, 2013].

Scientists claim that multimodal text production is common in various cultures and societies; it has become a central part of many people’s daily lives [Mills, Unsworth, 2018] and an important aspect of educational practices [Milenkova et al., 2018; Stanojević et al., 2018; Kuzmanović, 2019; Lewkowich, 2019].

The literature analysis has shown that the concept of “multimodal text” is interpreted ambiguously. A. A. Kibrik considers the text, in the perception

of which several channels are involved (primarily the visual and auditory ones) to be multimodal text [Kibrik, 2010, 135]. From the point of view of E. D. Nekrasova, it is necessary to distinguish between multimodal and polycode text containing different semiotic visual (verbal and iconic) signs. The scientist refers to polycode texts as newspaper discourse, Internet communication and postcard texts, etc. A polycode text can be monomodal if it is perceived only with the help of a visual analyzer [Nekrasova, 2014, 45]. O. A. Blinova considers a magazine cover to be a sample of a multimodal text [Blinova, 2019b]. L. N. Glebova and Yu. A. Platonova write about the requirements for a multimodal educational text [Glebova, Platonova, 2016].

Yu. A. Sorokin and T. F. Tarasov define creolized texts as the ones “the texture of which consists of two inhomogeneous parts: verbal (language / speech) and non-verbal (belonging to other sign systems)” [Sorokin, Tarasov, 1990, 180].

In this article, a multimodal text is understood as a text that is a complex of verbal and visual components. The terms “multimodal text” and “creolized text” are used synonymously.

We consider multiculturalism as a personal quality of a person, acting as the basis for positive intercultural relations in society [Makazhanova et al., 2019]. V. L. Kraynik states: “Educational activities are designed to attract students to the diversity of culture, to contribute to the formation of a “multicultural” person” [Kraynik, 2015, 53].

Polyliteracy is defined as the ability to analyze and create a multimodal text.

5. Laboratory of linguistic Meanings (LLM): General questions

For 5 years (2015–2020) the research “Laboratory of Linguistic Meanings” (hereinafter — LLM), headed by Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor Elena Pavlovna Ivanyan and PhD of Philological Sciences, Associate Professor Irina Vladimirovna Gurova [Gonnova et al., 2019; Ivanyan et al., 2020], has been functioning at Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. The objectives of LLM are to present domestic and foreign scientific linguistic heritage to students of different levels of education, creating conditions for their intellectual development and self-realization in the field of language research, increasing the level of polyliteracy. The spheres of LLM interests include ontolinguistics, Russian as a foreign language, linguistic ecology, linguistics of creativity and are connected with the educational

profiles at the philological faculty and the faculty of primary education at the university (bachelor and master degrees), as well as by the integration of scientific interests of the teaching staff and students. Let us briefly characterize the mentioned spheres of scientific interest.

Ontolinguistics (linguistics of children's speech) is one of the modern anthropocentric sciences. The object of the study is child speech activity and the subject is children's native language learning [Zeitlin, 2008, 45]. This is of particular importance at the faculty of primary education which is carrying out the training of teachers of preschool educational organizations and the primary school teachers.

The studies in the field of Russian as a foreign language allow to provide readiness of the future teachers training of inophone children in the poly-ethnic environment. Thus, an integrative (multidisciplinary) approach to the study of child speech activity and its management is carried out.

Much is done in the sphere of linguoecology. The subject of linguoecology is the problems of Russian speech, speech degradation and factors that help eliminate degradation, speech rehabilitation [Ivanyan, 2017].

Creativity linguistics is a young branch of Russian science exploring the process and product of *homo ludens* — a playing person. Linguistic creative is based on the conscious or unconscious violation of the norm and choice of a non-standard language code [Gridina, 2013, 10].

LLM organizes and implements a variety of scientific activities: scientific and methodological seminars, interactive classes, regional interuniversity linguistic competition, international competition recitation, etc. Research on the materials of network and non-network multimodal and polylingual texts are carried out within the framework of the linguistic club "Language and World", and also on the platform of the virtual museum "Samara Linguistic School". [Virtual Museum, URL; Ivanyan, Belkina, 2013].

Let's consider some forms of LLM's work: 1) international competition of recitation; 2) linguistic club "Language and World"; 3) virtual museum "Samara Linguistic School"; 4) online conferences with leading specialists in linguistics; 5) interactive classes; 6) regional interuniversity linguistic competition.

6. International recitation competition

The purpose of the international competition is to reveal the potential of student youth, popularize and support the study of Russian culture and language, civilizational and spiritual values of the Russian people. Students

representing several higher education institutions from different countries take part in the competition.

The competition represents a unique communication space for realization of hybrid types and forms of creativity. Participants need to create a video with declamation of the text proposed by the event organizers. The language of the declamation is Russian. Video can be recorded by any technical means; subtitles, voice-over, video special effects, animation, music are acceptable. The recording should not exceed three minutes. It is possible to choose one of the forms of participation: individual or team.

The authors are to post their creative work on the video hosting YouTube, indicating the name of the contest, the name of the reciter and the citizenship. After posting the video on YouTube, the contestant sends the jury members an electronic link to the multimedia product. The competition winners and prizewinners will be determined in three categories: "The most technical reciter", "The most artistic reciter", "The most original reciter".

The competition organizers select the texts for the declaration in accordance with the following principles:

1. *Seasonal and thematic principle*. Thus, in winter 2018 there was the New Year theme. T. Tolstaya's essay "An Empty Day" was proposed for the recitation [Tolstaya, 2010]. In autumn 2019 the theme "The colors of autumn from the linguistic perspective" was reflected in the work of K. Paustovsky "Dictionary of native nature" [Paustovsky, URL].

2. *Axiological principle*. This principle is justified by the international competition objectives: preservation of spiritual heritage, study of basic national values of the Russian people. Consequently, the declared text should contain a variety of linguistic, cultural and historical information.

3. *The principle of multi-modality*. A work for declamation provides the contestant with an opportunity to communicate with the audience on the basis of audio, spatial, visual and other modes.

LLM managers provide the word stress and a linguistic commentary in the recitation text for the inophone participants.

The creative works analysis of the contestants from different countries has shown that the problem of student polyliteracy is solved with the help of video clip creation in the optimal form. Students play out interesting videos according to the given text that illustrate the advantages of the proposed literary text.

7. Linguistic club “Language and the world”

The linguistic club “Language and the world” was organized at the faculty of Philology of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education in 1998. For more than 20 years, the club has been headed by Professor E. P. Ivanyan. The LLM scientific and methodological portfolio expands the experience of using online services of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education electronic information and educational environment when interacting with students (materials of Electronic Document Management on the websites of faculties and departments (educational disciplines), university e-mail services, calendars, planners, mailing lists, collaboration with documents in OneDrive network storage, Yammer corporate social network, video hosting based on Stream, etc.).

In the corporate social network Yammer there is a group called “Linguistic club “Language and world”. The priority activity of the group members was linguistic problem solving, including the linguistic analysis of multimodal texts (for example, demotivators). A demotivator (demotivation poster) is a two-part text that consists of a picture in a black frame and a slogan commenting on it. A multimodal text of this type corresponds to one of the four spheres of human life: social, political, economic, or spiritual. O.N. Lutovino-va identifies autosemantic and synsemantic relationships between the verbal and iconic parts of the demotivator. The scientist points out the fact that autosemantic relations are typical for texts in which the iconic component is not necessary for the correct understanding of the verbal component. Synsemantic relations are an attribute of a text in which the verbal part cannot be correctly understood without an iconic component [Lutovino-va, 2016]. The subject of student analysis is the language game techniques in demotivators. Linguistic problems based on the material of the German group “Rammstein” video developing student multiculturalism is of particular interest.

It should be noted that the tasks posted in the Yammer group “Linguistic club “Language and the world” contribute to solving the problem of student polyliteracy both in actual time (it is suggested to solve a linguistic problem before a certain date; decisions are commented on by the members of the linguistic club, and the teacher sums up the results, correlating the results with the criteria of completeness, solution accuracy, the speed of the host response, originality) and in individual educational study.

The results of research activities of teachers and students on the analysis of multimodal texts are presented in publications [Ivanyan, Anikin, 2019; Anikin, Mikhailova, 2019; Gurova, 2020].

8. Virtual Museum “Samara linguistic school”

The Virtual Museum “Samara linguistic school” was created with the financial support of the Russian Humanitarian Science Foundation as part of the research project of the regional competition “Volga lands in the history and culture of Russia” 2013 — Samara region “Design of a regional model of virtual museums of scientific schools (based on the material of Samara linguistic school)” project № 35/2013 — Russian Humanitarian Science Foundation. Registration NIOKR № CITiS 01201364148 (NIOKR- scientific research, development and technological work, CITiS — Center for information technologies and systems of executive authorities). The Museum director is Professor E. P. Ivanyan [Virtual Museum, URL].

The LLM participants are developing Virtual Museum projects:

1) Creating videos about Samara linguistic school scientists:

a) a film about one of the founders of Samara linguistic school — doctor of Philology, Professor E. S. Skoblikova was created at the initiative of the Director of the Virtual Museum, with the support of the Department of Russian language, culture of speech and teaching methods and the Dean of the Philology faculty of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education;

b) the students made movies about E. P. Pronina, M. N. Veserova and L. K. Skorokhod.

Actually, the movie-making is the research, the results of which are reflected in regional scientific student conferences (2018–2020) and all-Russian Universiade in the Russian language (December 2018 — January 2019). Students prepared a video of Professor E. P. Pronina, took the 2nd place and took part in the final stage of the Universiade (January 2019).

2) Work with personalia: create audio recordings, drawings (clicking to see the awards scientists of Samara school of linguistics).

It should be noted that since the exhibits of Samara linguistic school Museum are virtual objects, the achievements of LLM participants become the actual property of the entire Samara region. The student polyliteracy level increases when studying the Virtual Museum exhibits (audio recordings, photo galleries, etc.). Samara is a multi-ethnic region, where Tatars, Mordvins, and Chuvashes have been living together with Russians for centuries. Materials within the sci-

entific research interests of Professor A. N. Gvozdev allow developing the multiculturalism of students, as they contain information on the scientist's research of the Mordovian language when he lived and worked in Penza.

9. Online conferences with prominent linguists

Online conferences are held at least once a year. The participant contingent consists of master's degree students of the academic master's program "Russian language in school compulsory and higher education". Bachelors are the winners of the contest of linguistic problems. The format of online conferences is carried out in EOS Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. The forum has video-recording and 1.5–2 months before the start of the conference, information about this scientific event is posted on the social networks of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education, indicating the name of the leading scientist and the scientific interests while the conference program is proposed.

Thanks to the online communication format, students get the opportunity to interact with a leading specialist-linguist, ask questions, pose problems and answer urgent tasks formulated by the scientist. The online conferences were attended by doctor of Philology, Professor of the Kazakh national pedagogical University named after Abay A. K. Zhumabekova (Kazakhstan); doctor of pedagogical Sciences, Professor from Serbia (Novy Sad city) M. Knezhevich; PhD of Philology, associate Professor of the University of Lodz A. Piasecka (Poland). Videos of online conferences and news notes about each scientific event are posted on the website of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. Information about the online conference 2019 is available on the social network Facebook [Samoilova, URL]. Learning Russian as a foreign language contributes to the formation of polyliteracy and the multiculturalism of students: bachelors and master's degree students become acquainted with Serbian, Polish or Kazakh linguocultures (on the basis of language material, ethnically marked phraseological units, historical and etymological comments of leading scientists in Europe and Asia) at online conferences.

10. Interactive studies

Interactive studies include work with multimodal texts for the following disciplines: "Pedagogical Rhetoric" (Faculty of Philology and Faculty of Primary Education), "Fundamentals of Eloquence" (Faculty of Philolo-

gy), “Linguistic Foundations of Preschool Children Speech Development” (Faculty of Primary Education), “Russian Language” (Faculty of Primary Education), “Semiotics of Political Discourse” (Faculty of Philology) for bachelor’s and the discipline “Speech” in the master’s degrees training course of “Pedagogical Education” (Faculty of Philology and the Faculty of Primary Education), “Actual problems of the ecology of the Russian language in specialized education” (Faculty of Philology). For example, the studies on the applied aspects of linguistics include (disciplines: “Pedagogical rhetoric”, “Fundamentals of eloquence” “Actual problems of the ecology of the Russian language in specialized education”) the tasks to analyze multimodal texts of TV programs of N. Mikhalkov “Besogon” and D. Kiselyov “weekly news” to identify rhetorical techniques, successes and shortcomings. The students prepare a mini-study, then, in an interactive practical lesson, they offer the group to watch small fragments from the mentioned TV programs lasting 30–60 seconds in order to determine the method of elocution, identify a defect, give a linguo-ecological characteristic of this fragment, etc.

In an interactive lesson on the discipline “Fundamentals of Eloquence”, students are invited to study materials from Internet sources about the Watergate scandal 1972–1974 and prepare a polymodal text on one of the topics:

1. The speech of President R. Nixon’ supporter at the rally.
2. The campaign statement by a member of the US Democratic Party before voters after the Watergate scandal.
3. TV messages by President R. Nixon to the American people.
4. “Watergates of the XXI century”: speech of the TV program “Besogon” host
5. “Watergate as an example of a simulacrum”: presentation at a scientific conference.
6. Honorable speech for the journalists who wrote about Watergate in the 1970s at the Press Day event.
7. Is the element- *zeŭm* (*gate*) necessary for the Russian language: TV debates.

During the classes of the discipline “Semiotics of Political Discourse” students were asked to give at least 3 arguments to substantiate their position on the question: WATERGATE: representation or simulation? reality or phantom denotation? Information about the Watergate scandal published by the RIA Novosti news agency was offered as a study material as well as an excerpt from the book by J. Baudrillard “Simulacra and Simulation” and a transcript

of the conversation between the political observer E. Tolstykh and the head of the Experimental Creative Center, political scientist S. Kurginyan.

Thus, working with multimodal texts in interactive university classes is a creative practice developing students polyliteracy which is relevant in the second decade of the XXI century.

11. Regional interuniversity linguistic competition

The regional interuniversity linguistic competition is held once a year in accordance with the Regulations on the competition approved by the Academic Council of Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. The purpose of the competition is to form student polyliteracy, develop their multiculturalism; students study domestic and foreign scientific linguistic heritage, they have an opportunity to understand and analyze the possibilities of theoretical and practical application.

The competition includes several tasks. The first task includes mastering, and public presentation of, one of the methods of linguistic analysis of the text (linguosemiotic, linguopoetic, linguo-methodological or from the standpoint of linguistic comparative studies (the team choice)).

Linguosemiotic analysis involves the study of the text as a system of signs. In this case, the semantics, syntagmatics and pragmatics of signs become the subject of the contestants' research.

The task of the linguopoetic analysis of the text is to consider the relationship between the verbal and speech structure and the compositional and artistic organization of the work in order to understand the aesthetic impact.

The purpose of the linguo-methodical analysis is to identify the peculiarities of the use of linguistic means by the author of the text, their role in expressing the figurative meaning of the work, as well as in the choice of forms and methodological methods of working with the literary text, among which: methods of semantization and interpretation; stylistic experiment; techniques for visualizing an associative background; verbal and graphic drawing; composing "mood palette" of the hero and the author; creation of a movie script, video clip; ballet design; compilation of a dictionary of visual and expressive means; expressive reading; dramatization, etc. Thus, linguo-methodical analysis is a delayed text reading under a "linguistic microscope" [Shansky, 1986] for the qualification of linguistic phenomena, assessment of the author's word usage and simultaneous methodological commentary.

Taking into account the interaction of the comparative-historical, comparative-typological and comparative-correlate methods of linguistic comparative studies, the students analyze the texts of Russian and English discourses, various versions of translation of poetic works. This type of activity contributes to the development of the multiculturalism of students.

Presentation is evaluated according to the following criteria:

- 1) the material corresponds to the proposed topic;
- 2) the main provisions of the chosen approach to the analysis of linguistic phenomena are noted;
- 3) knowing of the works of domestic and foreign scientists in the framework of this aspect of the analysis;
- 4) laconic presentation of information;
- 5) single style of presentation design, an adequate choice of colors, competent placement of information objects on slides;
- 6) various types of objects on presentation slides (diagrams, diagrams, drawings, video and audio materials, etc.).

The second competition task is to analyze the text proposed by the organizers in various methodological aspects. The jury evaluates the multimodal text prepared by the participating teams in accordance with the following criteria:

- 1) the analysis of the text was carried out within the framework of the specified aspect;
- 2) the analysis of the text was carried out in accordance with the proposed scheme (goal, methods of analysis, conclusions);
- 3) depth of analysis;
- 4) original interpretation of the text;
- 5) verbal and non-verbal components of the created multimodal text form a single (integral) information space;
- 6) competent speech, absence of grammatical, stylistic and other errors.

The third task is a linguistic question-riddle for the audience to check the formation of the contestants' ability to present linguistic information in a non-standard form.

The fourth task, associated with the analysis of linguistic phenomena presented in various genres of Internet communication and performances, reveals research skills.

In the individual championship, the participants of the competition answer the questions of the quiz: in 2018 it was the monograph by E. V. Du-

shechkina “Russian Christmas tree: history, mythology, literature” [Dushechkina, 2002], in 2019 it was the monograph by A. P. Vasilevich, S. N. Kuznetsova and S. S. Mishchenko “Color and color names in Russian” [Vasilevich et al., 2005].

The organizers of the annual regional interuniversity linguistic competition underline the effectiveness of the scientific events, the expansion of the number of participants (in 2018 — four teams from two universities; in 2019 — five teams representing three higher educational institutions of Samara and the Samara region).

12. Results and discussions

For 5 years (2015–2019), a pedagogical experiment was carried out at Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. The experiment participants were 50 students taking part in the work of the LLM. At the ascertaining stage of the experiment (October 2015), the level of student polyliteracy was established. The evaluation criteria were: 1) the ability to analyze multimodal text from given positions; 2) the ability to create a multimodal linguistic text.

Tasks:

1. Analyze the proposed multimodal text: present a version of its interpretation and decoding of meanings transmitted by a complex of verbal and non-verbal methods; identify rhetorical techniques, communicative successes and failures; qualify the techniques of the language game; define the interaction of the verbal and visual parts of the creolized text based on the behavior of grapho-derivatives and foreign language analytes in the proposed text; give a linguoecological characterization of the text.

2. Create a multimodal linguistic text, taking into account the multicultural nature of the audience (genre, type, form of the text — at the choice of the student).

The levels of student polyliteracy were identified in accordance with the following indicators.

High level: the interpretation of the proposed multimodal text and the decoding of the meanings transmitted by a complex of verbal and non-verbal methods were competently carried out; revealed rhetorical techniques, communicative successes and failures; the techniques of the language game are correctly qualified; the interaction of the verbal and visual parts of the creolized text is determined on the basis of the behavior of grapho-derivatives and

foreign language analytes in the proposed text; a meaningful linguoecological characteristic of the text is given; verbal, visual and auditory components of the created multimodal linguistic text form a single (integral) information space, taking into account the multicultural nature of the audience.

Intermediate level: no more than two mistakes were made when interpreting the proposed multimodal text and decoding the meanings transmitted by a complex of verbal and non-verbal methods; revealed most of the rhetorical techniques, communicative successes and failures; no more than two mistakes were made when qualifying the techniques of the language game; the interaction of the verbal and visual parts of the creolized text based on the behavior of grapho-derivatives and foreign-language analytes in the proposed text is described fragmentarily; the linguo-ecological characterization of the text is formal; the created text uses several modalities of translation of linguistic meanings, the multicultural nature of the audience is taken into account.

Low level: more than two mistakes were made when interpreting the proposed multimodal text and decoding the meanings transmitted by a complex of verbal and non-verbal ways; most of the rhetorical techniques, communicative successes and failures have not been identified; more than two mistakes were made when qualifying the techniques of the language game; the interaction of the verbal and visual parts of the creolized text based on the behavior of grapho-derivatives and foreign-language analytes in the proposed text has not been established; linguoecological characteristics of the text have not been produced; the created text does not involve several modalities of translation of linguistic meanings, the multicultural nature of the audience is not taken into account.

The results of the ascertaining stage of the pedagogical experiment were as follows: a high level of polyliteracy was revealed among 10 % of students (5 students), the average level is 40 % (20 students) and the low level is 50 % (25 students). Thus, the low polyliteracy level prevailed.

At the formative stage of the experiment, a set of scientific and educational activities described above were implemented.

Let us present the results of the control stage of the experiment (May 2019): a high level of polyliteracy was found among 40 % of students (20 students), the average level is 50 % (25 students) and the low level is 10 % of students (5 students). The average polyliteracy level dominated, while the number of students with a high polyliteracy level increased significantly (by 30 %).

13. Conclusions

Generalization of the work experience of the Higher Education Laboratory of Linguistic Meanings allows drawing a conclusion concerning the effectiveness of the chosen directions, forms and activities in the aspect of the formation of polyliteracy and the development of students' creative abilities.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Resolving Structural Ambiguity in Language Processing: A Systematic Review

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Abstract. This paper addresses these research questions: (1) What are the main ideas presented in the published articles (2005–2020) on structural ambiguity resolution in language processing? (2) What are the main venues for unveiling research on structural ambiguity resolution in language processing? For that, a systematic review is performed, which reports on the eight most relevant studies. It is found the investigations into the topic of interest are conducted across multidisciplinary areas and primarily in the European institutions and the US. This research is circulated in journals, which are peer-reviewed and indexed by Scopus, Web of Science, and other databases. The other major finding is that psychophysical tests are more popular in the field, and reasons for that are explained. The polarity of results on syntactic disambiguation leaves room for much to be discovered.

Keywords: written language processing, parsers, structural ambiguity resolution, systematic review

1. Introduction

Multidisciplinary studies have constantly been tackling the peculiarities of human languages. Those investigations have been repeatedly conducted across genetics, neurology, philosophy, linguistics, and many more research fields. Over the last few decades, there has been a considerable attention

to research on language processing at the sentence level, which is an integral and important part of general language processing [e. g., Kaan, 2014; Lim and Christianson, 2013].

What do we already know about written language processing? In brief, as we process certain written materials, e. g., short sentences or full texts, we perform the so-called saccadic movements across words. Around two times in the course of reading some short length text, we return to what is previously read to ensure it is read accurately; and these returns are named as regressions. Once our eyes are not moving all the way through certain parts of that written material in the process of meaning extraction, these stops are called fixations [Dussias, 2010].

But how rapid do we process sentences, and how precise are we in parsing? Such a broad question has been addressed in different investigations. Among them is the bilingual study of written language processing at the sentence level via the fixed-rate window procedure [Darzhinova, 2019]. The Russian-English speaking participants were instructed to read English and Russian syntactically and semantically correct/incorrect structures. Overall, the study argues that semantic and syntactic processing in both first language (L1) and second language (L2) sentence parsing does not drastically differ from each other in terms of reaction times. Qualitative data of the study indicates that semantic processing is considerably more precise than syntactic, i. e. there are more accuracies in semantic plausibility judgements than in syntactic.

Intricate by their nature, world languages remain an extremely important tool for our communication and raise many more inquiries and concerns within their usage and comprehension. It is a matter of fact that efficacious communication between parties is dependent on many aspects, among which unambiguity comes at the onset. Nevertheless, world languages are representative of the so-called structural ambiguity, which develops once the structure of a certain linguistic stimuli suggests the prospect of a multiple interpretation. Despite a bulk of research, so far, many blind spots persist in our understanding of this aspect.

Reliant on written language processing, in this paper, I systematically review a number of scientific works tackling the issue of structural ambiguity in human languages to address the questions, elaborated in the section 2. The method and data retrieval and cleaning strategy are expanded in the section 3. Summarization of the findings is given in section 4 of the paper, followed by the author's analysis, underlined in section 5.

2. Research questions

- 1) What are the main ideas presented in the published articles (2005–2020) on structural ambiguity resolution in language processing?
- 2) What are the main venues for unveiling research on structural ambiguity resolution in language processing?

3. Method

This study takes up a systematic literature review design linked with a purposive sampling technique [Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim, 2016]. To gather the material for this systematic review, I conducted searches on the topic of attention for research articles in Google Scholar, the most prominent academic engine. Google Scholar has become an alternative source for research content recovery and is useful in systematic review research due its wide-ranging grasp [Van Aalst, 2010].

The following key words were typed in a search box: “structural ambiguity resolution”, “reading”, and their associated terms. The obtained items were then sorted by several criteria. First, they were arranged by publication type — only research papers, reporting on original and empirical studies, were authorized for consideration, whereas other types of works (books, patents, etc.) were removed due to being mostly a theoretical approach to conducting a study. Second, the found items were filtered by the year of publication by adjusting the custom range through typing years of interest, from 2005 to 2020, in the designated boxes. Third, the papers for consideration needed to be the most relevant to the topic. This was ensured by considering only the first five pages of search results and checking the sort-by-relevance button.

As a result, the present paper accounts for eight studies, which are found to be the most relevant to the topic and corresponding with the criteria. The retrieved research items are reported through the following three divisions serving as a sort of the order of presentation in this paper: (1) research conducted in the first five year period (2005–2009); (2) in the next five year period (2010–2014); and (3) the past five year period (2015–2020). For each research paper, I record the title of the journal, the publication year, the field of study, as well as the affiliation of the author(s).

4. Results and discussion

The issue of structural ambiguity in written language has been addressed by a few of multidisciplinary investigations using a variety of approaches. Van

Gompel, Pickering, Pearson, and Liversedge (2005) set their goal to reproduce the earlier study [Traxler et al., 1998] by an eye tracking while reading experiment. The researchers recruited English native speakers, who were invited to rate the plausibility of ambiguous relative clause sentences on a Likert scale of 1–7, or very implausible to very plausible, respectively. They were asked several comprehension questions afterwards, to which the subjects had to reply with only yes/no. During the experimental trials, their written language processing was recorded by an eye tracking device to record eye movements (fixations, regressions, etc.), thus, tracing their structural processing difficulty. One of the notable results reveals that when the disambiguation is hindered relative to the preliminary point of ambiguity, relative clauses, which are disambiguated in the direction of high or low attachment, are more challenging to process than globally ambiguous relative clause sentences.

From my own perspective, the significance of the study of Van Gompel and associates rests in supplying the language studies with another verification that low attachment is commonly selected, or more effortlessly processed than high attachment. The study lends the support of the premise that processing sentences with global syntactic ambiguity is way faster than processing sentences with local ambiguity, which in its turn does not really vary from temporal resolution of similar sentences but with no ambiguity. Overall, the study adds up our understanding of language in the sense that the global syntactic ambiguity does not really cause specific difficulties, since the understanding of sentences is somewhat predetermined from an early processing stage.

Swets, Desmet, Hambrick, and Ferreira [2007] examined English and Dutch subjects to establish whether particular variations in working memory properties have an effect on choices concerning attaching an ambiguous element in globally ambiguous relative clause sentences. The experiment with English and Dutch parsers indicates that irrespective of linguistic background, when memory capacity is low, such parsers heavily rely on chunking algorithm than those with a high span. At the same time, such high span readers put together the relative clause with the noun phrase and not the complex nominal group.

The aforementioned study is yet another attempt to find out the status of working memory in processing complex structures and also to check the precise algorithms of understanding such structures for particular languages, namely English and German. The distinct implication of the study by Swets et al. is towards the enrichment of our understanding about the factors, which directly influence our language processing. The authors argue for

the idea that the capacity of working memory is the key mediator in syntactic processing and understanding. Working memory is also found to impact the strategies parsers take while confronting a multitude of tasks on understanding certain language material.

Long and Prat [2008] administered a reading span task to receive the three groups to participate in the two forthcoming experiments with the use of past-tense and past-participle biased structures. These three groups were formed: low span, medium span, and high span readers. One of the major findings from all the experiments suggests that high span parsers process the prepositional phrase in past-tense biased sentences slower than in the case with the past-participle. Overall findings say that irrespective of span, parsers face more difficulty processing sentences that are influenced to the main verb than when they are inclined to the reduced relative understanding. High span readers showed the effect of verb bias early in the sentence, at the prepositional phrase. Medium span and low span readers do not reveal any ambiguity supposition till reaching the main verb later in a sentence.

This paper, in my view, is one of the not many, which emphasizes attention not on the two groups of parsers but three, i.e. high, medium, and low span parsers. This is, perhaps, one of the main advantages of the study, since earlier studies addressed the working memory constraints through recruiting no more than two groups, namely high and low. That is why, those earlier studies were to some extent restricted in their findings because of missing out one more crucial variable. The study operates to remedy this error in group classification and, by that, advances our contemporary understanding of language processing. The paper similarly gives critical implications for L1-L2 instruction and learning. That is, it directs us to make emphasis on frequent exposure to syntactically complex sentences, involving globally and locally ambiguous sentences, which may accelerate processing of similar structures in future.

Pan and Felser [2011] employed an offline questionnaire alongside an on-line self-paced reading task to check whether referential background knowledge anyhow affects preferences in structural ambiguity resolution in non-native sentence processing and to what extent. The authors demonstrated their stimuli to subjects, namely native Chinese learners of English and native English speakers. The outcome of the research was that the former group showed the quantitative processing of critical regions of the sentences was swayed significantly by the referential context. However, the native speakers were guided by the referential background solely in the off-line

task. Overall, learners of English, while processing written information, are subtle to some information out of sentence. It gives us grounds to believe that there are capacity limitations for non-native written language processing, irrespective of language proficiency.

The significance of the above-reported study is that it informs language pedagogy about the usefulness of background and pragmatic prompts in L2 processing of syntactically complex structures, rather than for native speakers. That is, in the example of Chinese learners of English as a foreign language, the study augments our awareness about L2 processing, so it is driven by top down material, i. e. contextual information. This study is also to approve the Shallow Structure hypothesis, which puts forward that different kinds of non-grammatical information, among which is background knowledge, are profoundly reliant upon L2 processing.

DeDe [2013] scrutinized the way verb bias affects processing written language in an example of temporarily ambiguous and non-ambiguous sentences by using the same design as Pan and Felser [2011]. A specially designed task featured in a computer program was utilized to show controlled visual stimuli and interact with subjects diagnosed with aphasia. The program displayed the sentences for reading in a self-paced window and in an online fashion, and at the end of the reading task, the participants' job was to answer yes/no to audially and visually given questions checking their comprehension. The study found that reading times were influenced more due to verb bias and not because of complementizers, while the control group showed that reading times were impacted by the occurrence/non-occurrence of complementisers. It means that there is a disparity among verb bias and sentence structure, which impacts reading non-ambiguous and temporarily ambiguous sentences in aphasia patients.

So, DeDe's study informs language pathology by giving certain insights about aphasiac language processing. She particularly argues in the study that those who are diagnosed with aphasia exhibit better processing of sentences, which fit the lexical preferences of the words when contrasted with structures inconsistent with the argument structure. Her study also affords some suggestions to psycho- and clinical linguistics in that processing times in aphasiac parsers are shorter when verbs were in the syntactic condition, which matched their bias than when they were not. The study may also be valuable for considering procedural aspects of auditory processing mixed with written language processing.

Acheson and Hagoort [2013] employed the transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) to test the demand in the middle temporal gyrus (MTG) and inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) in written language processing and their temporal resolution of engagement in the process of structural disambiguation. The two groups of Dutch speakers, TMS and control, were invited to participate in the neuroimaging study. The experimental stimuli for the study were the structures comprising a temporarily word-class ambiguous word, which might be disambiguated like a noun or a verb reliant on the stimulus background. While the TMS group was processing the sentences, their eye movements were recorded and brain scanned, and the control did not have any brain imaging interpolations. The findings of the mixed approach revealed that parsers are sensitive to the structural ambiguity, which is supported by the elongated reading time data and more fixations for ambiguous parts of structures. The authors got verification for a significant part the IFG obtains when processing ambiguity and no part of the MTG.

Despite the fact that neuroimaging studies are technically challenging, and their results are generally tricky to interpret, the study manages to provide state-of-the-art data with regard to the role of MTG, which was previously undetermined. Also, the study supplements neurolinguistics with some new evidence about IFG. In particular, MTG is set off substantially not only when we see faces or estimate distance, but also when we gain access to word meaning while written language processing, as well as when confronted with plausible and implausible conditions. The left part of the IFG is found to be crucial in regulating context sensitivity and semantic processing while reading, in addition to the known role in picture naming.

Martin and McElree [2018] studied American English native speakers while the latter were processing structurally ambiguous and unambiguous structures. Once the subjects found a particular sentence structurally ambiguous, they had to respond with yes/no by pressing designated buttons. “Yes” meant that a sentence was non-ambiguous, while “No” indicated that there was doubt regarding sentence clarity. It was discovered that ambiguous structures’ speed-accuracy tradeoff (SAT) times were elongated as compared to non-ambiguous sentences. Retrieval cues, more strongly related to the true subject, always increase accuracy, regardless of ambiguity. These findings are consistent with a language processing architecture where cue-driven operations give rise to analysis, and wherein diagnostic cues support retrieval, regardless of parsing difficulty or structural uncertainty.

This study provides another account for that quantitative data delivers resources for exploring general structural issues in language processing. For example, whether there are unforeseen consequences in the organization of operations in structural units, with certain tasks having temporal significance more than others, against arranged in an interactive way. Martin and McElree add up with their study to our understanding of language processing concerning erroneous recovery from memory, such as some structurally inappropriate items, can prompt a reanalysis of structures by applying continual recovery efforts.

Stella and Engelhardt [2019] tested subjects with dyslexia and healthy subjects by eye tracker while both groups were processing temporary structural ambiguities. The goal was to check whether those with dyslexia face complications while processing temporary structurally ambiguous subordinate-main sentences as well as unambiguous sentences. As it might be projected, subjects with dyslexia failed to process written language material better than healthy subjects and indicated slower processing of the disambiguating region while reading structurally ambiguous sentences.

To the best of my knowledge, this paper appears to be the only one to aim at an understudied groups, namely adolescent and college students, tested for literacy skills and working memory limitations in dyslexic parsers. Therefore, it informs language pathology generally about how parsers with dyslexia progress throughout written language at the sentence level. It also stimulates to shape the special teaching methods to be employed while working with dyslexic language learners. Additionally, the study reinforces the idea how both online and offline methods may coordinate our knowledge of syntactic disambiguation.

The examined papers are available from the following venues (Table 1). It must be noted all the papers are published in peer-reviewed journals indexed by reputable science databases, such as Web of Science, Scopus, ERIH PLUS, etc. These journals are at the crossroads of 12 fields of study and research areas: psycholinguistics, experimental psychology, cognitive science, neuroscience, neuropsychology, neurobiology, general linguistics, computer science, philosophy, language pathology, neurology, and neurolinguistics.

5. Conclusions

The reported studies make an attempt to deliver universal inferences about syntactic disambiguation in language processing through conducting

Table 1

The published articles on resolving syntactic ambiguity in language processing (2005–2020), ranked by the number of citations in Google Scholar

Author(s)	Year	Paper title	Affiliation	Major field	Journal title	Citations (as of 01/09/20)
Swets, Desmet, Hambrick, and Ferreira	2007	The role of working memory in syntactic ambiguity resolution: A psychometric approach	State University of New York, Ghent University, University of Massachusetts, University of Edinburgh	Psycholinguistics	Journal of Experimental Psychology: General	222
Van Gompel, Pickering, Pearson, and Liv- ersedge	2005	Evidence against competition during syntactic ambiguity resolution	University of Dundee, University of Edinburgh, University of Durham	Cognitive science	Journal of Memory and Language	150
Acheson and Ha- goort	2013	Stimulating the brain's language network: syntactic ambiguity resolution after TMS to the inferior frontal gyrus and middle temporal gyrus	Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics	Neuroscience	Journal of cognitive neuroscience	120
Long and Prat	2008	Individual differences in syntactic ambiguity resolution: Readers vary in their use of plausibility information	University of California, Carnegie Mellon University	Experimental psychology	Memory & Cognition	79

Author(s)	Year	Paper title	Affiliation	Major field	Journal title	Citations (as of 01/09/20)
Pan and Felser	2011	Referential context effects in L2 ambiguity resolution: Evidence from self-paced reading	University of Essex, Kainan University	Psycholinguistics	Lingua	51
DeDe	2013	Effects of verb bias and syntactic ambiguity on reading in people with aphasia	University of Arizona	Language pathology	Aphasiology	11
Martin and McElree	2018	Retrieval cues and syntactic ambiguity resolution: speed-accuracy tradeoff evidence	University of Edinburgh, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, New York University	Neuroscience	Language, cognition and neuroscience	9
Stella and Engelhardt	2019	Syntactic ambiguity resolution in dyslexia: An examination of cognitive factors underlying eye movement differences and comprehension failures	University of East Anglia	Language pathology	Dyslexia	3

experimental studies with the use of neuroimaging techniques, eye-tracking devices, and psychophysical tests.

The latter are found to be more prevalent since they do not typically involve any further convolutions and technical issues at the stage of interpreting the results. I also explain this occurrence by inevitable challenges at the onset of studies when recruiting participants. Trials, which involve additional equipment as an electromagnetic coil as in TMS or an eye-tracker device in eye-tracking experiments, are usually averted because of various reasons. One of them is that some potential participants are worried about the negative impact of those tools on their health system. This may happen regardless of informing potential participants about no potential harm or damage concealed in employing those non-invasive devices.

The polarity of findings on syntactic disambiguation leaves room for much to be discovered. What is already recognized in the literature of 2005–2020 is that the capacity of working memory and the degree of span in parsers have a considerable influence on processing complex structures and specially structurally ambiguous sentences. In fact, global structural ambiguities are processed faster than local ambiguities. In processing, working memory is a catalyst for forming reading strategies for different sentence types.

I believe more research will arrive to elaborate on syntactic disambiguation in language processing and explain other aspects. In this regard, more reviews need to be conducted for critical appraisal and our further understanding. In conclusion, I suggest forthcoming systematic reviews to be broader and to report, for instance, on studies of the past 30–50 years about resolving syntactic ambiguity in language processing, and those searchers would have to include additional key words to mitigate the risk of misleading outcomes.

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Opposition “Universal and Specific Names of Coffee” as a New Communication Trend

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Abstract. The purpose of the article is to summarise the results of a psycholinguistic experiment based on a thematic analysis of associative reactions to universal and specific coffee names, as well as to identify their frequency spelling and orthoepic variants. The psycholinguistic experiment clearly showed how the process of coffee names assimilation as borrowed words in Russian is continuing and which images arise in native speakers' minds when using them. It has been revealed that in the consciousness of modern Russian native speakers, the tendency to contrast universal and specific names of coffee is manifested. Universal coffee names have already passed the process of borrowing, the regulatory form of specific coffee names is currently absent both in explanatory dictionaries and in unofficial use, so the most common orthoepic and spelling variants can be considered those that are familiar and convenient for Russian native speakers. The universal and specific names of coffee beverages function as a new communication trend in the life of modern young people.

Keywords: psycholinguistic experiment, semantic associations, realities, orthographic variants, orthoepic variants, relations of the opposite

1. Introduction

This study is devoted to the problem of adopting coffee names as borrowed words by the Russian language, and to identifying ideas about their meaning in the minds of Russian native speakers.

Each culture has its characteristics and traditions, and therefore members of other ethnic communities look at their behaviour through their views, national differences and ethnic stereotypes. Internationalisation leads to the borrowing process, as some words have no equivalent in their native language, as they do not correspond to the reality of the national culture borrowing them. Authoritative researchers of realities I. Markovina and Y. Sorokin

note: “Everything that the recipient has noticed in a foreign cultural text, but does not understand what seems strange and requires interpretation, serves as a signal of the explicit presence in the text of national specific elements of culture in which the text was created” [Markovina and Sorokin, 1989, 35]. Borrowings are not only a way of enriching the vocabulary, but they are also changing according to the phonetic and grammatical characteristics of the recipient language.

Today, various types of coffee beverages have become available to consumers, which, like the *coffee* lexeme itself (in Russian, кофе), are usually indeclinable nouns in the Russian language. G. O. Vinokur, M. V. Panov and other scientists have expressed the opinion that the growth of indeclinable nouns is a confirmation of the Russian language’s tendency towards analytics. A. V. Zelenin identifies various thematic groups of indeclinable nouns on a semantic basis [Zeleninand Vakhtola, 2008]. In his opinion, the central contradiction in the group of indeclinable nouns is the opposition of the literary norm and the actual word usage: from the point of view of the norm, since indeclinable nouns are “frozen lexical units” [Ibid., 2008, 94].

Leonid P. Krysin singles out a particular group of borrowings — *exoticism* as the names of national dishes and drinks [Krysin, 2007, 84]. Exoticism, even if the signs of a foreign language are preserved, can signify the reality that is inculcated in the recipient language. Some of the exoticism loses the semantic component that points to national specificity by going beyond the geographical boundaries of one language. Borrowed names of various types of coffee also represent exotic realities, which, by their very name, indicate the national identity of the people. Vereshchagin and Kostomarov introduce the term “semantic segments” — “elementary concepts within a general concept denoted by the word” [Vereshchagin and Kostomarov, 1980, 134]. The cultural and national specificity of the word semantics is reflected in the part of the semantic segment of the linguistic background. According to scientists, the linguistic background of a word reflects the connection between extralinguistic facts and reality phenomena, forms the associative connections of the word and determines the place of the word in the lexico-semantic field. *The linguistic background* is “a way of existence of public consciousness, a way of fixing extralinguistic facts mainly on the ordinary, mass and traditional level of its expression” [Ibid].

The linguistic background of a word is two-sided since it combines social and individual aspects. From the point of view of communication needs,

the linguistic background indicates the boundaries of word compatibility. Formed in metalanguage communication, the lexical background influences changes in syntagmatic and paradigmatic semantic connections. When certain information is given to a person in the communication process, the individual vocabulary is modified, and new semantic parts are added to it, forming the semantics of the words of the second participant in the communication act. The formation of a new lexical background leads to the inclusion of new national and cultural semantic segments in semantics [ibid]. It can be argued that the lexemes of coffee drink names have an extended lexical background, which is formed by modifying the semantic segments in the act of communication.

The semantic segments included in the linguistic background of a word can be identified through the lexicographical interpretation of word meanings — the names of coffee in explanatory dictionaries, as well as through survey and associative experiment data. Therefore, the methodological basis for this study was the achievements of the psycholinguistic direction in linguistics, which allow identifying the psycholinguistic meaning of a word as an ordered unity of semantic components that are associated with this sound shell in the minds of native speakers [Sternin, 2010, 58]. Researchers describe the psycholinguistic meaning of the word in several stages: summarization of the results of the vocabulary definition analysis required to obtain the initial list of values studied on the experimental material; description of the experiment, indicating the experimental material based on which the data are semantically interpreted; associative description of the semantics of a word, allowing its psycholinguistic content to be presented in a general manner; semantic interpretation of associative reactions, which consists of comprehending the obtained associative reactions as linguistic representations of values. The description of the psycholinguistic meaning of a word based on an associative experiment similarly makes it possible to present the meaning of a word as a phenomenon of the actual linguistic consciousness of native speakers.

Semantic associations are the subject of study in psychology (focusing primarily on the general analysis of semantic associations [Wang et al., 2019] and their role in the formation of declarative and procedural memory [Xie et al., 2019]), cognitive science in general (studying associations related to stimuli and reactions to them in the process of perception [Maayan Avneon, Dominique Lamy, 2019]; for instance, associations in the field of colour perception [Douglas Guilbeault et al., 2020]), linguistics (e.g. analysing the causes, results and consequences of changes in semantic associations

influenced by bilingualism [Siqi Ning et al., 2020]), and cognitive linguistics (e.g. investigating changes in the development of association strength [Tai-Li Chou et al., 2019] and categorical connection to semantic brain processing.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research material

The object of the study is coffee names in Russian. The relevance of the study is determined by the need to analyse coffee names in Russian from a psycholinguistic perspective. The research material is as follows: 1) universal and specific coffee names; 2) answers-reactions to questions in the psycholinguistic experiment questionnaire; 3) lexical meanings of the names under investigation in Russian and English dictionaries.

The subject of the study is an analysis of the associative connections of lexemes, which are names of coffee. The analysis aims to conduct a psycholinguistic experiment, identify associative links between universal and specific names of coffee in the consciousness of Russian native speakers, and establish spelling and orthographic variants of their use.

2.2. Methods and stages of research

The study was conducted in several stages.

Stage 1. Form a questionnaire to conduct a psycholinguistic experiment.

Stage 2. Conduct a survey of informants with the help of the Internet.

Stage 3. Classify respondents' reactions to coffee names.

Stage 4. Analyse the results of a psycholinguistic experiment: to conduct a comparative analysis of reactions to universal and specific coffee names.

Stage 5. Form thematic groups of associations.

Stage 6. Identify frequency and spelling variants of universal and specific names of coffee as well as variants that can be considered regulatory.

Methods of component and contextual analysis, vocabulary definition analysis and psycholinguistic experiments were used.

2.3. Description of a psycholinguistic experiment

The aim of the experiment: the psycholinguistic experiment should show how the process of assimilating coffee names as borrowed words in the Russian language is progressing and reveal the specifics of reflecting the semantics of different coffee names in the minds of Russian speakers.

The questionnaire consisted of 20 questions, which can be divided into the following groups.

1. Questions that give an overview of the respondent (gender, age, education, academic and professional specialisation).

2. General questions to determine how familiar the respondent is with the 'culture of coffee consumption' (how often he or she goes to coffee shops, his or her favourite drink, what he or she orders most often, whether the concept of a *barista* is familiar to the respondent, how price influences the choice of drink.).

3. Questions that reveal direct associative reactions to stimuli — the names of universal coffee names (associations about the words *coffee*, *barista*, *cappuccino*, *americano*, *latte*, *espresso*), for example, *what associations do you have when you think about coffee? Write between 1 and 10 words (different parts of speech can be written) or phrases. Who is a barista? What kind of associations does this word evoke? What kind of associations do you have with the words cappuccino, espresso, latte and americano? (write the reactions to each word individually)*. The questions of the first, second and third group characterise the associative chain experiment with free choice of answers.

4. Questions that reveal respondents' knowledge and assumptions about the etymology of universal coffee beverages (e.g. the etymology of the word *espresso*), as well as specific features: e.g. the difference between *cappuccino* (капучино) and *latte* (латте), the difference between *americano* (американо) and *espresso* (эспрессо).

5. Questions aimed at determining respondents' knowledge of spelling and orthoepic variants of universal coffee names (evaluation of four variants of spelling of the lexeme *cappuccino*, the question about stress in the word *latte*).

6. Questions aimed at identifying the level of respondents' familiarity with specific names of coffee (which 'exotic' drinks are known to the respondent; whether the respondent is familiar with coffee names such as *raf* (in Russian, "раф-кофе") *flat white*, *glasse* and *frappé*; and clarification of the etymology of *bumble coffee*).

7. Questions aimed at determining respondents' knowledge of orthoepic variants, which indicate peculiarities of the pronunciation of specific names such as *flat white coffee*, *glace coffee* (in Russian, гляссе) and *mocha* (in Russian, мокко).

A total of 103 respondents, aged 15 to 58, took part in the linguistic experiment, with the majority (66) being Russian-speaking students in the humanities (51). Four respondents refrained from specifying their specialisation. Questions that give an idea of the respondent are of the type

used in a given experiment (since questions about the gender of respondents have two options) and in a free experiment (for example, questions about the respondent's education and specialisation). Among 103 respondents, 84 were female, and 19 were male.

3. Results

3.1. Typology of coffee names

Two groups can be distinguished by the extent to which coffee is consumed: *the universal* names of coffee varieties used by all restaurants and *the specific* names of coffee-based drinks, which are specific to certain restaurants. Universal names of coffee include a basic coffee drink, the names of which are known to most native Russian speakers — *cappuccino* (капучино), *latte* (латте), *americano* (американо) and *espresso* (эспрессо). Specific names of coffee, based on the results of monitoring of coffee maps of catering establishments in Ekaterinburg, include *glasse* (гляссе), *tochascino* (точа) (мокачино — мокко), *raf* (раф), *frappuccino* (франпучино), *bumble* (бамбл) and *flat white*.

According to Zelenin's classification of indeclinable nouns, the "Dishes and Drinks" thematic group is the fourth most frequently used in the explanatory dictionaries, with most words in this thematic group being borrowed from French into Russian and a small number (e.g. *espresso*) from Italian. All universal coffee names were borrowed from the Italian language, and all of them received lexicographical interpretation in Russian dictionaries. The difficulty in studying the semantic content of specific coffee names is that Russian language dictionaries do not always include these lexemes.

Espresso (эспрессо), *americano* (американо), *cappuccino* (капучино) and *latte* (латте) lexemes come from the Italian language. The lexeme *raf* (раф) comes either from the name of Rafael (according to legend, the name of the Moscow coffee shop visitor after whom the coffee was named) or the English word *rough*. *Glasse* (гляссе), *точа* (мока) and *frappuccino* (франпучино) are of French origin, and *bumble* (бамбл) is of English origin. Thus, most coffee titles (4 lexemes) came to Russian from Italian, three from French and two from English.

The names of coffee are, by their type, realities, i.e. "words and phrases that call objects specific to the life of one nation and foreign to another" [Vlahov, 1980, 45]. Realities carry national or historical connotations and generally do not have exact equivalents in other languages [Ibid]. Scientists offer a typology

of realities on various grounds. Using the principles of this classification, it is possible to identify the specifics of different coffee names. In terms of prevalence and usability, the reality may be national and local, with names belonging to a particular people referring to national realities (e.g. Italian *espresso*).

From the point of view of subject division, coffee names belong to *ethnic* realities, as Sergei I. Vlahov and Sider P. Florin believe that all the names of dishes and beverages belong to ethnic realities. By nationality of the object denoted by the reality of the object and by the specifics of the languages involved in the translation, the names of coffee can be considered *foreign* realities, as they are borrowed words. Coffee names are *international* realities: they preserve their original national identity but appear in the vocabulary of many languages as part of the explanatory dictionaries and dictionaries of foreign languages. In terms of specifics of translation, the names of coffee beverages as realities are *internal* to the “language of origin (Italian, French, English) — Russian” pair.

3.2. Analysis of the results of a psycholinguistic experiment

3.2.1. Statistical analysis

According to the results of the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire’s answers, among 103 respondents, 56 rarely go to coffee shops, 43 often do, and four do not go to coffee shops at all. Based on a scale of 1 to 5, the impact of price on beverage choice was insignificant — most respondents chose number 3.

The cappuccino was the respondent’s favourite drink (36 people), while ordinary supplements to this coffee, such as syrup or cinnamon, were not specified, and *latte* (33 people). When choosing a *latte*, respondents were asked to clarify: the choice of respondents may be either matcha latte (in Russian, *матча/маття ламте*) — a green coffee drink based on a matcha powder or latte macchiato (in Russian, *ламте макиато*) — a milk and coffee cocktail consisting of three layers — milk, coffee and milk foam.

3.2.2. Lexicographical analysis of “exotic” coffee beverages

Matcha latte (*матча/маття ламте*) — a green coffee drink based on a matcha powder [Tea website, 2014]. **Etymology:** *matcha* means “rubbed tea” in Japanese [Ibid]. **Spelling and orthoepic variants:** there are no spelling variants in Russian, but there are two variants of the pronunciation of this lexeme. There are no specific orthoepic rules for spelling this coffee name, but it is possible to write according to both the Japanese pronunciation rules — *маття ламте* — and the European pronunciation — *матча* ['mætʃ.ə]

[Cambridge Dictionary, 2020]. No lexicographical description of the lexeme is presented in the Russian dictionaries.

Latte macchiato (*латте макиато*) — a milk and coffee cocktail consisting of three layers — milk, coffee and milk foam. **Etymology:** in Italian *latte macchiato* means “stained milk” [Coffee website, 2020]. **Spelling and orthographic variants:** the name includes one row of doubled consonants [Cambridge Dictionary, 2020]; in foreign languages, with the Latin alphabet there is a single spelling. In Russian, the name coffee has two spelling variants, with the same pronunciation — without long consonants. **First variant.** The most frequent variant — *макиато* (macchiato) — is used by respondents in their answers to the questionnaire and is implemented in 3 contexts of use in the Russian National Corpus (e.g: *Для обеда время еще раннее — всего одиннадцать утра, но пара столиков уже занята, за одним воркует парочка лет семнадцати-восемнадцати, за другим — толстый дядька пьет из высокого стакана кофе макиато и читает что-то на планшетнике. А. Маринина**) [Russian National Corpus]. **The second variant** — *маккиато* (macchiato) — is not used in National Corpus contexts. It can be argued that direct borrowing with two rows of doubled consonants was not adopted in the Russian language and it has adapted to the rules of Russian spelling. However, Italian is characterised by the doubling of consonants, which is why, using the “маккиато” variant, native Russian speakers are oriented towards the norms of the Italian language.

Raf (*раф*) coffee (was mentioned by 11 respondents) also became less popular; 5 people chose *americano* (*американо*), and 4 chose *mocha* (*мокко*). Coffee drinks, such as *flat white* and *frappé* (*фрappe*) were chosen twice.

In our opinion, the question of the ratio between the popularity of the drink and the stage of its assimilation in the Russian language is relevant. For example, *cappuccino* and *latte*, as universal names found in all coffee charts, are chosen by the majority of respondents as their favourite beverages: not only the taste is essential here, but also its unofficial fixation, as such names are known to most Russian native speakers.

Raf coffee, when its inner shape is unclear, has been indicated as the favourite drink by 11 people, and in most cases, it is chosen by people who rarely

* Hereinafter the translation is provided in English: it is still early for lunch — it is only eleven o'clock in the morning, but a couple of tables are already busy, a couple of seventeen or eighteen years old cooing at one table and a fat man drinks from a tall glass of macchiato and reads something on his tablet (A. Marinina).

visit coffee shops. It is possible since there are practically no external differences between *cappuccino* and *raf* coffee (for example, they are brought in a cup with the same volume of milk foam on top), but from a taste point of view, *raf* is much more likely served with syrup or cinnamon. When indicating their favourite drink, respondents did not describe the specifics of drinking *cappuccino* but noted that they ordered *raf* with some kind of syrup, cinnamon or halva.

2.4. Analysis of associative connections

2.4.1. General quantitative analysis of the associations received

Respondents were asked questions aimed at identifying direct associative reactions to stimuli — the names of universal coffee names. For each lexeme, not only words were presented as reactions, but also word combinations. A total of 93 associations related to the lexeme *americano* were identified, 43 of which are paradigmatic and 50 syntagmatic. The lexeme *espresso* has 104 associations, 45 of which are paradigmatic and 59 syntagmatic. The survey identified 101 associations related to the universal name of *cappuccino*, 69 of which are paradigmatic and 32 syntagmatic. *Latte* coffee has 103 associations, where 57 of which are paradigmatic and 46 are syntagmatic.

Thus, there are 906 associations in total. A more significant number of paradigmatic associations are found in the lexemes of *cappuccino* and *latte*, while the lexemes of *espresso* and *americano* are predominantly syntagmatic. Further analysis of associative relationships makes it possible to identify the reasons for this pattern.

2.4.2. Analysis of associative connections of universal coffee names

Let us consider as an example the analysis of reaction group associations received from respondents to the stimulus *americano* compared to associations on the lexeme *cappuccino* (quantitative indicators are given in brackets).

The *espresso* association set includes nouns such as *vivacity*, *bitterness*, *strength and fastness*. In our opinion, this can be explained by the fact that a cup of *espresso* is, in the consciousness of Russians, an attribute of a business person, which is why it is associated with the classic style of clothing or office. This may be due to the frequency of the visual broadcast from *espresso* to the mass media, where people in a hurry to work only have time in the morning for a small cup of coffee.

Espresso is coffee that is made very quickly and under high pressure, using the press, hence its name. Several respondents (21 people) proposed a theory about the origin of the word *espresso* from the Italian language. Several variants of the origin of the name *espresso* from the lexeme *express* (10 answers),

associated with speed, power and speed were also presented. *Espresso* is a type of coffee that is prepared very quickly, so in the consciousness of Russian native speakers, as a result of the process of folk etymology as a false lexical association, an associative sequence is formed: *espresso* — *express*. The new *espresso* borrowing is distorted and reinterpreted on the model of the previously borrowed and already mastered by native speakers of the Russian language, which is similar in sound to the word *express*.

The associations make it possible to identify taste differences between *espresso* and *americano*. According to the respondents, *espresso* is *more robust* (the *robust* association is found in 29 reactions), is not diluted with boiling water (18 reactions contain the idea *americano* is *espresso* diluted with boiling water), is served in small cups (the lexeme *volume* is found in 15 reactions) and is considered more concentrated (*concentration* — 9 reactions) than *americano*.

Analysis of reactions to universal coffee names has shown that all of them are well fixed in the consciousness of native Russian speakers, who understand the difference in the preparation and serving of drinks. Grammatically, the names associated with these names are usually adjectives indicating the taste of the drink.

2.4.3. Spelling and orthoepic variants of universal coffee names

Cappuccino has four spelling variants in Russian, with the same pronunciation — without long consonants. Based on the results of the linguistic experiment, we will consider these options in more detail based on the frequency index. **The first frequency option** — *капучино* — was chosen by 87 people. In the Russian National Corpus, this version is the second most common. “Spelling Dictionary” edited by Vladimir V. Lopatin [Lopatin, 2000] and “Modern Explanatory Dictionary of Russian Language” by Tatiana F. Efremova [Efremova, 2006] allows only one variant of spelling — *капучино*. **The second** most frequently chosen option is *капучино* (selected by 11 people). In the Russian National Corpus this option is implemented in 63 contexts, for example: *Передо мной капучино с корицей, бабушка взяла себе чашечку эспresso** (К. Крылов). **The third option** is *каппучино*, which has been chosen nine times. It occurs 16 times in the Russian National Corpus; for example: *Какой кофе пьет девушка? — Каппучино. — Так я и думал*** (Е. Козырева). **The fourth option** — *каппучино* — was the least

* I was looking at a cinnamon cappuccino, and my grandmother took a cup of espresso (K. Krylov).

** What kind of coffee does a girl drink? — Cappuccino. — This is what I thought (E. Kozyreva).

common, chosen by 2 respondents. In the Russian National Corpus this lexeme is used four times, for example: <...> *знаменитые бриоши, они же в моем понимании и круассаны, и кофе-эспрессо или **капуччино** — все это на столе* (А. Кучаев).

It should be noted that 5 people allow two spelling variants — *капучино* and *капуччино* (3 reactions), *капучино* and *каппуччино* (1 reaction), *капучино* and *каппучино* (1 reaction). Lexicographers also allow two spelling variants: Ekaterina N. Shagalova's "Dictionary of Newest Foreign Words" gives both spelling variants, and the etymology is derived from Spanish *capuchino*: **Капуччино** и **капучино**, нескл., м. Кофе с молоком и пышной пеной^{*}. Эта кофейня, пожалуй, самая опрятная из "демократичных", там забористый эспрессо и "правильный" **капуччино**. (АиФ-Москва, 26.09.01)^{***}. Etymology: from Spanish *Capuchino* [Shagalova, 2017].

Thus, it can be argued that the Russian language has not directly borrowed a lexeme with two rows of doubled consonants (*каппуччино*), it has adapted to the traditions of Russian spelling, as evidenced by the associative reactions of native speakers. The Italian language is characterised by the doubling of consonants, which is why native speakers of Russian use the *каппуччино* variant.

Let us look at orthoepic variants of the word *latte*. There is currently no fixed standard pronunciation in Russian, and the name coffee is rarely found in dictionaries. On the one hand, *latte* is a coffee drink from Italy; *latte*, translated from Italian as "milk", is pronounced in Italian with stress on the first syllable. On the other hand, in coffee shops that position themselves as French, waiters have a standard pronunciation with an accent placed on the final syllable according to French rules of pronunciation. In the "Spelling Dictionary", edited by Vladimir V. Lopatin [Lopatin, 2000], the only variant has an emphasis on the first syllable. The Cambridge Dictionary [Cambridge Dictionary, 2019] also supports this emphasis in both the British and American versions of English: UK ['læt.eɪ], US ['lɑː.tʃeɪ].

Of the 103 people surveyed, only 3 chose the orthoepic version of the *lat-té*, which meets French pronunciation standards with an accent on the last

^{*} <...> *the famous brioches, they are also croissants, and espresso or cappuccino — all this on the table* (А. Кучаев).

^{**} *Cappuccino, indecl., masculine. Coffee with milk and thick foam.*

^{***} *This coffee shop is probably the tidiest of the "democracies", with fenced espressos and the "right" cappuccino. (АиФ-Москва, 26.09.01).*

syllable. All other respondents pronounce the word with an accent on the first syllable according to the rules of the Italian language. As a rule, pronunciation with the accent on the first syllable is explained by the fact that this option is more familiar to Russians (17 reactions), it is heard more often in coffee shops (7 reactions), this is what the barista says (5 reactions), and therefore this word is more comfortable and more convenient for Russians to pronounce with the accent on the first syllable.

Thus, there is no explicit confirmation as to which of the two options is more standard. Based on the results of the research, dictionary entries of explanatory dictionaries and dictionaries of borrowed words, it can be concluded that the option of *latte* with an accent on the first syllable can now be taken as standard.

2.4.4. Association connections of specific names of coffee

Specific names of coffee presented in the survey include *glasse* (гляссе), *тошассино* (мокачино/мокко), *raf* (раф), *flat white*, *frappuccino* (франпучино) and *bambl* (бамбл). The difficulty is that Russian dictionaries do not always include these lexemes. 67 out of 103 respondents are familiar with these specific lexemes, 32 have heard or seen such lexemes in the menu, and four respondents are not familiar with these lexemes. Based on the results of the survey, it can be concluded that specific coffee names are gradually becoming fixed in the use of modern Russian native speakers, as well as in the practice of their daily existence.

Among other “exotic” coffee drinks, the respondents included the following names that were not included in the list of words-stimuli of the questionnaire: *coffee with sprite*, *green coffee* (this is probably the name given to the relatively new *matcha latte* that has appeared in coffee shops), *Irish coffee* (coffee with whiskey), *hot coconut crème* (*raf coffee* on coconut milk with agave syrup and freeze-dried raspberries) [online magazine AfishaDaily, 2020], *nitro coffee* (cold-brewed coffee, saturated with nitrogen) [Coffee Magazine, 2020], *ristretto* (a variant of *espresso*, but smaller in volume, than *espresso* coffee, with less water) [Ibid], *cold brew* (cold-brewed coffee), *affogato* (espresso with an ice-cream ball), *lungo* (a variant of *espresso* that is larger in volume, less concentrated and lighter in taste) [The Village Internet newspaper, 2020], *kopi luwak* (coffee with aphrodisiacs). Thus, the “chart” of coffee beverages known to Russian-speaking respondents is quite extensive, perhaps because each coffee shop tries to include something original in the menu to attract customers.

Bumble (бамбл) is a cold *espresso-based* coffee drink with the addition of caramel syrup, freshly squeezed orange juice and ice. According to Internet sources [Ibid], the name first appeared in Moscow in 2001: a coffee drink was named based on the abbreviation of the English word combination *bumblebee* ['bʌm.bəl.bi:] [Cambridge Dictionary, 2019] for its look: the drink is 'split' into two parts — a strip of orange — juice and a dark strip — coffee. The versions of the origin of this coffee beverage offered by respondents can be divided into several groups.

1) The internal form of a word is associated with the process of its making: with a sound imitation (14 reactions) — *bumble* — a sound that occurs when something is shaken (2 people); with an explosion (5 people); association *bubble gum* is based on the similarity in the pronunciation of the English lexemes *bubble* [bʌb.əl] [Ibid] and *bumblebee* (5 people), as well as with stirring, some kind of hissing sounds. One possible reason for these associative connections may be orthoepic — the sound imitation arises from the sonorous sounds [l] and [m] in the word and the repetitive ringing sound [b].

2) The internal shape of the word is related to the appearance of the drink (50 reactions) — bubbles (21 people), a colour similar to that of a bumblebee (21 people), balloons (5 people), because *bubble* [bʌb.əl] [Ibid] is 'ball'; and foam (2 people), which is also referred to by associations such as *whipped* and *bear*. The association *bear* probably appeared by analogy with the colour of this animal: the colour of the bear's fur coincides with the colour of the coffee layer in the *bumble coffee*.

3) The internal form of the word *bumble* is related to the taste of the beverage (11 reactions), the following associations indicate this: a *mix of different tastes* (5 reactions), *honey* (3 reactions), *fruity*, *creamy*, *sweet*. *Bumble coffee* does not have fruit or honey; it mixes *espresso* and orange juice. It can be concluded that such false associative connections arise from a lack of knowledge about the composition of the beverage and how it is prepared.

Thus, more respondents believe that *bumble* has its name because of its appearance. However, there are equally frequent versions of the similarity of coffee to both bumblebees and bubbles. In the minds of Russian native speakers, an associative *bumble* — *bubble* set is built.

2.4.5. Spelling and orthoepic variants of specific names of coffee

Flat white is a coffee-based on double espresso with the addition of milk. No specific rules are defining the spelling and orthoepic norm of this coffee name in the Russian language. It is possible to write both in English — *flat*

white, and as transcription in Russian — *флэт уайт*. The cyrillic transcription in the coffee shop menu is used so that visitors do not have trouble with pronunciation when ordering.

According to the results of the experiment, the majority of native Russian speakers (91 people) adhere to the *флэт уайт* transcription variant. The second most popular option is *флэт вайт* (10 people), which combines transcription (*флэт*) and transliteration (*вайт*). Three respondents accept the use of both the first and second version. One person chose the option of full transliteration — *флат вайт*.

The *флэт уайт* variant is not found in dictionaries or the Russian National Corpus, so it is difficult to discuss the standard version. Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that the *флэт уайт* variant can be taken as the more common at this stage of borrowing the word.

Glasse — a cold coffee drink with ice cream or whipped cream. In the Oxford Dictionary [Oxford Dictionary, 2019] the accent, perhaps similar to the English *glass* [gla:s], “glass, mirror” and falls on the first syllable [ˈglaser]. In the “Spelling Dictionary” edited by Vladimir V. Lopatin [Lopatin, 2000], explanatory dictionaries edited by Sergey A. Kuznetsov [Modern explanatory dictionary, 2001], T. F. Efremova [Efremova, 2006] has the only variant with the stress on the final syllable.

The survey has the question about the pronunciation; there are four versions in the Russian language — *гляс[э]*, *глас[э]*, *гляс[е]*, *глас[é]*. The first variant in terms of frequency (80 respondents) — *глас[э]* — is fixed in the “Explanatory Dictionary” edited by Sergey A. Kuznetsov: **Глясе** [сэ], неизм.; в зн. прил. [франц. *glace* — ледяной]*. *Кофе глясе*. Холодный черный кофе с мороженым или со взбитыми сливками [Modern Explanatory Dictionary, 2001]**.

Eighteen respondents accept the second option *гляс[э]*. Four people permit *гляс[э]* and *глас[э]* variants. Variants *глас[é]* (5) and *гляс[е]* were the least used. Thus, by summing up the survey and dictionary information, it can be concluded that the *глас[э]* variant can be taken as standard.

Mocha (*мокко*) is a coffee drink with hot chocolate and milk [ibid]. At the moment, the explanatory dictionary edited by Sergey A. Kuznetsov [Ibid.] contains the standard of spelling of this word: **Мокко**, неизм.; м. и ср.

* *Glasse*, indecl.; in the meaning of the adjective [from French, *glace* — icy].

** *Glasse* coffee. Cold black coffee with ice cream or whipped cream.

[франц. *мока*]*. 1. Сорт кофе; кофе этого сорта. *Пить м.*** 2. Напиток из кофе с горячим шоколадом и молоком***.

According to Internet sources [Coffee Blog, 2019], three concepts may be worth distinguishing between *Moha* — a port in Yemen, *mocha* — a coffee variety, and *mocha* — a coffee drink.

Let us refer to information in the explanatory dictionaries. Cambridge Dictionary [Cambridge Dictionary, 2029] has *mocha* spelling and pronunciation as [ˈmɒk.ə]. The sound [ə] is pronounced in English in a European manner because the sound [a] at the end of the word is not pronounced as [ə]. It is a difficult sound for native Russian speakers, pronounced as the middle between [a] and [e].

According to the survey, the vast majority of those surveyed (65 people) pronounce *мокко*[o], while the remaining 35 prefer *мокк*[a]. The second variant is closer to the European pronunciation, and the first variant corresponds to the pronunciation of a part of borrowed words with no reduction, such as *б[о]а*, *р[о]к[о]ко*, *три[о]* and similar, in which the orthoepic rules allow for the utterance of a stress-free [o]. Thus, although there is no indication of the standard pronunciation of the word in the explanatory dictionaries, the *мокк*[o] variant can be considered the most common.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis of the results of the associative experiment made it possible to present the psycholinguistic meaning of words — names of coffee drinks — as a phenomenon of actual linguistic consciousness of modern Russian native speakers.

According to the received information, associative reactions were given to the lexeme *coffee* in 15 thematic groups; the most frequent of which are taste, colour, temperature (143 reactions), respondent's condition after drinking (65 reactions), ingredients (51 reactions), nature's condition, time of day (30 reactions). The most frequent associations for universal coffee names were adjectives and word combinations: *cappuccino* — *milk foam* (19 reactions), *espresso* — *bitter* (14 reactions), *latte* — *coffee with milk* (21 reactions), *americano* — *unpleasant taste* (12 reactions).

* *Mocha*, indecl.; masculine and neutral [from French, *moka*].

** *Coffee variety; coffee of this variety.*

*** *A coffee drink with hot chocolate and milk.*

From the point of view of the existence of an extensive associative-verbal network related in the minds of Russian native speakers to coffee nominations, their frequency of use, the presence/absence of a system of orthoepic and spelling variants in explanatory dictionaries and the sphere of unofficial use, there is an opposition between universal and specific names of coffee. The existing opposition to universal and specific names of coffee can undoubtedly be considered a new communication trend, expressing the taste, smell, visual and other cognitive experiences of Russian native speakers by various modus means — from the complex communication of visual and verbal components in coffee cards and outdoor advertising of cafes to the organisation of associative-verbal networks in the mind. At the same time, new communication trends related to the variety of coffee beverages are being demonstrated by different cultural codes. For example, in the language cultural code, the names of coffee drinks are lexemes that have no equivalents in Russian, which, according to the classification of realities, belong to ethnic, foreign, international and internal realities and serve as a source of the above described creative, associative reflections in the consciousness, including those that form the multiculturalism of native speakers of modern Russian. Thus, borrowed words (*хюгге* / *hygge*, *инди-группа* / *indie band* — musical genre) and neologisms (*книжно* / *bookish*, *ламповость* / *atmospheric*) often appear as reactions, because the respondents are young people who are familiar with current trends and are themselves trend creators.

The psycholinguistic experiment demonstrated how the process of assimilating coffee names as borrowed words in Russian is progressing and what images native speakers have when using these words. The analysis showed that universal coffee names have generally undergone the Russian language borrowing process. The linguistic experiment revealed that specific names are known to most respondents, but usually, they do not have a dictionary-based orthoepic and spelling standard form of usage, so the most common orthoepic and spelling variants are those that are familiar and convenient for native speakers of Russian, such as *флэт уайт*, *глас[э]*, *мокк[о]*. In the future, the results of the study may serve as practical information for solving controversial questions about the normative fixation in dictionaries of spelling, spelling and grammatical variants of coffee names as borrowed words in the Russian language. The practical significance of the study lies in the fact that its findings can be used in compiling explanatory and spelling dictionaries of the Russian language, dictionaries of the latest foreign words and associative dictionaries.

Further prospects for work include expanding the audience of respondents, conducting a more detailed analysis of information from the associative experiment in various aspects, and studying the specifics of the functioning of coffee names in publicists and fiction texts.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Some Peculiarities of Russian Cultural Constants in the Language and Culture of Mongolia

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Abstract. This article examines the issue of some peculiarities of Russian cultural constants that transferred into the language and culture of Mongolia in the twentieth century. The aim is to show the specificity of the existence of constant elements of Russian culture that are present in the Mongolian language and culture, which are actively used in the social and everyday sphere of communication nowadays.

Keywords: language, a cultural constant, specificity, concept, influence

Introduction

The presence of any elements of one national culture in the culture or language of another nation is a quite widespread phenomenon, especially in the modern era of globalization. But, in terms of significance of not only intercultural or interlingual communication, but perhaps even regarding the social and economic aspect, such elements can play a special role in the formation of a new cultural layer on the foundation of the national culture. If we consider the issue from the point of view of Russian culture, then it seems to the author that in the twentieth century there was a rapid process of transition of elements of Russian culture into the culture of the countries of Central Asia within the former Soviet Union, and beyond its borders — into the culture of Mongolia, as there are numerous borrowings that entered the Mongolian language from Russian or through Russian. The most active period of this process took place from about the 1930s up to the 1980s and historically it is associated with certain innovations or the development of a specific area of economy or culture in Mongolia.

In chronological terms, it is not difficult to establish exactly when and what kind of Russianisms entered the Mongolian lexicon, although most of them are not recorded anywhere in writing. In general, in the modern era the issue of borrowings spread in the language of a particular nation,

in our opinion, belongs to a number of such research subjects that, in terms of the development of national languages are more labile and fluid which is sometimes associated with the level of interdependence and interaction of all languages and cultures. It is a natural process that in different periods of time elements of one culture dominate in relation to another, and as a result specific aftermaths of influence remain in the national language or, perhaps, even in the public consciousness. There was just such a period of active intercultural dialogue, which pushed the Russian and Mongolian languages towards “close communication”. That was the twentieth century, the so-called period of socialism. Despite reformers’ negative attitude towards it, this historical period for Mongolia was characterized by a rise in social and cultural development, the conquest of the country’s full sovereignty. Moreover, in the conditions of wars, poverty and other social disasters, nations became closer to each other, many problems were solved free of charge. These conditions for sure contributed to the adoption of foreign language vocabulary or elements of culture different to the Mongolian one.

Aim of research

Based on such circumstances, in this article we aim to show some specific constant elements of Russian culture in the modern Mongolian language and culture, in addition to the fact that a lot of Russianisms are also used in the speech of the Mongols. This fact can prove the particular process of the influence of some cultural-national elements on others, especially through the interaction of unfamiliar languages, since the culture constants themselves are the core of the cultural picture of the world of a particular nation.

Methodology perspective

What perspective do we see the concept of a culture constant in? We agree with the opinion of the scholar Y.S. Stepanov that the basis of the notion “constant of culture” is “a concept (i. e., the basic units of the world picture framed by culture) that exist constantly or, at least, for a very long time” [<https://myfilology.ru/149/kulturnye-koncepty-i-konstanty/>]. As an essential feature, cultural constants contain the most characteristic features and phenomenal properties of national culture, give it different tones, and create a cultural frame. By the constant elements, we can easily distinguish, for example, eastern and western types of cultures. For Mongolian culture, the twentieth century was significant because it was greatly enriched with

elements of Western culture in a relatively short period of time, first of all, directly through a contact with Russian culture, and as a result, modern Mongolian culture cannot be undoubtedly listed as a traditional Eastern culture in its classical sense, as according to many aspects it is on the border line of two types of cultures — eastern and western, despite the preservation of the traditional nomadic civilization. Probably a nomadic civilization had the opportunity for the adoption of elements of a foreign culture, therefore, together with the accelerated development of a sedentary civilization not only in the last century, but also in the modern era of globalization, the appearance of national culture is secretly but constantly changing, there is a process of transfer of foreign constant elements of culture even in such a special social sphere, like language. This is the evidence that “the concepts reflected in linguistic semantics make it possible to clarify the specific features of the existence of cultural constants” [Stepanov, 2001], or, according to another researcher, “a concept is a ‘bunch’ of ideas, knowledge, experiences, associations that accompany a word, it is like a clot of culture in the human mind” [Zhebrauskas, 2006, 20–21].

In terms of language, we take three types of concepts that came from Russian culture into the Mongolian language and culture which can characterize to a certain extent the formation process of new constant elements in the national culture at their origins.

Results

The first type is images in literature

It is clear that many images in literature contain a large semantic capacity, and because of this, they are “used as universal symbols” [Gaidin, 2009], which eventually become constant elements in national cultures. In the modern Mongolian language and culture, as in others, figurative and semantic expressions based on universal concepts of culture are often used, such as Romeo and Juliet, Don Juan, Gobsek and others. Moreover, the 20th century in the culture of Mongolia was distinguished by a translation of Russian literature, including Russian classics into the Mongolian language. And these translations, and in general the close acquaintance of Mongolian readers with Russian literature, led to the spread of a mass of expressions based on literary images in the Mongolian language. Most often they are fluid, that is to say that they appear at different times, possibly for different durations, however, some of them do not go out of use and are already idioms.

In particular, as a result of the famous translation of “Skazki o rybke i rybake” (The Tale of the Fish and the Fisherman) by A. S. Pushkin by the Mongolian scientist/ translator T. Damdinsuren in 1938, the fairytale that is known by heart for more one generation, thus an expression of widespread consumption appeared in the speech of the Mongols “*Алтан загасны эмгэн*” which can be translated as “starukha iz zolotoy rybki” (the old woman from the goldfish) which means extreme greed. To state the facts, here we will cite several examples from the speeches of politicians and publicists proving the popularity of some general concepts in the modern Mongolian language, such as *алтан загасны эмгэн*, *Данко*, *шүүрт* and *шидэт саваа*.

For example, the concept of *алтан загасны эмгэн* in comparison with words in the Mongolian language that express the meaning of “greed” (*шунал*, *шунахай*, *сүвдаг*, *ховдог*, *хомхой*) forms a more vivid expression of thought, gives speech a touch of liveliness, enhances and sharpens its emotionally expressive attributes. In the statement “Энэ бүхнээс харахад имижемейкер маань парламентын *Алтан загасны эмгэний* дүрийг гайгүй сайн бүтээж байгаа биз”. *Translation into Russian*. Как видите, всё это показывает, что наш имижемейкер неплохо создает образ парламентской *старухи из золотой рыбки* (As you can see, all this shows that our image maker does a good job of creating the image of a parliamentary old woman from a goldfish) [<http://news.gogo.mn/r/26648>, 2018.04.23]. It is the expression “the image of a parliamentary old woman from a goldfish” that creates the emotional shade of the speaker’s attitude to what is being discussed. Speech expressions such as *образ старухи из золотой рыбки*, *похожа на старуху из золотой рыбки* (P. S. 1), *увидишь старуху из золотой рыбки* (P. S. 2), they already express a special style of speech that is present in modern Mongolian language.

P. S. 1

Алтан загасны эмгэн шуламаас ялгаагүй болсон түүнээс Ардчилсан нам сэрэмжилж чадах уу, эсвэл түүний шунал шунхагаа гүйцээх галбар болж үлдэх үү... *Translation into Russian*. Может ли Демократическая партия предостеречь от нее, ставшей настолько похожей на *старуху из золотой рыбки*, или останется площадкой для достижения своих корыстных целей... (Can the Democratic Party take measures to keep away from it whoever has become so much like an old woman from a goldfish, or will remain a platform for achieving its own selfish goals...) [<http://ulsturch.mn/index.php?view=article&type=item&val=2472>, 2018.04.23].

Энэ хүний одоогийн нөхцөл байдлыг нь харвал яг л үлгэрт гардаг *алтан загасны эмгэн* шиг харагдаж байх юм. Посмотришь на нынешнее состояние этого персона и точно увидишь *старуху из золотой рыбки*, как в той сказке (You will look at the current state of this person and you will definitely recognize an old woman from a goldfish, as in that fairytale) [<http://ikon.mn/n/qaw>, 2018.04.23].

The concept of “**Danko**” is an expression that is currently used to a greater extent in the speech of politicians and publicists. The word Danko (in the Mongolian language the original image of Danko from the story “Starukha Izergil” (Old Woman Izergil) by M. Gorky is completely preserved) usually describes those who make or can make bold steps in transforming the political and economic life of the country pursuing the wellbeing of people.

For example, “Ардчилал гэдэг гудамжинд гарч орилохын нэр биш, жинхэнэ ардчилагчид *Данко* шиг хүмүүс байдаг”. *Translation into Russian*. Демократия — это не значит, что выйти на улицу и греметь. Настоящие демократы — это люди типа *Данко* (Democracy does not mean that you go out into the street and shout out. Real democrats are people like Danko) [<http://www.bayangol.mn/public/news-detail.php?news-ID=404>, 2019.01.20]. “Тиймээ, Монголын *Данко* бол У. Хүрэлсүх юм. Тэр намынхаа төлөө, монголынхоо төлөө, ард түмнийхээ төлөө цээжээ хага яран зүрхээ сугалж чадах Монгол Данко. *Translation into Russian*. Да, *Данко* Монголии есть У. Хурэлсүх. Только он, как монгольский Данко, сможет раскрыть свою грудь и вырвать пылающее сердце за свою партию, за Монголию и за свой народ (Yes, Danko of Mongolia is U. Khurelsukh. Only he, like the Mongolian Danko, will be able to open his chest and rip out his flaming heart for his party, for Mongolia and for its people) [<http://www.sonin.mn/news/politics-economy/11777>, 2019.01.20]. These examples show how the concept of Danko is used in the speech of modern politicians. In addition, there are examples showing the use of such concepts in the spheres of fiction and journalism. For example, “*Данко* шиг... сэтгэл гэрэлтүүлсэн шүлгийн мөрүүд тэнгэрт татсан сүүн зам шиг харагдахад тэртээ ХХ зуунд оюутны байрны дөрвөн давхарт охидын тасгийн үүд таглаад нулимст нүдээр шүлгээ уншиж зогссон гэрэлт шар ах минь эрхгүй бодогдоно”. *Translation into Russian*. Увидишь, пылающие как небосвод души поэтические строки, напоминающие *Данко*...,

невольно вспоминаешь светлое дядино лицо и тот миг, когда он стоял, преградив вход девичьей комнаты на четвёртом этаже, и читал свои стихи со слезами на глазах (You will see poetic lines burning like the sky that reminds you of Danko..., you involuntarily recall the bright uncle's face and the moment when he stood blocking the entrance of the girl's room on the fourth floor and read his poems with tears in his eyes). П. Батхуяг. “Ширээ түшин бодлогошрогч” [“Pogruzivshiysya v razdum'ye, oblokovivshis' ob stol” (Lost in thought, leaning against the table) <http://time.mn/n/gzZ>, 2019.01.20].

The concept “*Шүүрм*” (translated as “a man with a broom”) is not a very widespread, but occasional-used expression which means evil creating. It appeared in the Mongolian language as a result of translations of Russian fairy tales, in which the image of Baba Yaga is present. A broom is a recognisable feature of Baba Yaga and the expression “Человек с метлой” (Man with a broom) in modern Mongolian language is a description of those who do some evil things. For example, “Сэтгүүлч Л. Мөнхбаясгаланг олон нийтийн сүлжээнд “*Шүүрм*” гэх хочоор нь андахгүй. Баясаа ч өөрөө хочиндоо дуртай бөгөөд “*Шүүрм*” гэж дуудуулахдаа нэг их эмзэглэдэггүй”. *Translation into Russian.* Журналист Л. Мунхбаясгалан всем известна в социальной сети по кличке “*шүүрм*”. Да и сама она любит свою кличку и относится к ней совершенно равнодушно [(Journalist L. Munhbayasgalan is known to everyone in the social network by his nickname “*шүүрм*”. And she completely doesn't care about her nickname). [“People of Mongolia” magazine, 2018, No. 3, p. 26].

This image in its Mongolian understanding is also used in fiction. For example, “Чиний толгойг нохой ч тоож шиншлэхгүй. Өрөөнд чинь л архичдын шүлс цэртэй холилдоод хэвтэж байгаа биз гэж цааш үглэхийг нь муухан сонсож, “Муу шулам эмгэн, бүр *шүүр* унаад нисдэг эмгэнээс ч долоон дор, үхээрийн муухай эмгэн” хэмээн дотроо харааж байсан ч гадагш гаргаж хэлж чадахгүй хэвтлээ” *Translation into Russian:* Голову твою и собака не понюхает. Скорей, она валяется в твоём кабинете в слюнях алкашей. Далее было слышно ее невнятное ворчание, а он лежал и про себя ругал “Подлая ведьма, тысячу раз ты хуже той, что с метлой, дрянная старуха”, однако выговаривать эти слова не может (Even a dog won't nuzzle your head. It would rather lie in your office in the saliva of the drunk. Then its inarticulate nagging was heard, and he lay and scolded, “Vile witch, a thousand times worse than the one with a broom,

you cheesy old woman”, however cannot pronounce these words), A. Amar-saykhan “Ногоон толгой” (“Зеленая голова” — Green Head) [<http://www.shuum.mn/news/newsid/9213/catid/24>].

“*Шидэт саваа*” is a concept also widely used in the modern Mongolian language. It is a figure of speech that means a wand with supernatural power. It entered the Mongolian language as an interpretation of a Russian fairy-tale object’s name — “палочка-выручалочка” (in Mongolian, “magic wand”). This concept could be found in the modern political discourse, especially when politicians find it difficult to explain the failure to fulfill their promises. For example, “*Шидэт саваа* байгаагүй учраас 220 мянган өрхийг дөрвөн жилийн дотор орон сууцаар хангаж чадаагүй”. *Translation into Russian.* Не было такой *волшебной палочки*, чтобы за четыре года обеспечить жильём 220 тысяч семей (There was no such magic wand to provide housing for 220 thousand families in four years) [the newspaper “Өдрийн сонин”, 2018.05.21, No. 104].

P.S. 1

Үнэнийг хэлэхэд сэтгэл ханах зүйл ерөөсөө алга. Болдог бол *шидэт саваагаар* дохичихмоор л санагддаг. Честно сказать, я ничем не доволен. Была бы *палочка-выручалочка*, махнул бы (Honestly, I’m dissatisfied. If I had a magic wand, I would use it) [The newspaper “Засгийн газрын мэдээ”. 2015.04.15, <http://www.ulaanbaatar.mn/Home/newsdetail?dataID=12265>].

P.S. 2

Үнэхээр та нар тэрхүү амлалтдаа хүрэх юм бол ид шидтэн болж *шидэт саваагаар* хүн бүрийн ухамсар луу нэвтрэх шаардлага гарна. Тэгэхээр тэгж амласан бүхэнд *шидэт саваа* байдаг байх нь... В самом деле, если вы выполните свое обещание, вы просто волшебники и вам понадобится *палочка-выручалочка*, чтобы совладеть разумом каждого. Значит, за вашим обещанием *палочка-выручалочка*... (In fact, if you keep your promise, you are just wizards and you will need a magic wand to take over everyone’s mind. So there’s a magic wand behind your promise...) [http://niitlch.do.am/news/t_r_zasagt_shideht_savaa_bij/2012-07-10-47, 2019.01.20].

Speaking about peculiarities of these “borrowed constants”, it is appropriate to ask the question: If the constant is moving to another culture or to another language does it change its unique nature? According to Gaidin, “constants are unchangeable in natural science, but in humanities at some historical moment they may be at the center of the discourse and be un-

changeable for a majority, and at some point they could be on its periphery, preserving their special quality while experiencing significant external modifications “[Gaidin, 2009]. We agree with this position, since the semantic content of the above-mentioned concepts sometimes changed, became a little bit more Mongolian. It happened due to the fact that their use in speech has always emphasized only their basic feature, which is their semantic function. For example, the concept “шүүрт” in Mongolian language is a symbol of an evil spirit, a terrible magical force, while “Баба Яга” in Russian culture is not always a negative character. The concept “Данко” in the Mongolian language is a symbol of courage and bravery, while in Russian literature it is primarily an image that symbolizes kindness and unselfishness. The concept of “шидэт саваа” in Mongolian means magic power that can be used at any time if desired, whereas in Russian culture, “палочка-выручалочка” comes to the rescue as a means of rescuing or as the last hope. It turns out that here we deal with the modification of literary images in the context of another national culture, and as a result, a new culture constant with a hint is formed.

In addition, despite the fact that “the destination of cultural constants is to keep society from changing”, society itself, for various “other reasons tends to change, becomes a changing society” [Kuznetsova, 2017]. After all, what happened in the Mongolian language and culture in the twentieth century under the influence of Russian culture is a reflection of socio-economic, political, ideological and other changes that created a “new image” in the public consciousness, although the ideology of that time served as a strong trigger.

1.2. The second type is proverbs

Many proverbs in different languages are similar concerning their topics, and on this basis, various dictionaries of proverbs have been created, including Russian and Mongolian. If we will choose the closest by the meaning, we will find that in Russian and Mongolian there are proverbs that are quite similar in meaning, but expressed differently. For example, “Поспешишь — людей насмешишь = If you hurry, you’ll make people laugh” (*transl.note* “Haste makes waste”). (Ярвал даарна. Transl.: If you hurry, you’ll freeze), “Хорошее начало полдела откачало = A good start meant half the work” (*transl.note* “A good lather is half the shave”) (Гараа сайн бол бариа сайн. Transl.: A good start ends with a good end), “Нет худа без добра = There’s no bad without good” (*transl.note* “Every cloud has a silver lining”) (Сайн юманд садаа мундахгүй. Transl.: There is no good without an obstacle) и т.д. However, in the modern Mongolian language there are several proverbs of wide consumption, iden-

tical to Russian both in components and expressiveness. It is difficult to say that all of them came to the Mongolian culture from the Russian. In order to determine their origin, special research may be required. However, in our opinion, they appeared in the Mongolian language once under the influence of the Russian language. This is evidence of the interweaving of linguistic elements in these two languages, which often occurs as a result of social, economic, and other interstate relations. And in the Russian language there are many words of Mongolian origin, such as *деньга* — (from “*мунгэ*”), *алтын* (from “*алт*”), *таможня* (from “*тамга*”), *ярлык* (from “*зарлиг*”), *ямщик* (from “*зам+ч*”), *ямской* (from “*зам*”), *карандаш* (from “*харандаа*”), *есаул* (from “*засуул*”), *позже* — *аймак*, *тайга*, *лама*, *дацан*, *бурхан*; from Kalmyk: *доха* (*дах*), *малахай* (*малгай*); from Buryat to Siberian dialects: *мыдыковать* (от “*мэдэх*”) in the meaning “to think”, *тыкен* (от “*тэх*”) in the meaning of “lustful man” [Masgar, 2011]. Thus, such similarities remain in the language, moreover, and in culture proves the penetration of some language units or realities into others. We can see this pattern here, using examples of proverbs that probably came from the Russian language, but have already become elements of Mongolian. For example, a proverb “Долоо хэмжиж нэг огтол” is identical to a Russian one “Семь раз отмерь и один раз отрежь” (Score twice before you cut once), “Хоёр туулай хөөсөн хүн хоосон хоцордог” — “За двумя зайцами погонишься, ни одного не поймаешь” (If you run after two hares, you will catch neither), “Зуун төгрөгтэй байснаас зуун нөхөртэй байсан нь дээр” — “Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей” (A friend in court is better than a penny in the purse), “Хөнжлийн хэрээр хөлөө жий” — “По одежке протягивай ножки” (Cut your coat according to the cloth) [Iderbayar, 2000].

These proverbs passed from one type of culture to another, completely different, because they have a universal value character, since they do not have a special national color. In the Mongolian language, even their grammatical (syntactic structure, tense form and mood) and logical forms are preserved, only rare words are replaced, first, where there is a culture-specific element (*рубль* (*rouble*) — *төгрөг*), and secondly, due to the rhythmic organization of speech, which is a feature of proverbs. For example, if in the Russian proverb “по одежке протягивай ножки” there is the rhyme “одежка — ножка”, then in its Mongolian version, the words “хөнжил — хөл” rhyme, which is typical for the organization of Mongolian poetic speech. The other situation is when we compare proverbs with the same meaning, but with different national connotations. For example, the meaning of the Russian proverb

“Рыба гниёт с головы” (Fish begin to stink at the head) can accurately express the Mongolian proverb “Тос дотроосоо өтдөг” (Oil worms from the inside), or “На безрыбье и рак рыба” (When there’s no fish, a crab can be one) is close to the Mongolian “Мах ховордоход богтос түрүү” (When there is no meat, the rad is the best of the best), but the Russian expression is built on the basis of the Russian culture-specific element and Mongolian — on the basis of the Mongolian one.

1.3. The third type is metaphors

Metaphor is a unique form of displaying reality and creating a linguistic picture of the world through the conceptualization. According to the concept of J. Lakoff, metaphors are an important mechanism of a new meaning and a life reality formation [Lakoff, 2003]. In addition, metaphors based on a borrowed vocabulary is a special phenomenon, in the sense that the same mechanism for the formation of a new derived meaning works here as in national languages, but with the use of foreign words, and they play a key role in the formation of the concept. There are two ways of forming new metaphorical concepts with the help of Russianisms. The first method is simpler and is presented by completely new metaphorical expressions for the national language created by calquing. Among the expression it is necessary to distinguish the ones with a native Russian connotation and international expressions. For example, such stable metaphorical phrases as “тархи нь эргэх” (to twist the brain) or “мухардалд орох” (dead end) appeared in the Mongolian language clearly based on Russian phrases. “Тархи нь эргэх” turned out to be a more intense and more expressive expression in the Mongolian language compared to the native Mongolian “толгой нь эргэх” (the mind boggles although they have the same meaning).

A feature of the Mongolian verb is the metaphorization of speech as a way of acquiring verb forms by foreign words. Such words can be used as an independent lexical unit, or in combination with other words, equivalent to performing metaphorical functions. For example “тооромсоглох” (to slow down — in the meaning “not to give others freedom”), “хаазлах” (add gas — in the meaning “to yell at someone”), “наастардах” (the mood — in the meaning “give up”) или, в сочетании с другим словом “настрийнаар унах” (literally “to bring down the mood”) и т.д.

In cases where such words are combined with another verb, their original meaning seems to be implemented into the Mongolian context. Thus, in the end a completely new concept is formed. In particular, in the com-

bination “таанц эргэх” (another version of “вальс эргэх” means to whirl in a dance in the sense of “to dance in politics”) the word “a dance” creates a completely different emotionally expressive layer than the word “to dance”, which has a neutral meaning... So, for example, “Оюу толгойн гэрээг байгуулсан С. Баяр, Ч. Сайханбилэг хоёрыг шоронд хийчихээд, үнийн өсөлт дээр нь та нар *таанц эргэж* байгаа шүү” [Өдрийн сонин. 2018.05.16.] *Translation into Russian.* Ясно, что С. Баяр и Ч. Сайханбилэг, достигших соглашения по Оюу толгой, посадите в тюрьму, а сами *будете кружиться в танце* на росте цен (It’s clear that S. Bayar, CH. Saykhanbileg who reached the Oyu Tolgoi agreement will end up in jail while you will be whirling in a dance with rising prices). In this sentence the phrase “*үнийн өсөлт дээр таанц эргэх*” (whirling in a dance with rising prices) creates the most vivid imaginative and emotional meaning. The same specificity can be revealed in the combination “кадр тасрах” (which can be translated as “frame break” or “freezed frame” which means “to get drunk until you lose consciousness”). This combination probably appeared as a figurative expression associated with the breakage of film tape during the demonstration of films in old cinemas. Or “цирк үзүүлэх” (to show circus meaning “to manipulate in your favor”). The combination “кадр тасрах” and some others were included in the Big Explanatory Dictionary of the Mongolian Language and examples of use can be seen even in socio-political discourses: “Архи, тамхи, секс бол хүний амьдралд байх ёстой бүх зүйл” гэж янжуур хөндлөн зуун, *кадр тасрах* дөхөн сууж буй Л. Эрдэнэчимэг гишүүнд сонгогчид нь төдийгүй монголын ард түмэн үнэндээ итгэл алдарч байгаа гэх. *Translation into Russian:* Говорят, что к члену парламента Л. Эрдэнэчимэг, не то что избиратели, даже весь народ теряет доверие, когда она сидит *при срыве кадра* с сигаретой во рту и говорит “водка, табак и секс — все они должны быть в жизни человека” (They say that the member of parliament L. Erdenechimeg loses people’s confidence let alone her voters’ when she sits in a freezed frame with a cigarette in her mouth and says “vodka, tobacco and sex — they should all be in a person’s life”) [<http://ene.mn/index.php?newsid=13288/>, 2019.02.11] Such concepts should be considered elements of the pre-existing Mongolian culture, despite the structural features.

A typical example of an idiom of international origin is the idiom “матрын нулимс унарах”, widely used in the modern Mongolian language, which appeared as a result of the translation of the Russian phrase

of German origin “Крокодиловы слёзы” (Crocodile tears), which can be found in many languages of the world. For example, “Ю. Цэдэнбал агсны мэндэлсний 100 жилийн ойг тэмдэглэхийг тэд хүсээгүй. Гэсэн атлаа одоо энэ асуудлыг тавихаар юунд матрын нулимс унагаад...байгаар ойлгохгүй байна”. *Translation into Russian*. Они не хотели отметить 100-летие Ю. Цэдэнбала. Однако, непонятно, когда стал подниматься этот вопрос почему-то начали лить крокодиловы слёзы (They did not want to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Y. Tsedenbala. However, when this question appeared they started to have crocodile tears for some reason [<http://www.sonin.mn/news/politics-economy/43417>, 2019.02.13]. The word of international origin “бойкотлох” или “бойкот хийх” appeared in the Mongolian language from Russian meaning “to boycott” (after the Irish surname from the name Charles Boycott), which is also widely used in modern socio-political lexicon.

In our opinion, similar phrases in both languages in terms of content and form are very interesting which may have existed on their own before, although this happens more often in related languages. In particular, the Mongolian collocation “гэгээн цагаан өдрөөр” literally means the same as the Russian expression “среди бела дня” (in broad daylight), Mongolian “гар хумхих” — Russian “сложу руки” (with arms folded) — (гараа хумхиад суух — сидеть сложу руки), Mongolian “ханцуй шамлах” — Russian “засучить рукава” (roll up your sleeves) — (ханцуй шамлаад орох — приступить к работе засучив рукава), Mongolian “нүдний цөцгий мэт” — Russian “как зеницу ока” (like the apple of one’s eye), etc.

Conclusion

So, what features are most striking when using the Russian cultural constants present in the Mongolian language and culture? Firstly, the fact that they are changeable in comparison with the ones from natural sciences, more precisely, the constants of one national culture begin to change, being present in another national culture, which may be motivated by the primary signal or the symbolic meaning of this concept, transformed into another national consciousness... Secondly, the process of appearing metaphors in speech which is taking place using foreign cultural constants or borrowed words tends to create a new shade according to the spirit of the present culture with the development of a semantic layer of this concept. Thirdly, for a number of reasons, the twentieth century for the Mongolian language and

culture was distinguished by the implementation of more Russian cultural constants than others, and many of them are actively used in various spheres of communication, including in the social and political field.

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Cultural Representations of Spain and Latin America in Spanish as a Foreign Language. A Critique

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Abstract. Though the surge in the study of Spanish as a foreign language (ELE — acronym in Spanish — español como lengua extranjera) is far from reaching that of English, research shows they share a common denominator: an interest to promote a prestige variant and a tendency to deny the barbarous colonial past regardless of the supposed language unity claimed in the Pan-Hispanic policy. This paper problematizes otherization processes in the discourse embedded in the passages and dialogues dealing with the Latin American cultural history. Based on primary sources, previous research, Grounded Theory on Critical Applied Linguistics, and an ideological conceptual square, a survey of twenty-one textbooks in the market today revealed that ELE otherizes the Latin American cultural history in the reading passages of cultural sections and language-focused exercises. This process is characterized by distortions of the past and present, generalizations, and utter lies to conceal what has happened since 1492 to pave the way for representations of Latin America as fertile ground for a new wave of exploitation in the 21st century. The paper concludes that by tackling these biases in textbooks, ELE teachers would assume an ethical position to help learners resist neoliberal ideology and policies. Conceived as a contribution to Critical Pedagogy, the paper suggests further research within ELE and comparisons with other colonial languages.

Keywords: otherization, cultural history, foreign language, critical pedagogy, neoliberalism, globalization, agency, affordances, decolonization

1. Introduction

Regardless of the ubiquitous expansion of English as the language of politics, commerce, and the internet among many others many other linguistic manifestations, other languages seem to have started to confirm Graddol's

forecast for 2050 [Graddol, 2000] on the relative decline of English and the rise of Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, Spanish and Arabic. This 1997 observation that the global popularity of English was in no immediate danger but that its pre-eminent position would be challenged in some world regions and domains of use is already taking shape at least for Spanish in relation to the attractiveness of tourism and the potential of economic growth through investment and political partnership, especially from Russia and China, in Spanish-speaking Latin America as well their increasing contesting position to US hegemony.

In Russia, this interest in the Spanish language, however, is affected by the practice of teaching/learning Spanish as a foreign language [Enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera, heretofore ELE — acronym in Spanish] sole focus on the supposedly uncontaminated, refined Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula as its “prestige” variant, neglecting the language as spoken in nineteen Latin American countries, despite the unity, fixedness, and cleanliness claims advanced by the Royal Spanish Academia [Real Academia de la Lengua Española] in the Pan-Hispanism policy. This ideologically biased stance of ELE reflects that for the Spanish Self, Latin America is still the subaltern Other. However, what is more worrisome is that ELE textbooks cannot be trusted in their representation of the Latin American cultural history, which is always portrayed through the colonial Self’s perspective. As a result, and from the Other’s post-colonial perspective, this paper problematizes the Self’s representations about its relationship with the former colonies in ELE discourse.

2. Literature Review

In the global village, foreign language teaching is a vehicle for the transmission of not only language as such but also of ideological cultural patterns [Risager, 2018; Bori, 2018]. Bori asserts that as timely artifacts, textbooks “are not born in a vacuum [and] ... are influenced by the political, economic, and historical context where they were created” [p. 2] in the form of language ideologies modeled by “the cultural systems of ideas and feelings, norms and values, which inform the way people think about languages” [Weber and Horner, 2012, 16] and their cultures. Textbook discourse models unveil the assumptions the textbook writer (consciously or unconsciously) believes when writing [Gee, 2005]. That is, the linguistic patterns, discourse models, and cultural references represented in ELE textbooks have power as representation, action, and symbols [Kramsch, 2010] and as such, in the case of colonial

languages necessarily reflect the contemporary cultural and linguistic vision of the former metropolis — the Self— and its former colonies — the Other.

From a cultural and linguistic viewpoints, the presence of the Spanish language in Latin America is the result of colonization, a cultural-linguistic process with deep political, economic, and social roots that though having happened more than 500 years ago still influences the present of, first, the indigenous inhabitants and second, the rest of the population. More than nine indigenous Latin American languages are spoken today, two of which Quechua and Guarani enjoy official status. This fact explains, first, that in Brazil, a former Portuguese colony as well as in the rest of Spanish-speaking Latin America, the indigenous population was not exterminated, nor was their culture during the Conquista (conquest) contrary to what happened in the Caribbean colonies (Cuba, Porto Rico, La Española (the Hispaniola, today's Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Jamaica to mention only four. Monolingualism in these islands attests for the extermination of both the aboriginal population and their culture by the Spanish Conquistadores (conquerors) before they were lost to other European colonial powers. Finally, today's racial distribution in this part of the world attests for slavery, the infamous Spanish-Portuguese institution that modeled not only the economic but also the social and political relationships between colonizers and their slave population in Latin America to this day.

ELE textbooks as “cultural artefacts” [Gray, 2000] approach coloniality issues in ideo-politically biased ways. Risager [ibid] in her study of *Caminando* [2009] (*On the Way*) notes the Spanish (Us) vs the Latin American (Other) avoids everything that touches on the political conflicts of colonialism and thus the resulting post-colonial situation. Risager's work confirms Ros i Solé [2013] assertion on the misrepresentation of Latin American cultures in ELE coursebooks and in the choice of topics. This textbook-author and publisher approach disserves the students who are deprived of a systematic approach to the culture represented by most of the speakers of the language and whose “sole purpose is to devalue the corresponding cultures that engender speakers of the multiplicity of variations spoken in the world, which are scientifically neither superior nor inferior” [Macedo, 2019, 11].

This timely approach seems to reveal a systematic focus on culture previously revealed in an English language teaching textbook [Forteza, 2019; Forteza, Rubtsova & Forteza, 2020 in print] that obscures the colonial and neo-colonial past to advance neoliberal globalization where the former Western co-

lonial power envisions the colonized as the ground where to obtain a renewed imperialist economic revitalization, and Spain is no alien to this socio-economic and political process. Spain ranks second in terms of choices where to buy property for Russian and CIS rich citizens, the fifth for Americans, and fourth in the world after the US, the UK, and Australia as well as the fourth likeliest receptor of investment in Europe and the world, according to the real state consultancy Frank Knight estimates in 2019. The stuck of foreign direct investment in Latin America in 2018 was, according to CEPAL, US \$ 2.3 trillion. Zanon [2017] reports that Spain is the leading European investor in Latin America, 25 % more than the rest of the EU countries combined and second only to the US in banking and insurance, pension fund management, construction, electricity, water and gas, media and publishing, oil, telecommunications, and tourism [Chislett, 2003]. For instance, transnationals such as the communications conglomerate Telefonica and the Santander bank, which together with other “76 companies representing €300 b ... listed in the in the Madrid stock exchange ... generate almost half of their sales from Latin American investment.” At the same time, investments in Startup Spanish businesses with interests in Africa, Latin America and Europe were above € 1.2 b in 2018 [Torrego, 2018]. In other words, the opening of Latin American finances to world institutions such as the World Bank and the FMI and business integration with the rest of the world is paving the way for a second wave of exploitation. Neoliberal policies (first put into practice in Chile during Pinochet’s times) are expressions of the deepened the socio-economic and political crisis in the subcontinent as well as the increasing pressure on those who resist such as Venezuela [see IMF Staff Report, 2016]. The connection between these economic realities and otherization processes is difficult to prove; however, it seems that the expansion of Spanish through ELE, like the expansion of English through ELT, though complex but clear is linked to the process of globalization and the neoliberal empire [Kumaravadivelu, 2006] and Spanish is also acting as one of the “beachhead[s] of globalization” [Block, 2014, 115] which is main reason behind multilingualism, multiculturalism and the like notions..

When connected with multilingualism, multilingual intercultural competence results in “monolingual thinking” in several languages, the French American scholar Claire Kramsch [2017] vehemently argues. The above assertion is grounded in foreign language teaching studies [Block, 2018; Block & Gray, 2018] that demonstrate textbook content alignment with neoliberal

ideology, where textbooks portrait and pack culture in inclusive and exclusive ways; for instance, the symbolism represented by French culture and language is preferable to that of other French-speaking countries [Coffey, 2013]. Bori [2018] shows that the teaching of European languages is “tailored according to the same principles promoted by the Council of Europe” in the promotion of an ideology in the form of consumerism which “reinforces the neoliberal discourse of globalization in persistent and subtle ways” [Kramsch & Vinall, 2015, 25, cited by Bori, 2018, 60] and otherize the language and culture resulting from colonial times. This bias towards the Spanish peninsular voice and representation is ubiquitous in the way Latin American cultures are neglected in the [ELE] coursebook[s], which focus on Spanish modernity, rationality, and the world of work, while Latin America is associated with more exotic and backward practices [Ros i Solé, 2013, 175]. In other words, the present and future monopolization of Spanish by Spain in ELE obeys the rules of neoliberal globalization. To achieve that it must hide the colonial past [Rigaser, 2018] and constrain the geographical horizon in its language materials. In doing so, ELE otherizes purposefully.

3. Methods

This paper surveyed twenty-one ELE textbooks in the market today where the ideological conceptual square [Van Dijk, 1998; 2003] was the criterion used for the identification of cultural otherization processes and as a frame to identify the Self’s and the Other’s representations in the form of text and other semiotic communication means from a multimodal perspective [Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Kress, 2010; Kalantzis and Cope, 2012]. The application of Grounded Theory as a scientific method for the construction of knowledge in the social sciences [Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 2006; Hadley, 2017] allowed to synthesize a philosophical position derived from Critical Literacy and Postcolonial postulates to substantiate how ELE textbooks otherize Latin America cultural history. The use of DeepL software facilitated the accurate translations from Spanish into English of terms, propositions, and book titles.

4. Results

ELE textbooks sometimes feature speakers of other languages and variants of Spanish in the dialogs and monologs serving as language models. However, when Latin Americans are used the choice is extremely biased.

First, the turn-taking given to the speaker is very short and limited to basic language functions such as greetings, introductions, or asking for information in ways that indexes them as outsiders to the Spanish peninsular context; second, the Latin Americans chosen are far from genuine representatives of the spoken language in their nations across the Atlantic. For instance, the highly successful ELE series *Ven* (Come) includes in *New Ven 1* an additional CDR with thirty tracks under the title *Voces de Latinoamérica* (Latin American Voices). The tracks clearly illustrate a biased choice of speakers. The very inclusion of the CDR outside the language models in the textbook must be understood as otherization by indexicality; that is, the speakers are indexed as the Other(s) who speak the language differently from the Self in the coursebook. After listening to these tracks and confirming that in in this coursebook some Latin American countries are overrepresented while others are not even mentioned [Corti, 2019], Prof. Maria Aguilera Guisado asserted:

All of them evidence how the accent is marked to show how the Spanish spoken in this part of the world is inferior to that spoken in Spain. The language as spoken in Argentina is highlighted as a good model, whereas that spoken by Colombians, Venezuelans, and Chileans is portrayed as less elegant or more popular and less educated. There is no example of Mexican or Central American Spanish. The Cuban speaker is in no way a typical example. He seems to be a young man whose sociolect recognized by the aspiration of sounds, mispronunciations, and accent places him well outside the mainstream educated young Cuban and the population in general (personal information).

The representation of the Spanish colonial past in ELE is either silenced or mentioned in ways that do not fully comply with the historical truth seen from a Latin American perspective. In *New Ven 1* (*New Come 1*) [2009], *¡A Bordo! 1* (*On Board 1*) [2013], *Gente 1* (*People 1*) [2004], *Mañana 1* (*Tomorrow 1*) [2003], and *Sueña 1* (*Dream 1*) [2010], the language seems to have flown from the peninsula and landed in Latin America, and not the result of colonization. From a multimodal perspective, the maps of Latin America and Spain depicted in *Ven 1* — units 1 and 2 — show how the geographical space is understood and communicated by the writers. The Latin American one is placed lower to the left and is surrounded by pre-Columbian objects of art with no captions, whereas the Spanish one is higher and more to the center of the page and surrounded by famous captioned

Spanish landmarks. Though both maps capitalize the name of the countries in the first and of the regions in the second, the font size is slightly bigger and in the same color and shade for the Spanish. In the Latin American one, the name of the capitals is given in a much smaller font and a pale red. From a multimodal perspective, these visual and textual semiotic means of representing Spain and Latin America speak about the cultural superiority of the former colonial power, whereas its greatness is represented by the size and layout of the map on the page, the shade of colors used, different font sizes, and lack of symmetry in the colors. In other words, when put together and in sequence, the textbook seems to convey the message: Spanish resides in Spain not anywhere else.

This idea is not only put forward by Nuevo Ven 1 (New Come 1), Sueña 1 (Dream 1), for instance, also features the maps of Spain and Latin America (p. 21) to teach the name of places utilizing their geographical location. Due to their differences in size, a much larger perspective is drawn from the original map of Spain, but not of those Latin American or Caribbean countries that are small. This perspective — the size of Spain is 504,782 km² — is significantly larger than any of the really large Latin American countries such as Mexico (1,972,550 km²) and Argentina (2,780,400 km²). This larger perspective, which is on what the students will focus, is almost the size of Brazil, one of the biggest countries in the world (8.5m km²). In other words, the way ELE indexes Latin America as the insignificant Other.

When the textbook writers mention the colonial past, this is done in a way that always minimizes the bitterness it brought to Latin America. The resources used in this process are various. First, the colonization process is generalized to such an extent that Spain is freed from the barbarities it committed in America. For instance, Nuevo ELE Inicial (New Elementary ELE) states, “América Latina está formada por diversos países que fueron colonizados por varias naciones europeas” [2005, 66] (Latin America is made up of several countries that were colonized by several European nations). This statement is a lie. The English and the French were limited to explorations and the establishment of trade posts in the continent until the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. By that time, Spain has already conquered all Latin America except Brazil which went to Portugal thanks to the Treaty of Tordesillas in June 1494. By the time the English, the French and the Dutch came to America — a fact that in no way excludes them from the barbarity and savagery of colonialism, the Spanish colonizers had explored Florida in

1513, tried to settle in North Carolina in 1526, reached Kansas in 1539 and California in 1542. In other words, Spain was the pioneer of the colonization process and only gave way to other European powers, almost a century later, because it had tried to bite more than it could chew.

Similarly, *Descubrir España y Latinoamérica* (Discovering Spain and Latin America) [2008] reads, “En un pasado lejano este inmenso territorio se llamaba América española” [p. 7] (In the distant past, this immense territory was called Spanish America). The indefinite time scale phrase “distant past” implies that what happened long ago from 1492 to the end of the XIX century is so obscure that it is difficult to remember... and worth mentioning. However, the memory of colonization is still alive in Latin America and the consequences still felt in the architecture of its cities, the names of places, and artificial contemporary national borders, but most of all in the lives of the displaced aboriginal populations that have been suffering from the natural disruption of their habitus ever since.

Another resource used is to hide the horrors of the conquest is to distort the reality in such a way that it seems truthful. For instance, for *Aula Internacional 1* [2004] and *2* [2007] (International Classroom), the Spanish arrived in America, as if they had known it existed. On the other hand, *Rumbos Intermedio* (Paths Intermediate) falsifies all the historical event. This course asserts, “Los primeros inmigrantes llegan de España en 1492 y rápidamente dominan la población nativa de cada área... a Latinoamérica llegan soldados (soldiers) que se mezclan con la población nativa, formando una nueva ‘raza’” [p. 11] (The first immigrants arrived from Spain in 1492 and quickly dominated the native population of each area... soldiers arrived in Latin America and mixed with the native population, forming a new ‘race’).

The use of immigrants arrived is a euphemism to conceal what happened; quickly dominated is a blatant lie, and mixed is another. On their way to the Indies, the Spanish landed in the western hemisphere by accident and took possession of a previously unknown part of the world for the Europeans; they had to fight the native population that weakened by European diseases such as measles, typhus, cholera, and smallpox which brought the death to millions, the differences in weapons — iron against wood — as well as the divide and conquer policy, opened the continent for Spain after the destruction of the Inca, Maya, and Aztec civilizations [Restall, 2003; Crosby, 2015]. The conquerors did not mix with the native populations but

raped its women, pillaged, dispossessed, and destroyed [Wright, 2015; Anderson-Cordova, 2017] ancient civilizations.

Following this same line, the use of “Descubrimiento de América (The discovery of America) by Mañana 1 (Tomorrow 1) in “El día 12 de octubre es el Día de la Hispanidad; con ella se celebra en toda España el Descubrimiento de America” [p. 31] (The 12th of October is the Hispanic Day; with it the Discovery of America is celebrated all over Spain) may be all right for the Spanish but utterly wrong for Latin Americans. Sueña 4 (Dream 4) [2008] also mentions that many Latin American countries celebrate October 12 under many different names; it silences, however, that the date is mostly devoted to strengthening identity, cultural diversity, hybridity, and the meeting of two cultures rather than the so-called “discovery” [Todorov, 1982] for nobody can discover an inhabited geographical space. The term discovery — a European epistemic construction — also signals self-aggrandizement for it ignores the likelihood of pre-Columbian contact with other civilizations [Wiener, 1920; Von Wuthenau, 1975; Van Sertima, 1976].

In most ELE cultural representations, the history of the subcontinent seems to finish in the early 1500s and jumps to the late 1800s when Spain lost its last American colony, Cuba. This event is also manipulated as “Cuba consiguió la independencia de España” (Cuba achieved independence from Spain) in En Marcha 2 (On the Go 2) [2011, 2]; or “1898 fue un año importante para España porque significó el fin de una época: fue el año en que perdió la isla de Cuba frente a EE UU” (1898 was an important year for Spain because it meant the end of an era: it was the year in which the island of Cuba was lost to the United States) in En Marcha 4 (On the Go 4) [2014, 10]. Both propositions conceal that Spain was militarily defeated by the independentist forces when under a pretext the US intervened in the war, destroyed the Spanish war fleet in Santiago de Cuba and frustrated the Cuban hopes and became an American neo-colony.

This intervention was one of the first manifestations of US imperialism that inaugurated an era in the use of false flags in foreign policy and the Monroe Doctrine that declared Latin America as its backyard, and its right to intervene politically, economically, and militarily in this part of the world. From then on until 1994, the US government has “intervened successfully to change governments in Latin America a total of at least 41 times. That amounts to once every 28 months for an entire century” [Coatsworth, 2005,

6] and continues trying to do now more in Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua after its success in Bolivia 2019.

The second historical 'jump' covers more than seven decades. The cultural representations of Spain in ELE tend to conceal the horrors of Francoist Spain after the civil war as a result of which Spanish history and culture are free from more recent dark periods. These cultural history representations are shown as the transition and transformation from a dictatorial regime to a democracy with a constitutional monarchy, and elections. These help the country project, through ELE, the image of a modern European state, a member of the European community in 1986, and later the EU. Only *Español en Vivo* (Live Spanish) [2008], probably because it was a Russian made product, makes partial justice to the tumultuous years of the Spanish XX century, though it still clings to 'the discovery of America' myth.

In ELE's neo-colonial neoliberal view, Latin America is ready for the second wave of exploitation. *Basic Spanish for Business and Finance* [2011], for instance, situates learners in Mexico as a place of business trips, hotels, and handcraft import; Guatemala, as a good one for market penetration; Colombia, as a coffee producer; and Porto Rico, as a source of labor. Latin America is also portrayed as a place not only for tourism in *Colloquial Spanish of Latin America 2* but also for investment. The view of Latin America as a profitable business area is also present in general purpose coursebooks such as *Meta ELE Final 2* (Final Goal 2) [2014] in its approach to low cost future businesses as well as branding. In other words, Latin America is ready for neoliberal globalization.

5. Conclusions

Otherization processes in the discourse of ELE are incontrovertible facts. This discourse either silences differences in the developments of the language on both sides of the Atlantic, but more significantly neglects, conceals, and distorts Latin American cultural history by repeating ad nauseam myths and lies. Approaching culture issues in ELE from a critical perspective is a matter of ethics that entails significant effort in preparation and ways to deliver content by focusing more on discourse rather than only in the mere structures of the language, which are important but limit agency and affordances in language use. This move is, however, still difficult to understand and interiorize in professional contexts.

Despite its limitations in scope and unavoidable adoption of an ideological position by the authors, this general survey of otherization processes in ELE is likely to contribute to the development of an interest in areas of research such as decolonization in language teaching, a step forward in contesting neoliberalism in education. Education in ELE looks like its counterpart in English and as such worth studying not only from a discourse perspective, but together with other multimodal semiotic means since the results suggest that the expansion of former European colonial languages need to conceal the past to control the present where L2 is part and parcel of the imposition of neoliberal policies accompanying globalization. This implies that research of cultural representations in the discourse of coursebook series in one language and those of other languages is likely to reveal incredible coincidences for the neoliberal project is only one despite its different lights, shades, and manifestations.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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Part 2

**NEW CREATIVITY, MEDIA
AND MEDIATORS**

2.1. MODERN MEDIA CULTURE: GAINS AND LOSSES

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The Notion of Media Culture: An Attempt at Deconstruction

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Abstract. In modern Russian cultural studies, the concept of “media culture” appears: as a marker of a popular research trend, and as a “floating signifier” — a conceptual “semi-finished product” that blurs the content of this research trend, introducing elements of chaos into its scientific space. The concept of “media culture”, its theoretical foundations, and conceptual parameters are identified as the object of this research. The aim of the research is to deconstruct the concept of “media culture”. The research methodology combines some ideas of poststructuralism, hermeneutics, axiology, phenomenology, and self-organization theory. The main content of the article is: a) “demolition” (dismantling) of the process of formation of the concept “media culture”, identifying the elements of which are assembled the modern theory of media culture, detection of inherent contradictions; and identifying bottlenecks in the domestic theory of media culture; b) build a theory of media culture, aimed at overcoming existing contradictions and gaps. Conclusions: the concept of “media culture” means a certain fragment of cultural reality, one of the forms of culture that has a multi-layered phenomenal and nominal content, a complex structure, vital functions and complex mechanisms of dynamics.

Keywords: Media culture, media, culture of media, mediaphilosophy, phenomenal, nominal, epiphenomenal, values and meanings

1. Introduction

Media culture research has now become a kind of cultural mainstream. This has happened due to many factors, the main one is a rapid change and

complexity of this culture. In fact, we live in an era of permanent revolution of media culture which permanently catches our attention and arouses interest. In line with this interest, such a spontaneous trend appeared, without serious reflection, as the articulation of a new scientific discipline — media culture. The latter circumstance does not cause much optimism, because if the concept of “media culture”, according to researchers, is in a state of evolution [Kuznetsova, 2009, 356], what can we say about media culture? In other words, the desire to “promote” a new discipline, a research program in conditions when the subject of this discipline is at the stage of formation, there should be a certain amount of scientific adventurism. To soften this situation, researchers used a well known technique and declared media culture as an integrative field of research: “Media culture is formed as a new scientific area within which media culture acts as something complete and whole and it is able to provide the necessary integration of various levels of research, thereby connecting a significant number of specific disciplines” [Vokhrysheva, 2014, 194].

Of course, the idea to combine everything related to the study of media culture and assign the name of media culture to the result has its logic. However, if we consider that in Russian cultural studies, media culture refers to very different realities, objects, and even objects’ characteristics, it is very possible that the result of such a combination will be a canvas of concepts made in patchwork technique. In itself, the principle of patchwork (the principle of epistemological anarchism) only seems to embody creativity, but in fact, it creates significant obstacles to the growth of scientific knowledge, since the new is always the product of synthesis, but not of mechanical aggregation.

So, a serious scientific problem is the presence of certain theoretical gaps in the conceptualization of media culture as an object of research. The essence of these gaps lies in the growing number of conflicting interpretations of the concept of “media culture” and the absence of a universal, even generalized (but, nevertheless, based on the modern cultural scientific picture of the world, demonstrating a certain fragment of reality) interpretation of this concept. Thus, in modern epistemology a mono-object does not necessarily exclude multiple objects of research, from the point of view of postnonclassical science any object is complex and involves a wide field of research.

There’s no doubt that the problem of elaboration of the culturally universal “media culture” is extremely large-scale and requires serious collective

efforts. For this article, the author sets a task to draw the attention of researchers to some theoretical and methodological inconsistencies in the theory of media culture and outline ways to eliminate them.

2. Resources of the study

The study has a general theoretical nature, based on second-order reflection. The main resources of the research are a wide range of various texts by domestic and foreign authors devoted to the study of media culture. Attention is focused on the texts of the authors of Frankfurt school of Critical Sociology, The British “cultural study”, poststructuralism-postmodernism, media philosophy, as well as modern cultural studies of the media culture of domestic authors.

3. Methodology

The ideas of poststructuralism, hermeneutics, axiology, phenomenology, and self-organization theory are relevant. The research methods consist of two main procedures.

1. “Demolition” (dismantling) of the developing process of the concept “media culture”, identification of elements from which the modern theory of media culture is assembled, detection of its inherent contradictions; identification of problem areas of the national theory of media culture.

2. “Assembling” theory of media culture, which has an aim to overcome existing contradictions and gaps.

4. Description of the study

4.1. Three sources and three components of the theory of “media culture”

The concept of “media culture” has almost a century of history. It was updated in the first half of the XX century and quickly implemented into social and humanitarian discursive practices. Of course, this concept did not appear out of nothing. We can agree with Toulmin, who believes that the articulation of new concepts is connected with the understanding of new problems, that concepts obtain meaning due to the fact that they serve human purposes in real practical situations [Toulmin, 1972, 25]. The concept of “media culture” is not an exception, it arises as a result of understanding the negative consequences of industrialization, along with criticism of capitalism and totalitarianism. Here we are talking about the Euro-American discourse, in Russia, the theory of media culture has been developed much

later and, to a large extent, as a product of the “catch-up development” of social and humanitarian knowledge.

The well-known American cultural theorist Douglas Kellner believes that the basics of media culture theory were elaborated by the efforts of representatives of three scientific fields: Frankfurt School of Critical Sociology, British cultural study, and poststructuralism-postmodernism [Kellner, 1995, 15–54].

The creators of the notion “media culture” are considered to be representatives of the Frankfurt School of Critical Sociology. A. Hepp [Hepp, 2013] believes that the appearance of the notion “media culture” occurs in the book by M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno “Dialectics of enlightenment” [Adorno and Horkheimer, 1986, 126]. The Frankfurt school had an extremely negative attitude to media culture as a “cultural industry” that provides ideological legitimization of existing capitalist societies, through the suppression of individuality, manipulation of people’s consciousness, and mass culture. The Russian researcher of media culture Alla Chernykh argues that the views of scholars of the Frankfurt school were apocalyptic. They believed that the mass media played a crucial role in Hitler’s rise to power. In addition, they believed that a similar process was taking place in America: the mass media, by its way and direction of influence on mass consciousness and behavior, creates a background for the destruction of democracy and the emergence of a totalitarian dictatorship [Chernykh, 2007, 22]. Thus, initially “media culture” was considered as “false culture” (P. Bogomil) and as a product of the cultural industry, mass culture. This may have been a valid vision in this context, but it is hardly universal. Nevertheless, the initial “vicious connection” of the concept of “media culture” with the concepts of “mass culture” and “cultural industries” significantly influenced it.

The theory of media culture was being significantly reinterpreted by British cultural studies at the Birmingham Center for contemporary cultural research in the late 1950s. Thanks to the efforts of representatives of the British cultural studies, the theory of media culture has become more and more voluminous and multidimensional from a flat, one-dimensional one.

Firstly, there is a rejection of the “masterpiece approach” to the study of culture, according to which culture can only be called “high culture” — classical literature, art, etc. The attention of representatives of this direction is attracted by “low” — everyday culture. This approach led to the rehabilitation of media culture (television, film, etc.), rejected by the Frankfurt School.

For example, the founder of the Birmingham Center for cultural research, R. Hogarth, studied working-class media culture [Hogarth, 1960].

Secondly, the idea of media culture as exclusively mass culture has been rejected. A scholar of British cultural studies, R. Williams, suggested that the definition of “mass culture” should be abandoned in relation to media culture and the definition of “popular culture” should be used instead [Williams, 1960].

Thirdly, media culture is no longer seen as the most powerful manipulator of public consciousness. Another scholar of British cultural studies, S. Hall, puts forward the idea of understanding media culture as a popular forum. His theory of communication as a process of “encoding-decoding” deprives media culture of the status of the ruler of the people’s consciousness. As one of the decoding options, Hall puts forward “semantic guerilla” — an oppositional cultural code, in fact, a fronderic way of perceiving translated meanings [Hall, 2001].

Fourthly, media culture seemed to be an instrument of struggle in the processes of confrontation between different social (racial, class, gender, ethnic) layers. It is something heterogeneous, but not homogeneous. In other words, it is considered from the perspective of multiculturalism, which is generally inherent in British cultural studies [Kurennoy, 2012, 15].

Poststructuralism-postmodernism gives its own version of the theory of media culture. To a certain extent postmodernism synthesizes the approaches of Frankfurt School and British cultural study. On the one hand, postmodern theorists return to the idea of identifying media culture with mass culture and cultural industries. Media culture again appears in a critical perspective as an area of space for the birth of myths and illusions, the creation of “false consciousness”. This phenomenon was presented by R. Barthes, who demonstrated the connection between modern mythology and media culture [Barthes, 1991].

On the other hand, media culture is a leading form of postmodern culture. Postmodernist point of view of the world as a formless rhizome, the statement that the world exists only in interpretations, which can be many, “semantic cancellation of reality” (Baudrillard) “castration of reality” (Bart) can be considered as factors that contribute to the elevation of media culture over other forms of culture. Baudrillard’s position is significant in this regard, as he could not choose between a critical disregard for media culture or an awareness of its triumph over social life [Baudrillard, 1993].

So, three sources and three components of the theory of media culture define media culture as:

- a set of things invented by industrialism — radio, cinema, television, etc.;
- peculiarity of industrial and post-industrial societies, modernity and postmodernity;
- a social phenomenon that influences the formation of public consciousness.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the Frankfurt School, British cultural study, and post-structuralism-postmodernism are not cultural studies at all, but the sociology of media culture.

4.2. Media philosophy and the end of the theory of media culture as a peculiarity of modernism and postmodernism

A quick review of modern media culture research shows that the understanding of media culture today does not fit into the framework of the theoretical constructions of the Frankfurt school, British cultural study or post-structuralism-postmodernism, but that it includes new ideas and principles. And it seems that the main subject of this kind of semantic upgrade is media philosophy.

According to one of the leading experts on media philosophy in Russia, V. V. Savchuk: "...the term "media philosophy" appears for the first time in German-language research in the early 90's. (...) The question of media philosophy as an independent discipline is usually correlated with the time of the publication of Frank Hartman's book "Media philosophy". Further thematization and conceptualization of media philosophy occurs in the program works of Norbert Bolz, Friedrich Kittler, Mathias Vogel, Lorenz Engel, Werner Konitzer, Sybil Kramer, Mike Sandbote, Reinhardt Margreiter, Dieter Mersch, Stefan Munker, Alexander Roesler, Georg Tholen, Lambert Wising and a number of other researchers. A review of their concepts and a detailed analysis of discussions about a new discipline that is still quite young, but has already become history, are waiting for researchers" [Savchuk, 14, 33–34]. It is difficult to disagree with the last remark, because media philosophy is an extremely broad field of ideas, and these ideas are so deep and original that they require a separate serious conversation. I will allow myself to highlight just a few of them concerning the problem of deconstructing the concept of "media culture".

I need to say that media philosophy does not operate with the concept of "media culture", but the central concept of media philosophy is the con-

cept of “media reality”. However, it is clear that media reality is not a part of natural reality, but a part of cultural reality. Thus, media philosophy can be considered as a philosophy of media culture; media philosophy quite adequately accomplishes the functions of the philosophy of media culture. In particular, it makes a very serious breakthrough in the theory of media culture. What is the essence of this breakthrough?

Firstly, media philosophy declares media as a phenomenon — a phenomenon as such, but not an epiphenomenon — an attribute of any other phenomena. The founding fathers of media philosophy put forward the idea that the media is not just a passive transmitter of information, but media is at the source of information. The pioneer in this regard was M. McLuhan, who stated that a message can change its meaning depending on what form it is clothed in: oral utterance, manuscript, printed text, radio, television [McLuhan, 1964, 318]. This was especially convincingly demonstrated by F. Kittler, for example, the creation of the philosophy of Augustine and Hegel from modern at that time media. F. Kittler believed that human knowledge depends in a decisive way on the technologies used for its fixation and translation. This kind of technology, in Kittler’s view, is not just a tool that people use to generate values. They define a matrix within which something like a value becomes possible [Kittler, 1999, 25].

Secondly, media reality is not considered in media philosophy as a product of the industrial and post-industrial era, modernity and postmodernity. The idea is that media reality is a universal cultural phenomenon that is not limited by time and space. For example, Alexander Roesler believes that the development of new media is not so important for media philosophy, since the latter is “thinking about media in connection with the concept of “media”, about understanding what this concept should mean, about the theoretical impact of this concept on other concepts, and about the status of those theories that use this concept” [Roesler, 2003, 35].

Third, the media is defined as a formative force of culture, a booster for social development. One of the founders of media theory and aesthetics, Walter Benjamin identifies and describes the relationship between media development, art production, and perception change. His main thesis is that perception is always historical and depends on the media, practices, and techniques [Benjamin, 2002, 411].

These three statements radically change the perception of media culture, but they also add a fair amount of misunderstanding. In particular, we

can note such a paradox or contradiction presented in many Russian texts that media culture is the culture of industrial and post-industrial society, and (usually with reference to McLuhan) that media culture originates in the primitive world.

4.3. Features of the national theory of media culture

As we can see, cultural and philosophical interpretations of media culture differ. And there is the problem of a radical revision of the cultural theory of media, considering philosophical discoveries. In Russian science, this revision is also extremely problematic due to terminological difficulties. We can say that the concept of “media culture” in Russia is not lucky and this bad luck was due to at least five things.

Firstly, a serious obstacle to the development of the concept of “media culture” was a norm of replacing the lexeme “media” in Russian texts with two lexical constructions — “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication”. This kind of translation algorithm, which is technologically similar to D. Serle’s thought experiment “Chinese room”, has caused a very serious confusion in the study of media culture. For example, E. V. Kolesnikov comments on this situation as follows: “a Russian-speaking media researcher has to work with additional concepts: means of mass information and means of mass communication. The latter refer to the internationally recognized terms “media” (...) and “mass media” (...), but do not replace them. The need to translate generally accepted concepts in the world to those accepted exclusively in Russia (and vice versa) hinders a correct understanding of the specifics of the study problems” [Kolesnikov, 2017, 292].

The second thing is another serious obstacle to the conceptualization of media culture in Russian cultural studies, the semantic nuances inherent in the concept of “media” and the concepts of “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication”. These nuances relate to certain connotations that, whether we like it or not, make it difficult to conceptualize media culture. Even in the medieval philosophical tradition, the concept of “medium” was interpreted as an intermediary, “media” as a special substance connecting different worlds. In the tradition that seems to come from I. Kant, the concept of “means” deliberately puts the stigma of instrumentality, utilitarianism on the object that it denotes. It seems that the use of the word “means” in relation to media culture emasculates the whole essence of this culture, which, by definition, is not a means, but a target, an attraction around which the self-organization of culture is carried out. The identification

of the concept of “media” and the concepts of “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication” makes it extremely difficult to define the reality that the concept of “media culture” denotes. Consequently, it turns media culture into a cumatoid — an object that is always filled with new content.

The third thing is that making the concept of “media” equal to the concepts of “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication” shortens their life extremely. Since the concepts of “means of mass communication” and “means of mass communication” have a very specific interpretation — press, photography, radio, cinema, television, Internet, etc., then media also becomes an attribute of industrial and post-industrial society. This interpretation leads to the limitation of media culture research and eliminates the possibility of looking at media culture as an integral part of culture.

The fourth thing is that making the concept of “media” equal to the concepts of “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication” contributes to long lasting misunderstanding that media culture is an element of mass culture. It is clear that media culture can be mass and elite, while the means of mass information and means of mass communication are by definition mass media.

Fifthly, making the concept of “media” equal the concepts of “means of mass information” and “means of mass communication” hides the mechanisms of cultural reproduction, in particular the role of media culture in this process.

5. Results and their interpretation

5.1. Media culture as the object of cultural studies

So, what is media culture from the perspective of modern cultural studies? What is its essence, structure, functions, and mechanisms of dynamics?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to move away from the “natural attitude”, according to which media culture is press, radio, television, and the Internet. And move on to a phenomenological attitude aimed at understanding what media culture is in the strictly scientific sense of the word, what is the essence, structure, functions, and mechanisms of media culture dynamics from the point of view of cultural studies.

5.2. The essence of media culture

From an initial point of view, it is considered that the definition of media culture should be somewhat of a special reality. Media culture is a part of cul-

ture, one of its forms. Obviously, we need to accept the fact that the concept of “media culture” should be put in the same list with such familiar concepts as “economic culture”, “political culture”, “religious culture”, “art culture”, “moral culture”, “scientific culture”. And here another important point is that despite close links between media culture and political, economic, and artistic culture, it is not reducible to any of these forms of culture. The reduction of one form of culture to another should be considered as a forbidden technique, since it always leads to both theoretical and pragmatic dead ends. This kind of reduction was criticized by P. Bourdieu, who criticized a phenomenon of the substitution of truly scientific knowledge for pop science, when journalists, who are supposed to popularize the results of scientific research, play a role of scientists expressing their experience and opinions as scientific knowledge, thereby creating serious obstacles to the growth of science [Bourdieu, 1976, 90].

Media culture, like any other form of culture, can be viewed from two points: phenomenal — as the sphere of artificial, man-made objects, and noumenal — as the sphere of meanings and values that make up the essence of these objects.

From a phenomenal point of view, media culture is a huge array of artifacts that are used to record and transmit information, i. e., language, writing, printed texts, telegraph, telephone, radio, television, Internet, etc. the phenomenal world of media culture is often referred to as media technologies. It should be said that media technologies are not the result of the inventive mind of technologists who intended to develop only their narrow specialized field of interest and were unaware of progressive ideas of those times. These technologies did not come from nowhere and were not given to people as a set of rules of the game. In this case we agree with J. Simondon who claims that a certain mental scheme is reflected in a technical invention, and human nature is contained in a technical thing — a person invents a thing by implementing his own nature in it [Simondon, 2014].

It is necessary to say that the phenomenal approach to the study of media culture in Russian science is popular today. The Russian scientific electronic library eLibrary provides the evidence. For a demand “media culture” limited to 2019, this database provides a little more than 130 titles, most of which are devoted to the role of television, the Internet, etc. in the life of modern people and society. At the same time, the very concept of “media culture” in this frame appears in the meaning of the level of knowledge or application of the latest media technologies in a particular sphere of society. One of the leading re-

searchers of media culture in Russia, N. B. Kirillova defines media culture exactly in the phenomenal context: “Media culture is a set of information and communication tools developed by mankind during their cultural and historical development, that have an aim to contribute to the formation of public consciousness and socialization of the individual. All types of media (audio, print, visual, audio-visual) include the culture of information transmission and the culture of its perception; media culture can also act as a system of levels of personal development that can “read”, analyze and evaluate the media text, engage in media creation, learn new knowledge through the media, and so on. At the same time, it should taken into account that the development of media culture is a historically determined process, natural from the point of view of the evolution of civilization” [Kirillova, 2005, 19].

Undoubtedly, the reflection on the emergence, development, various types of media technologies and their impact on society is extremely significant, at least because they form a, continuously changing image of this culture. But the knowledge about media culture is not just about this reflection. The question of the noumenal — value-semantic content of media culture — is much more complicated. The cultural approach to the study of media culture is associated with its noumenal understanding, its peculiarity is aimed to identify the value-semantic content of media culture.

This type of content appears to be a two-level education. In the semantic and axiological space of media culture, two groups of values and meanings can be distinguished.

The first group consists of general cultural values and meanings. Media culture, in a certain sense, is everywhere, it can embody political, economic, religious, and moral values and meanings, it can be either a conductor of a particular moral doctrine, political ideology, religious dogma, socio-economic strategy, or its criticizer. Media culture is the sphere of encoding and decoding various kinds of meanings. At the same time, an important role in this process is played by the belonging of the cultural code to the pre-written, written (printed), and screen types.

The second group consists of values and meanings directly related to media reality. Media philosophy has shown that each historical type of media culture has its own value-semantic potential, which affects the value-semantic structure of culture as a whole. Pre-written (oral), written, printed, and screen (analog and digital) media cultures are some value-semantic systems that largely

determine the value-semantic landscape of certain historical epochs. I will try to demonstrate this statement using examples from the history of culture.

It seems obvious that the birth of culture is associated not so much with the appearance of the first artificial (non-natural) ways of life or the first attempts to understand the world, but with the fixation-codification in the collective memory of archaic society of these ways and meanings in the form of mythopoetic complexes.

The pre-written — an oral way of fixing-encoding culture, inherent in archaic culture — determines its key characteristics; dogmatism, syncretism, collectivism. Indeed, if all efforts are aimed at preserving a significant amount of information in memory, then any attempts to change, supplement, or dissect it are considered as threats to its loss. Mythopoetic complexes based on imaginative and emotional thinking are much easier to remember, and this is a collective memory, which determines the value of collectivism.

The transition from the pre-written paradigm to the written one is comparable to a revolution. F. Engels considered the emergence of writing as one of the conditions for civilization formation [Engels, 2019]. The formation of alphabetic writing is a separate story. It is no accident that this chronologically coincides with the “axial time” (K. Jaspers), i.e. the time of birth of a person who reflects. It is alphabetic writing that opens up the possibility of transition from myth to logos, the development of rationalism, philosophy, and protoscience.

The appearance of the printed method of recording and encoding information can be regarded as a revolutionary shift, since it is at the origins of the modernization of culture (the birth of modernity culture). McLuhan believes that printing sets the standard for mass industrial production. However, it does not just set the standard for mass production, but generates phenomena such as individualism, scientism, and even liberalism. The transformation of the state into a “night watchman”, i.e. bureaucratization of the state, understood by M. Weber as a transition from the traditional to the legal type of “domination — subordination”, it's impossible outside of printed forms of recording information. Finally, civil society cannot exist without universal literacy, just as science cannot exist without the institution of scientific publications.

The appearance of the screen method of recording-encoding cultural information, the appearance of video, in which the visual is combined with the auditory — a new serious shift, leading to an unprecedented developing of mass oriented culture, which has become a foundation of a consumer society, and at the same time setting unprecedented conditions for manipu-

lating people's minds, contributing to the development of such a phenomenon as totalitarianism.

It is not necessary to absolutize the role of media culture in the processes of social and cultural development of mankind, but it is not necessary to underestimate it. However, modern social cultural realities hardly allow us to qualify the role of media culture as secondary.

5.3. *The structure of media culture.* Media culture is a multidimensional phenomenon that can be viewed from different perspectives or points of reference and each time receiving new results. You can distinguish different media subcultures — by age, gender, ethnic, national, social, regional principles; you can represent historical types of media culture. The division of media culture into mass and elite, dominant and countercultural, totalitarian and democratic types is still relevant. Finally, the structuring of media culture can be based on the idea that there are some ideal types of media culture. I think the typological triad is very heuristic in terms of research: traditional media culture, utilitarian media culture, and creative media culture.

5.4. *The functions of media culture.* Recording, encoding, and broadcasting information makes it responsible for such an important aspect of cultural existence as the reproduction of culture. It seems that the simple, extended, and destructive reproduction of culture is largely defined by the functionality or dysfunctionality of media culture. For example, the loss of media artifacts leads to a destructive reproduction of culture. The appearance of new media is an essential peculiarity for extended cultural reproduction. Creating a new method of fixing-encoding information can be seen as a trigger that opens up the flow of innovation. What is the secret of such creativity in media culture?

Answering this question, I would like to mention such a phenomenon as similarity of the concepts of “media culture” and “mediation”. In cultural studies, the concept of “mediation” is used to denote a certain logic of culture, the essence of which is aimed at overcoming the opposite meanings that have developed in the culture and forming a semantic synthesis. Levi-Strauss has positioned mediation as going beyond the inherent archaic thinking structural binarism, as a mechanism for the resolution of semantic inconsistencies, by replacing the original binary opposition by other less contradictory ones, to fully overcome it [Levi-Strauss, 1963, 240–280]. A. S. Akhiezer considers mediation as a “middle culture that is characterized by the rejection of absolute polarities and maximization of attention to their interdependence, to their existence through each other, creating new meanings” [Akhiezer,

1998, 271]. A. P. Davydov defines mediation as the logic of “removing” the opposite meanings that have developed in the culture, the basis of semantic genesis [Davydov, 2000, 82]. A. A. Pelipenko considers mediation as the principle of forming new meanings based on overcoming the original semantic oppositions and productive semantic synthesis [Pelipenko, 2016, 26–87].

It seems that the development of mediation and the development of media culture are interdependent processes. The formation of a new way of fixing-encoding information is, in fact, a consequence of the implementation of the mediation logic of culture. The new method of fixing-encoding information, in turn, opens up new opportunities for promoting mediation logic. For example, the “invention” of modern notation (the modern method of recording and encoding musical works) did not happen out of nowhere, it happened due to the synthesis of various elements of the theory and practice of musical creativity. The “invention” of modern notation, in turn, provokes the “invention” of opera, symphony, etc. Within the framework of letter or non-letter notation, neither opera nor symphony is simply possible. In other words, a new way of fixing-encoding information is born because there are changes in the culture that needs this method. At the same time with the advent of a new way of fixing-encoding information, the flow of innovations increases, since there is a way of fixing that attracts them. In essence, media culture can be considered as a supporting structure of culture that serves as an attractor in the process of cultural self-organization.

5.5. *Mechanisms of development of media culture* would be easier to describe based on the theory of self-organization — the search for new ways of fixing and encoding information is nothing more than a struggle with the growing entropy: disorganization of culture. The development of culture, like any other open system, is a process of increasing complexity and diversity. Therefore, the search for new, more “effective” ways of fixing and encoding information is a negentropic work. The transition from one method of fixing-encoding information to another is dramatic. Changing types of media culture is perceived as a cultural crisis, as a mass intellectual degradation. As a rule, it is accompanied by a conflict of generations. However, in the media culture, the new type of fixation-encoding of information never completely replaces the old one. The old type fades into the background, forming a cultural foundation, on the one hand, and a cultural sub-voice in the polyphonic texture of culture, on the other hand. However, the complete loss of an artifact in the media culture is also quite frequent.

5.6. *Culture of media vs media culture*

It is obvious that in contrast to arithmetic, where the sum does not change because of replacement of terms, in the humanities, the word order radically changes the meaning of the phrase. For example, media philosophy and philosophy of media are different concepts. In the first case, we are talking about the philosophical reflection on media reality. And in the second case, we are talking about the philosophy that certain media carries. This effect is relevant for the case of media culture. Media culture and culture of media are far from the same thing, although these meanings are often mixed in texts. Media culture, as I have already pointed out above, is a special form of culture, without which there would be no culture as such. The concept of “media culture” cannot be evaluated. It cannot be low or high, perfect or imperfect, bad or good. Media culture is what it is. This principle regarding culture was first formulated by G. Rickert [Rickert, 1995, P. 90].

The concept of “culture of media”, on the contrary, is an evaluative concept, it concerns the characteristics of specific media phenomena. You can talk about the perfect and imperfect culture of media or you can talk about high and low culture of the media. Culture of media can be destructive, immoral, or disruptive, but this does not mean that media culture is a harmful phenomenon. The Internet has many problems, but this does not mean that the Internet is destructive. You can also talk about a smartphone, computer, TV, etc.

It seems that the separation of the concepts of “media culture” and “culture of media” helps to clarify the situation with new media. In particular, it makes it clear that the solution to modern moral dilemmas related to the negative aspects of modern media lies not in the rejection of these media, but in the rejection of the culture that they carry.

6. Conclusions

Having read contemporary authors who study various aspects of media, one cannot help but wonder if this area of scientific research has been covered by a long, familiar disease associated with the desire to unnecessarily generate entities? Indeed, media research discourse is already large despite the fact that it is still young in our country. There are countless concepts that include the lexeme “media” today, including those that claim to be called scientific disciplines: media philosophy, mediology, media studies, media pedagogy, media sociology, media political science, media linguistics, media psychology, etc. So is media culture also relevant?

I believe that we need it as much as we need economic cultural studies, political cultural studies, legal cultural studies, etc. Undoubtedly, media culture is one of the basic forms of culture today, evidenced by at least such a curious fact that when a modern person wakes up in the morning, he turns not to God, not to close people — parents, children — but to a medium, a smartphone, from which he draws not just information, but the meaning of life. The culture of humanity in the twenty-first century is inexplicably moving into media reality. And yet, culture and media culture have been and will continue to be related to each other. Therefore, I consider the separation of a special branch of cultural studies — media culture studies — to be a process of discipline fragmentation, which may turn media culture research into empirical descriptions with lack of theoretical guidelines. And the growing chaos in these studies may ultimately happen. Moreover, the media culture considered in isolation from the cultural theoretical context turns into a culture of mass communication and mass information; only cultural studies with its theoretical and methodological apparatus can raise the research of media culture to conceptual generalizations, which result in the idea that the concept of “media culture” means a certain fragment of cultural reality, one of the forms of culture that has a multi-layered phenomenal and noumenal content, complex structure, vital functions and complex mechanisms of dynamics.

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Language Diversity in Business Communication in the Social Network Instagram (On the Example of Bars, Cafes and Restaurants Ads)

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Abstract. The research subject of this article is the language diversity of the European restaurant business. The methodology is defined by the understanding of polylinguism as the diversity of languages used in the same text, where each of the languages performs its own communicative functions. The study was performed using the Case Studies method, due to which the author managed to review a certain amount of cafes, bars and restaurants via the social network Instagram made over the past year, analyze the use of different languages, and draw a conclusion about the pragmatic aspects of their use.

Keywords: Instagram, language diversity, polylinguism, social network

1. Introduction

Means of Internet communication are transforming and being modified every day. Social networks are playing an increasingly important role in everyday and business communications. The Internet allows communication between users who speak different languages of verbal and non-verbal communication, and represent the cultures of distant countries and continents [Zuckerman 2015]. Since various network trends and social networks are gaining and losing popularity in a one moment, it is important to highlight the contemporary features of communication in the Instagram network.

Today having an account on the Internet is a necessary factor for development of any business. It allows responding to customer requests in a real time, regardless of the company or client's location, providing the most relevant information. Representation in social networks is a special and very important thing for business-to-consumer companies, because it forms their reputation capital. As K. Schwab writes in his book — “The fourth industrial revolution” –: “maintaining contact, interaction, feedback, transparency — all this forms the basis for a trust relationship between a business and its client” [Schwab 2020].

Cafe and restaurant blogs are very common on Instagram. The platform allows them to post the restaurant's interior, dishes, cooking process or staff photos. The text part of publications is also important, because there the name of the dish and its features are told, promotions are announced, the working hours are published or the staff could be introduced, and so on. This creates a welcoming image of a place and the accounts of such places can be maintained either by employees themselves or by content managers.

International tourism, as well as the official multilingualism in some countries, opens up the possibility of using multiple languages in blogs.

2. The main purpose of the study

The purpose of the research is to analyze the multilingual segment of the blogs and identify the social and communicative functions of the languages. To do this, the author will investigate how languages co-exist in the blog, for what purpose each of them can be used, and how the image of the place is created by using a multilingual tool. The author aims to define a set of linguistic resources used in the blog so as to create the image and reputation of a food service place.

3. Methodology

In this study qualitative research methods were used. For these methods, it is necessary to collect and analyze all types of data that are informative [The Blackwell Guide 2008, 43]. For this work, such data is text publications in blogs. For a qualitative research method, the context is the determining factor, but the experience of the test sample is considered entirely. It should be remembered that this approach is characterized not only by understanding the experience from the point of view of the author and readers, but also by adopting a theoretical framework that provides an explanation of localized practices in a broader context.

In addition, in a qualitative method, it is preferable to study open long-term practices of language selection. Therefore, this method is the most appropriate for this work.

Since it is impossible to identify the total number of food service blogs for the research, a non-random estimated (target) sample was used. The selection of blogs is based on the observation of these blogs in order to study the most representative samples.

The style and methods of blogging for each institution, although they may have some common trends, are very different, so it makes sense to conduct a more individualized analysis of each blog. At the same time, the highlighting of above-mentioned common trends is also important, because it allows the author to consider them fully, and at the same time, to study in detail the various unique situations of multilingualism. Taking into account these factors, the chosen qualitative research method and the importance of data interpretation, one of the best research methods will be the case study method.

By creating a case study, the author will be able to study the data deeply. However, some limitations of this method, such as the impossibility of statistical analysis and generalization of conclusions should be noted, as well as the probability of bias.

In theoretical terms, the author will focus on the principles of using language resources, considering semantic, value features and aspects of the language in the context of publications. Such aspects as authenticity, practicality, stereotyping, connection with the cultural background, internationality, creativity, recognizability, identity will be investigated.

For the study were selected all publications dated 2019 in the selected blogs. Hashtags were not considered, except when they are located inside the main text. The author did not analyze aspects of the language in the blog

if it is the state language (for the country where the institution is located) and is present in at least half of the blog posts.

4. The body of the research

4.1. Case study No1 “CiPiaCe — @cipiacebar”

The case analysis focuses on the Instagram account [CiPiaCe].

Located in Belgium, the cocktail bar of Italian cuisine @cipiacebar called “CiPiaCe” (which could be translated as ‘we like it’). It should be mentioned that the official languages of Belgium are Dutch, French and German. The Italian phrase in the name already implies some prior knowledge of customers who are interested in Italian cuisine, and therefore, in some ways, are familiar with the culture and the language of Italy.

In 2019, 167 posts were published, 143 of which were in English, 20 publications used English and Italian, 3 — only Italian, and the one — English and French.

Most of the publications are written exclusively in English. In my opinion, this is because English is the official language of the European Union. Based on this, we can conclude that English is the “main” language of communication with the clients for this bar, and the main information about the place is transmitted in this language. Extensive use of English also makes the blog content more comprehensible to potential visitors [Kozlova, 2020].

French is used only once in a year of regular publications and only in the context of location designation in a post dated May 13, 2019: “The sun is back on parvis de Saint Gilles” (“The sun has returned to Parvis de Saint Gilles”). Parvis de Saint Gilles is a place near a bus stop named the same. To understand this publication, knowledge of grammatical structures and vocabulary of the French language is not required. It is only necessary to recognize the French language in the context of English. When you look at the text publication together with the visual part, it becomes clear that we are talking about a specific point on the map of Brussels.

Therefore, the French language here has only a practical aspect, it marks the location of the bar, the address, it does not transmit cultural values, it does not affect the bar image formation.

In this case study, the posts where the Italian and English languages appear are the most interesting. Posts in which a description of the dish is given in Italian, but no transcript or translation into English is provided. In total, I find only 10 such publications dated 2019.

Let's look at an example of one of the publications containing Italian and English. Caption for September 24, 2019: *Discover our new menu in Antwerp : Tagliolini con acciughe, stracciatella, limone e mollica di pane fritto*. ('Discover our new menu in Antwerp: tagliatelle pasta with anchovies, stracciatella ice cream [approx.: vanilla ice cream with chocolate chips], lemon and fried breadcrumbs).

A potential client, who is looking for an Italian cuisine cafe, seeing such a post, will understand that the publication uses the Italian language. It can be assumed that a connoisseur of Italian gastronomy has a partial initial knowledge of grammar and a thematic vocabulary, which will allow him not only to evaluate the use of Italian, but also to understand better the meaning of the publication.

Thus, in this case, the authenticity is most acute: the Italian dish is described in Italian; as well as the value position, which is manifested in the fact that no explanation is given in English. They are trying to say that Italian food is so great by itself, that its image should not be vilified by translation into another language.

Furthermore, the authenticity aspect is expressed by the fact that the proper names of dishes, drinks, and ingredients (culture-specific words) are not explained: *parmigiana* (an eggplant dish), *negroni* (an alcoholic cocktail), *caciocavallo* and *burrata* (types of cheese), *pancetta* (a type of bacon), *paccheri* (a type of pasta), *bruschetta* (a type of snack), etc. Each of these names contains the appearance, serving, and ingredients nuances, which in some cases can be reflected on the photo. Some terms used may be more common and commonly used in culture, such as *parmigiana*, *burrata*. Others are less well-known. The explanation of such peculiarities in the text can be quite long. Anyone who has never tasted such a dish will be intrigued, and a knowledgeable person already knows, what is hidden behind these words, and thus it is reasonable to omit these explanations.

In the publication that tells about the bar staff and chefs, we can also see an aspect of authenticity associated not only with the names of dishes, but also with the names of regions — a post dated March 23, 2019: "<...>Arianna and Vincenzo are partner in the Kitchen but also in life, and just like Andrea and Giorgia, they also come from Puglia. Come and try their amazing soul food, full of love". The aspect of authenticity is expressed in the fact that the name of the region of Italy — Apulia is given as *Puglia*, although the generally ac-

cepted English version is — *the Apulia*. The choice of using the Italian version is a small detail, but this element forms the image of a “true” Italian bar.

There are also elements of the language game, for example, the post dated March 6, 2019: “*Cipiace L’Aperitivo: We are very excited to invite you to our first CiPiace Antwerp aperitivo of a long series <...>*”. Approximate translation: ‘an Aperitif at Cipiace: we are very happy to invite you to our first aperitif at the CiPiaCe bar in Antwerp’.

First of all, it should be noted that the *aperitivo*, in English looks like an *aperitif*, but it is assumed that the reader will be able to relate the aperitif to the aperitivo by analogy.

The phrase Cipiace l’aperitivo can be considered and translated from the point of view of a person who does not have competence in Italian as ‘an Aperitif in Cipiace’ (Cipiace is the name of the bar). However, if you take into account the presence of a minimal competence in Italian, you can also see the wordplay: “*Ci piace l’aperitivo*” could be translated as “we like an aperitif”.

This form of language creativity allows one to interact both with those who do not have knowledge of Italian, and with those who have a little. The similarity of English *aperitif* to Italian *aperitivo* also opens up the possibility of forming an initial vocabulary for those who have never interacted with the Italian language.

This word was also found in other publications, for example, in the post dated May 23, 2019, where there is the phrase *see you tonight for l’aperitivo*. The reader is invited to a light language game that allows them to immerse themselves into the Italian culture.

In both cases, the Italian language is hinted at not only by turning *aperitif* into *aperitivo*, but also by adding an apostrophized definite article before it, which increases the immersion in the language game. It is also important to note the issue of phonetic, grammatical and morphological stereotypes of the Italian language, and how the Italian language is portrayed in popular culture. With a few details, you can create an image of a phrase that will be perceived as “Italian”. Therefore, here we see a vivid example of using the aspect of stereotyping, which may not be too exaggerated and grotesque, but clearly indicate the properties of a particular language.

Several posts use *Ragazze & ragazzi* and *Ragazzi* as an appeal to readers, instead of the more typical *Guys*, which is expected to be used in such cases. *Ragazzi* is a common Italian friendly address to both friends and strangers, it is not official, and does not apply to people who are significantly older in age.

Ragazzi in this case represent an aspect of cultural value rather than stereotypes. It is believed that Italians are distinguished by openness and cordiality, which are reflected in this appeal to their visitors.

There are also phrases *Grazie* ‘thank you’, *Prego* ‘please’, *Ciao* ‘hi/bye’. *Grazie* and *Ciao* can be met at the end of the English text, representing small symbols of Italian culture and expressing authenticity.

It is interesting to take a closer look at the example of using *Prego*. The text part of the publication has only a single word, but the photo undoubtedly helps to add context to the phrase and provides a hint for the reader who does not speak Italian. The situation played: the bartender puts a cocktail on the counter in front of the customer and tells him: “Prego!” (‘Please, [here is your order]’). In addition to authenticity, we see here a vivid example of forming the image of an institution as being truly Italian.

Another publication worth mentioning is the post dated December 22, 2019 “*Buon Natale! We will be closed from tomorrow December 23rd until the 26th [...]*” We can see that *Buon Natale* is not changed by *Merry Christmas*, but by focusing on the date of publication, the reader can recognize this phrase in Italian and understand what it means.

From all of the above, we can conclude that the reader, a potential visitor is expected to have a fairly high education attainment. The blog of this bar serves as a guide not only to the bar life itself, but also to the culture of Italy. For a regular guest or someone who already understands Italian traditions and cuisine, “inserts” of Italian words, phrases and sentences are a distinctive sign, reminding them that this place will help them immerse themselves in the Italian atmosphere.

The names of dishes refer to precedent texts, which means that some names may be more recognizable. However, this institution aims to cover Italian cuisine more widely, beyond the most common and stereotypical dishes. This is also reflected in the way the blog the author use Italian: in those publications where the dish is described in Italian without translation or explanation in English.

We can conclude that even infrequent, small inclusions of the Italian language in publications form the image of this institution: authentic terms for dishes and ingredients help to increase the credibility of the bar. They qualify it, confirm the fact that the dishes and drinks that are prepared in the bar really belong to Italian cuisine. Thus, using the example of this blog, we considered the manifestation of such polylingual functions as authenticity, values, internationality, creativity, and identity.

4.2. Case study No2 “MOLÁM Thai Canteen & Bar — @molam_krk”

The case analysis dwells upon the Instagram account [MOLÁM Thai Canteen & Bar].

The following case is the blog @molam_krk. This is the account of Molam Thai restaurant and bar located in Krakow, Poland. In 2019, the the author published 88 posts that actively and regularly use English and Polish, as well as Thai and French. Despite the fact that the bar is located in Poland, were found only three posts that were written exclusively in Polish, without using elements of any other language, dated the year of 2019. There are also only three publications for 2019 without using Polish, so this case does not analyze aspects of using the Polish language.

Let's analyze the post dated June 20, 2019, which contains Polish, English and French:

“Proces ‘menu development’ często bywa zaskakujący i tak też było w tym przypadku. Poszukując nowego dania w którym Pak chi lao (koperek) i nahm prik pao (chilli jam) świetnie by razem zagrały wpadliśmy na szalony pomysł aby połączyć je z naszym rodzimym staroklepańskim bobem... i to był, moi drodzy, totalny strzał w dziesiątkę!

Powstało ‘małżeństwo idealne’ — poznajcie więc Thaw Pak Xa z Nahm Prik Pao & Pak Chi Lao czyli Bób z koperkiem & chilli jam. Joie de vivre!!”

(“The process of “menu development” is often full of surprises, as it was in this case. In search of a new dish where Pak chi lao (dill) and nahm prik pao (chili jam) would play great together, we came up with the crazy idea of combining it with beans... and it was, my dears, just a bull's-eye!

The “perfect marriage” was born, so meet Thaw Pak Xa with Nahm Prik Pao and Pak Chi Lao or beans with dill and chili jam. The joy of life!!”)

As we can see, in this publication, Polish is the main language that conveys not only the actual information about the institution, but also the emotions caused by the process of creating dishes.

Highlighting the phrase ‘menu development’ in English may indicate the stereotypes of internationality of a Business English, which demonstrates the professionalism of this process. The phrase *menu development* creates a contrast with the rest of the text, because in general the publication enthusiastically talks about culinary discoveries.

We also see a small manifestation of English in the phrase *chilli jam*, which is found not only in this entry, but also in the subsequent “Polish” part of the text. The phrase could be translated as ‘*dżem z papryczki chili*’, but

the the author preferred the English version. This choice can be explained by the practicality and brevity of this variant, as well as the high degree of recognition of the word *jam*, even for the Polish reader

The delight of discovering a new combination of ingredients is conveyed, among other things, by the sentence in French — *Joie de vivre*. This is a very common phrase, widely used among English-speaking people, conveying a state of admiration and enjoyment. Here we can talk about a pronounced aspect of recognition, taking into account the popularity of the phrase.

Thai is used here (and, as we will see later, in all other blog posts) to refer to dishes and ingredients. In this publication, we observe the writing of the Thai language in the Latin alphabet, which facilitates the process of recognizing lexemes for a reader who does not speak this language. It should also be noted that the the author do not expect to know this language and kindly explain that *pak chi lao* is a dill, and *nahm prik pao* is a chili jam. Then the name of the new dish is announced: *Thaw Pak Xa*, which contains a combination of these ingredients.

The process of designation and explanation in this case resembles an educational process. A potential guest is not expected to know the Thai language or culture, and we can objectively note the fact that the restaurant takes on the role of educator. At the same time, the direct use of the Thai language reflects the authenticity and professionalism of the institution, as it demonstrates a high level of involvement in their business.

It is fair to say that a Thai cuisine lover has some passive vocabulary related to the names of dishes and ingredients.

Many ingredients and dishes of Thai cuisine do not have widespread analogues in European cuisine, so the use of the Thai language has several aspects: practicality (for more precise indication of certain types of products) and authenticity (the “true” name of products). This creates an image of the restaurant and staff as experts in their field, with original knowledge of the cuisine they offer.

Next, let’s pay attention to the post dated June 22, 2019, which describes the production of wine: “<...> *W ten weekend, w Krakowie będziecie mogli spróbować pierwszych kieliszków #J’18 tylko @molam_krk.*

@dombliskowice Chapeau bas! We owe you one!

@pbrocki thanks for your support!!” (“This weekend in Krakow, only in Molam, you can try the first glasses J’18. @dombliskowice [note: winery account] hats off! We owe you one. @pbrocki thanks for your support!!”).

In this publication, we observe multilingual interaction using various language resources. In this case, English and French are used at the level of minimum competencies related to the knowledge of common phrases.

The expression *chapeau bas* has been localized in many languages, for example, ‘*hats off*’ in English. The decision to use this expression in French may be due to the fact that the author wanted to reflect on the level of French culture the manifestation of the mastership France is associated with good manners, upbringing and etiquette, so words of respect expressed in its language emphasize the message. In addition to the recognition aspect, there is also the value aspect attributed to culture.

The stable expression *I owe you one* is contained in the Cambridge online dictionary and implies gratitude for what has been done, and also contains an indication of help in return. Most likely, the aspect contained in this case is related solely to the recognition and anchoring of this phrase in the language.

If we use the phrase *thanks for your support*, we can’t speak about its stability, although in general, expressions of gratitude have a high prevalence in the culture. However, it should be noted that in order to understand and use this phrase requires a limited level of competence in the English language. The only aspect that we can distinguish here is the internationality one.

This publication uses polylingual tools to demonstrate the use of various constructs for expressing gratitude emotions.

Consider the post dated August 9, 2019, which describes the process of preparing a new dish: “*Po próbnych testach w ostatni weekend tego egzemplarza już nie trzeba jakoś szczególnie reklamować, ale w ramach ciekawostki chcieliśmy tylko napomknąć, że wypalamy muszle w tao na żywym ogniu, grillujemy malże Świętego Jakuba z jednej strony, a następnie zalewamy sosem red nahm jim seafood & olejem czosnkowym, et voila podajemy w muszli z micro kolendrą i prażonym czosnkiem... Kicking ass scallops @molam_krk available from tonight, until the last shell stands.*”

(“After last weekend’s test trials, this sample doesn’t need much publicity, but still, we only wanted to mention that we roast seashells in Tao over an open fire, then pour red Nam Jim sauce for seafood and garlic oil — and voila — serve in a seashell with micro herbs and fried garlic... Kicking ass scallops are available in Molam from tonight, until last shell stands”)

To begin with, it is worth noting that the mention the name of the *red nahm jim seafood sauce* demonstrates the practicality aspect.

Then we can again pay attention to the use of the French language element *et voila*. Today, we can say that this element has become very recognizable and familiar, has become accustomed to everyday speech and is used in many languages. However, its French component is still discernible, although in this case it is difficult to find an indication of any particular aspect of French culture associated with the phrase. In this context, it rather emphasizes the moment of dexterity and speed of the cooking.

The last sentence can be in general related to the international aspect. However, the nature of the chosen vocabulary should be noted. For example, *kicking ass* in the context of the last sentence is a very specific metaphor that corresponds to the colloquial style of speech, with a rough connotation, used to indicate the excellent quality of something. The use of this expression in speech makes it more youthful and slangy. It is possible to note that kicking ass may be perceived more as an Americanism. There are also a comic book series and a movie with a similar title (“Kick-Ass: The Dave Lizewski Years”, 2008–2014; “Kick-Ass”, 2010). Thus, both the aspect of recognition and the stereotype of the American version of English can be identified here.

Otherwise, when analyzing the last sentence of the publication, it should be noted that such words as *available*, *tonight* can be often found in blogs and on the websites of cafes and stores, which gives us the opportunity to relate them to the basic knowledge of English in the leisure and shopping theme.

It is interesting to analyze examples of publications where information is presented in both languages Polish and English.

To do this, consider the post, dated September 11, 2019: “*SUMMERTIME we won't let you get away that easy, so we gonna bribe you to stay around for a little longer with our take on Thai mojito cocktail —> GECKO!*”

Rum Havana 3 na kościach lodu z puree z truskawki i trawy cytrynowej [mmmm] sok z limonki i mięta [fresh] woda z kwiatów pomarańczy [extra fresh] i soda z wody kokosowej [coco bubbles] + GEC-KO, GEC-KO! Do we have a deal?” (Rum Havana 3 with ice cubes and strawberry and lemongrass puree [mmmm], lime and mint juice [fresh], orange blossom water [extra fresh] and coconut water soda [coco bubbles] + GEC-KO, GEC-KO! Do we have a deal?)

One of the main features of the above is that the publication is narrated in two languages at once, and the information is not duplicated. In addition, the paragraph in Polish uses elements of English. The two languages become equivalent in the text.

It is obvious that part of this publication, which includes the first paragraph of the text and the last sentence, is intended for readers who have competence in English above at least a sub-threshold level, as well as proficient in vocabulary that goes beyond the topics of cooking and gastronomy.

The Polish part of the post uses recognizable elements of English: words such as fresh, extra, coco, bubbles are actively used in advertising discourse, including food. These words somehow met even those who do not have any competence in English. It can be argued that such words are part of the foreign language linguistic landscape for consumers in different countries. Fresh, bubbles, in particular, are often used in the advertising description of refreshing drinks.

In many posts, we notice the “interweaving” of English and Polish, which allows us to judge that we are seeing the use of English not only as an international alternative to Polish for readers from other countries. It is obvious that the author of the blog thus use the opportunity to more fully convey the semantic shades, mood, emotions of the text part of the post through English.

This can also be seen when analyzing the post dated September 7, 2019.:

“#ONETEAM — WE ARE MOLAM!!

Team AM wine training session in progress... cause hardship never ends. Nah, they have been really enjoying Riesling, erm.. life, like there is no tomorrow

OTO ONI: młodzi, dzielni, piękni, mądrzy, zawsze uśmiechnięci — jedyni w swoim rodzaju. Wszyscy razem, i co nie bez znaczenia, w porze śniadaniowej (to wymaga pełnego poświęcenia) zdobywają wiedzę na temat win jednocześnie dzieląc się jedzeniem.

<...>

Ty też możesz być jak ONI — pić wina i dzielić się tajskimi daniami w towarzystwie pięknych, młodych, inteligentnych i zawsze uśmiechniętych... like there is no tomorrow!”

(“#ONETEAM — WE ARE MOLAM!!

Team AM wine training session in progress... cause hardship never ends. Nah, they have been really enjoying Riesling, erm.. life, like there is no tomorrow

Here they are: young, bold, beautiful, smart, always with a smile — the only ones of their kind. Altogether, during Breakfast (this requires complete dedication), they gain knowledge about the wines and share the Breakfast.

<...>

You can also be like them — drink wine and share Thai cuisine in the company of the beautiful, young, smart and always smiling... like there's no tomorrow")

The narration in this post uses the tools of English and Polish, while it does not duplicate information, but presents a coherent full-fledged text in two languages, although Polish makes up most of the post.

Based on the aspects we have highlighted, the English language in this case can be identified as internationalizing. In addition, we can highlight the recognition element associated with the expression *like there is no tomorrow*. It is fixed in the Cambridge online dictionary as a stable expression that means the desperation and recklessness in accordance with which a person performs any actions. In addition, the phrase is often found in the names of songs by popular artists, such as "Love me like there's no tomorrow" by Freddie Mercury and "Live like there's no tomorrow" by Selena Gomez. This increases the prevalence of this expression, since it has more opportunities to be fixed in the memory of a person who is interested in modern culture.

The use of this phrase in the Polish part of the text indicates its special status as a stable expression, which is recognizable even among those readers who do not have sufficient competence in English to understand the first part of the publication.

However, the blog also contains posts with duplicated information. For example, the post dated December 20, 2019: "*We are only 5 days away from Xmas and it's FRI-YAY... we think it's time to officially start Festive Season at Molam N O W... 3... 2...1!*"

So, boys & girls, let's go for tropical vibes tonight with eccentric Thai food & J U N G L E B I R D S cocktail — the one to share with lovers & friends (you already know we are crazy about sharing, right?) Dark Rum Havana 7, Campari bitter, passionfruit puree, pineapple & lime juice, juicy lychee, edible flower... teasing done!

Tylko 5 dni dzieli nas od Świąt, a tak sie składa, że dzisiaj jest w dodatku FRI-YAY... no i tak sobie myślimy, że to najlepszy moment aby oficjalnie rozpocząć sezon świątecznej zabawy już dziś wieczorem... 3... 2...1!!! START

Rozpoczynamy wiec od totalnie tropikalnego koktajlu J U N G L E B I R D S w wersji do podziału, bo jak już zapewne wiecie, mamy kompletnego świra na punkcie dzielenia się wszystkim!

Dark Rum Havana 7, Campari bitter, puree z marakui, sok z ananasa i limonki, soczyste liczi i kwiaty jadalne... no dobra, kuszenie już zakończone!”

In this case, we see an example of a post containing a complete duplication of information in English and Polish, which in general can be defined as an international aspect.

We can also see the authenticity and practicality aspects in the names of Dark Rum Havana 7 and Campari bitter drinks. Naming them in this way allows the author to focus on the special status of these drinks, their price and quality. It is worth also noting the name of the cocktail — Jungle Birds. The English name has aspects of authenticity and internationality.

In addition, we can highlight the creative element contained in both parts of the post. *FRI-YAY* is a clear example of a language game that is understandable, including for readers with low English skills. The language game is formed by replacing part of the word *Friday* with an interjection expressing joy and enthusiasm — *yay*. Days of the week and interjections are very common entry-level vocabulary, which is probably why the author leave this game expression in the Polish part of the text. In addition, it helps to convey the light playful mood of the text.

In this publication, even if there is an equivalent duplication of text in two different languages, even a message aimed at a Polish reader contains an element of an English language game, which means that this element is considered decipherable for the average blog reader.

Thus, we have considered the language resource versatility is used in the “MOLÁM Thai Canteen & Bar” blog. The elements used to create a versatile image of the bar. The role of the Thai language in publications can be clearly defined. It creates an image of professional workers who thoroughly know the details of Thai cuisine. The reader does not need to understand the words used in publications, since their primary purpose is to **demonstrate an expert position**. In addition, the author of the blog provide translation and explanation of the mentioned words.

The use of French in this blog has no serious culinary connotations. Here, using only well-established expressions, he additionally **emphasizes emotional states**, for example, pleasure, gratitude. Given the rare use in a blog, its role in creating a unique image is quite small, and can be understood as one of the facets that creates the image of a versatile person.

We find a more significant position of the English language. Here we find that English can serve as a tool designed to make it easier to point out

certain ingredients. There are also ready-made expressions, and you can also note the vastness of the thematic vocabulary often used in advertising campaigns [Piller, 2001]. In addition, we observe a wide range of the English language associations: from youth slang to business expressions. This means that the language in this case is more sensitive to the context that forms the utterance and its interpretation.

Based on observations of this blog, we can conclude that the blog, as well as the restaurant itself, is aimed at a modern young reader who is highly educated, ready to be entertained and expand ones gastronomic experience [Kapkan, 2008]. In this case, we do not find any obvious claims to the elitism and sophistication of either the restaurant itself or its potential visitor.

5. Conclusions

After studying the materials of Instagram blogs, I come to the conclusion: multilingualism is a tool not only for communication, but also for identification. Thanks to it, we can see what language abilities the blog the author have and what kind of consumers a particular place is focused on, and what kind of readers the blog on Instagram is addressed to.

According to authoritative researchers such as Rampton, Jorgensen, Blommert, and Pennycook, multilingualism is a tool for communication in an open and multilingual, poly-ethnic and open environment, where communication languages are flexible and formed in the context of interaction. They can be considered as a language tool for establishing communication in the cosmopolitan environment of online blog readers. As a result, we can conclude something about the structure of multilingual communication in Instagram blogs that promote food industry establishments: this is the use of the native or/and the state language(-s) of the host country, English as the language of the European Union, and the languages of cultures whose national cuisine is offered by a particular place.

Based on the case analysis, it is not possible to determine exactly which language is the native language of the blog the author, but we can assume that the native languages include Polish, Greek, and Ukrainian. In addition, we found out that the native languages of blog the author are not the only or dominant ones in Internet communication, they serve as location markers, establishing contact with a part of potential visitors.

Since for analysis were selected the blogs of food establishments located in the territory of the European Union and Eastern Europe, the second lan-

guage of most of them, as we have seen, is English — the official language of the European Union, which is also one of the five world international communication languages.

English in these blogs performs not only the function of official attribution and unifying, as the language of international communication of the EU countries, but also as an ELF — a means of communication for people, whose native language is not English. And also as a language responsible for demonstrating western liberal culture stereotypes and cosmopolitanism international values. English is also present in the forms of mass culture texts, Internet memes, recognizable colloquial phrases and stable expressions.

We found that different blogs can broadcast different values of English culture and language: from British accuracy and foresight to American youth and protest emancipation, as well as with stereotypes: from British humor about British scientists to American slang. Moreover, quite often is implemented the “language game” based on the English language, common words and phrases.

In addition, regardless of the native and the English languages, gastro-nomic blogs can use the language of the cuisine that is offered by the restaurant, bar or cafe. Therefore, the Belgian institution actively uses Italian in its blog and the Polish institution uses Thai. In this case, the names of products, dishes, and characteristic elements of gastronomic culture are not translated, but are given in an authentic form of the name in the original language. This serves to form the emotional, value and cultural context of consumption, and to demonstrate the expert status of the institution in the field of a particular cuisine. This is how cultural realities and stereotypes are presented. For readers who do not speak these languages, an intrigue is created.

We also observed the use of the French language not only to demonstrate the stereotypes of Haute cuisine, but also to broadcast associations of French culture in a broader sense, as the birthplace of etiquette and ethics. There is an appeal to both precedent texts and recognizable phrases.

The role of the official languages, Polish (Krakow), Greek (Athens), Ukrainian (Lviv), French (Antwerp and Brussels) is that they are markers of the location of the institution on the map of Europe.

In the studied blogs, we observe the multilevel nature of polylinguism, the languages used in publications in different ways. The use of phrases in different languages also depends on the number and variety of linguistic resources that the author have. We identify the following **levels of polylingualism** demonstrated in the blogs we analyzed: **factual, authentic, and pragmatic**.

Based on the materials studied, we can see how polylingualism is used to implement a strategy for combining the focus on attractiveness for local and international customers. Thus, it is possible to promote the food-serving institution more successfully in the service and leisure industry market.

A multi-lingual blog strategy allows creating a balance between cultures. It allows creating the content filled with multi-level meanings that can be encoded and decoded according to the blog author and reader's degree of education.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Boundaries of Multimodality in Virtual Information Environment Design

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Abstract. Generating meanings through the use of various modes, simultaneous holistic multi-modal texts form the cognitive canvas of a virtual information environment. With reference to the current scientific discourse, we explore insights into the identification and interpretation of meanings in their multiplicity as a characteristic feature of objects of virtual information environment design and raise the question of human limits and potentialities in the perception of communicative images and the issue of communication in the virtual environment as a goal of design.

Keywords: multimodality, environment design, virtual information

1. Introduction

The growing computerization and virtualization of the information environment, particularly in the context of massive forced changeover to online

formats in industry, commerce and education in the spring of 2020, are opening up new communication realities and set out new requirements concerning information management and contents. The purpose of this paper is to define boundaries of multi-modality in virtual information environment design. In the context of this study, boundaries are understood, on the one hand, as limits to the multiplicity of meanings, text superpositions, and to the amount, connection and bundling of information; on the other hand, as limits and constraints related to the physical and psychological capabilities of human perception; on yet another hand, moral principles, norms and rules constituting the designer's professional ethics.

The paper reviews current studies and views of various authors on multi-modality in design, and describes the properties of the simultaneousness and holisticity of multimodal design-texts with reference to the socio-cultural context in which designers use a lot of citations and metaphors. The issue of the designer's freedom is raised within the framework of discourse theory regarding the limits to which the potential of multimodal design-texts could be used in professional activities. The apriority of multimodal perception and the conventionality of multimodal design-texts are considered as tools for achieving design communication objectives.

2. Methodology and methods

The theoretical framework of the study is provided by books, articles and monographs from the areas of art and cultural studies, philosophy, social semiotics, discourse theory and theory of design devoted to trends in the development of multi-model texts in the virtual information environment.

The leading role in the study belongs to the systems approach and the social semiotic methodology, oriented towards identifying resources for constructing communication situations in social and cultural circumstances and defining meaning-making through the social dimension. The work is based on an integrative communicative-activity approach in which design is considered through the lens of how effective the impact on the user is.

Multi-modal objects of design are considered as a system, as a whole complex of interrelated participants, interactive processes and elements: the customer, the designer (programmers and other related professionals), the virtual information environment, and the user. Within the framework of communicative, discursive and functional-stylistic approaches, design operates as text, context, and discourse. A multi-modal design-text exists

as a unit of meaning in a certain context that finds expression in discourse ensuring a direct experience of sign-epistemic activity. Design discourse sets contextual coordinates: linguistic, situational, and cultural. Being based on previous sign experience, discourse represents design of a future experience employing directly experienced sign communication.

The study takes advantage of the methods of observation, idealization, analogy, generalization, analytico-synthetic method, and abstraction techniques.

3. Description of the study

Design has been historically considered as an activity to create esthetically expressive and functional objects. This type of visual creativity produced graphic designs implemented in printed, i.e. analogue form (posters, advertisements, labels, magazines, TV commercials, etc.) as embodiments of multimodality. Design is a multimodal “text-making” activity since it always involves work with texts, contexts and meanings. Even in the fabric of an object of industrial design “serving to give the ‘design-text’ a metaphoric coloring” one can see “text-making” [Lavrentyeva, 2008, 11]. Thus, we consider products of design as texts in the postmodernist paradigm of the world outlook.

3.1. Multimodal design-text. A review of studies

Design uses the expressive means of art and, thus, may be identified to a certain extent with fine art (Rozenblum, 1974). In spite of the increasing potentialities of the socio-semiotic toolkit in the interpretation of works of art (including fine arts), there are few studies into multimodality in design, and these have been mostly carried out in English-language communication research.

The available studies of multimodality in design may be conventionally divided into two directions: the first considers design as text within the framework of semiotics of culture (Chernevich, 1975; Lavrentyeva, 2008; Zherdev, 2010); the second treats design as discourse in which the addressee (user) is an active image-producing subject while the creolized product of design (the fabric of which consists of two inhomogeneous parts: verbal (text) and non-verbal (illustrations, photographs, graphics, etc.)) possess the property of persuasiveness (the author of the message exerts influence on the addressee with the purpose of convincing him/her of it) (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Hansen & Machin, 2013; Yassine, 2014; Ledin & Machin, 2016).

Researchers pertaining to the second direction use the theory and methodology of social semiotics and the toolkit of multimodal discourse analy-

sis, combining discourse analysis procedures with extralinguistic elements of the message included in the scope of attention. Some authors consider the multimodality of design products allowing for the socio-political context (critical multimodal discourse analysis); in this concept, multimodal design-texts act as a powerful tool of social influence and the designer, thus, possesses power.

Considering multimodality in design, mention should be made of the work by Kress and Van Leeuwen "Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design", which examines multimodal design-texts from the perspective of meaning-making and translation of meanings, the graphic means being represented by photographs, logical pictures (graphics, diagrams, etc.), color orientation systems, and font design. These authors draw attention to the relationship between language and image as different sign systems and construct "visual grammar" (in which text is replaced with image) as a tool of effective communication of a large amount of information to the user in the virtual environment. Kress and Van Leeuwen describe patterns of visual structures representing the surrounding world, placing emphasis on the perception of various elements as a single image and on the relationship between the comprehended and the perceived. They based their research on works of philosophers (Goodman, 1969; Hermeren 1969), semioticians (Eco, 1976; Barthes, 1977), art critics (Panofsky, 1970), and media analysts (Williamson, 1978) [Kress, G & T. Van Leeuwen, 2006, 47].

Yassine considers the multimodality of design products as new communicative artefacts produced as the result of the development of computer technologies and virtual information environment and in response to the changing social and semiotic landscape. In design, the basic role in the ensemble of modes of meaning communication is given to visual elements, whereby the visuals carry considerable communicative load at the cognitive, cultural and ideological levels [Yassine, 2014, 336].

Noteworthy also is the methodology of semiotic modeling of the design product image as a "narrative cocoon" suggested by G. N. Lola, whose theoretical foundation is social semiotics of neo-pragmatic orientation (Bart, Bakhtin, Gasparov, Kazarinova, Eco and others), directed at identifying semiotic resources that could create conditions for meaning-making [Lola, 2011, 56].

The multimodality of design in this approach does not unfold "horizontally" following the "classical" definition of multiplicity of methods of message

communication, the most widespread variant being “text” + “image”; rather, it expands “vertically”: simultaneously “in depth” of the design product and “outside” towards the socio-cultural context. Design is proclaimed to be a practice of outlining boundaries in meaning-making.

The image of a design product is understood as an essentially unfinished, evolving structure consisting of an image/semiotic model, image/discursive model and message. In the semiotic model, image appears as a holistic meaning formation, as a finished whole; in the discursive model, as a meaning formation open to interpretations with the expansion of the disintegrated whole into discourse; in the message, as a process of meaning production and programming of the design product image towards self-adjustment and self-development [Ibidem, 43].

When discussing the multimodality of virtual information environment design, mention should be made of “multimodal interaction”, in which the system offers the user several modes of data input and output allowing for temporal and semantic combinations of different modalities. The user can, on the one hand, enter data by means of several “modalities” (besides the keyboard and mouse, these could be speech synthesis, writing input, touch, gesture, glance, head or body movement); on the other hand, obtain information about the system in “multimodal” format (speech synthesis, smart graphics, etc.). An interactive multimodal system combines, as a rule, visual and tactile (monitor, keyboard and mouse) and voice modalities (speech recognition, speech and sound synthesis) [Hoste, Dumas, Signer, 2011].

The complexity of multimodal interaction is that it transforms our vision of temporal and spatial organization: unlike studies devoted to actions developing in a linear and consistent manner, moment by moment (for instance, examination of such interaction with the help of conversation analysis), research focusing on multimodal interaction examines chronological forms combining and interweaving a lot of simultaneously occurring complex forms of interaction [Mondada, 2016, 341]. This creates problems for the analysis of multimodal interaction, including analysis of language, body movements, and verbal, visual and other sensory signals.

3.2. Multimodal design-texts in socio-cultural context

Being a cultural phenomenon, the artificially created virtual information environment consists of signs which are perceived with the help of senses and interpreted through the lens of personal human experience. The facilitation of exchange with non-language forms of message during the period

when the virtual information environment was expanding rapidly catalyzed research into the phenomenon of multimodality. In the second half of the 20th century, the academic language saw the emergence of a large group of notions designed to describe the specifics of increasingly complex media-communication, a semiotic complex operating as an integral whole: transmediality, intermediality, intramediality, multimodality, polycode, hybridity, mixed discourse, creolization, etc. [Kozhemyakin, 2019, 5]. Even the prototypic text (“small text” with representative semiotic space, including letters, encyclopedic entries, interviews, recipes, etc.) is considered today in the virtual information environment to be multimodal rather than of language, which is explained by increasing integration of images as well as systemic text design (Ross, 2001; Seebass, 2001; Stöckl, 2004) [Baakh, 2019, 3].

With reference to virtual information environment design, the notions of multimodality, multicanality or multimediality (where “medium” is commonly understood as image, text, sound) express “the holisticity, simultaneity and continuity of meaning-making with the help of the entire range of modes of its communication” [Zagidullina, 2019, 184].

The property of being holistic is understood as full informative and formal wholeness and completeness of multimodal design texts which cannot be reduced to the sum total of linguistic and non-linguistic modalities as its particularities. The essence of the holistic approach is in the qualitative peculiarity of multimodal design-text as a whole, relationships between the whole and its parts, priority of some parts over the others, and the acquisition by some modalities being parts of the whole of new qualities, regularities and properties which are not inherent in them separately.

The property of being holistic harbors a prerequisite of being creative and of creative productivity: “...given the properties of the parts and the laws of their interaction, it is not a trivial matter to infer the properties of the whole” [Simon, 1996, 184]. A design product considered as a system of multimodal elements may be quite simple: “The apparent complexity of our behavior over time is largely a reflection of the complexity of the environment in which we find ourselves” [Ibidem, 66].

Simultaneity in design is understood as a simultaneous representation of images/modules in the space of a design product’s single image, reflecting the designer’s views on the state-of-the-art ways of achieving effective design communication based on various techniques of synthesis [Petrov, 2010, 10]. The simultaneity of multimodal design texts implies, on the one hand, a huge

potential for renewal of the language of design; and, on the other hand, unavoidable subordination of the design process to global social, political and cultural processes.

The simultaneous method of design-object representation is seen in objects completed within the framework of the image to which they belonged initially and assuming the role of interim “modules” in the development of the image of a new object of design [Petrov, 2010, 6]. This aspect relates to the domain of multimodality study in its close connection with culture, particularly with cultural standards. In this domain, it is claimed that contemporary human thinking is citational and design is a citational activity founded on mechanisms of imitation, copying, borrowing, interpretation, adaptation, treatment, processing, duplication, combination, author’s adaptation, etc.

Simultaneity as the property of objects of design is inexorably associated with the phenomenon of intertextuality, or interconnection of various elements of design and art in a unified multimodal design text within the framework of one culture, “global culture” in particular [Isagulov, 2019, 38]. The intertextuality of multimodal objects of virtual information environment design may be classified as follows:

1. Artistic intertextuality — interaction of artistic codes in the medial diversity of forms. For instance, “musicality”, “plasticity”, “theatricality” of virtual interactive systems.

2. Normative intertextuality — creation of a design product based on “classical images” where the original object acts as a model or standard. For instance, the use of an “image of a real button” in the design of a button on the display of the computer or some other gadget in a virtual interactive system. As a consequence, what happens is the creation of a “meta-language of design” i. e. a holistic multiple-meaning space in the system of culture.

3. Citational intertextuality — the content of one medium cites the content of another medium acting as a reference source. New artistic images are created in the design product through a dialogue of cultures by means of references. For instance, the use of the composition, colors and plasticity of the Soviet constructivist political poster in the design of an interactive system.

A. N. Lavrentyev noted: “Design is, at the same time, both a product of culture, a tool of cultural construction and a factor actively forming culture” [Lavrentyev, 2007, 7]. Design in the evolving historical and socio-cultural contexts changes standards employed for creation and use of the sign as a communicative resource for the production of meaning.

3.3. *Design as discourse. The “power” of the designer*

Most of the contemporary researchers studying design multimodality interpret design as discourse. Whereas in the semiotic model the image presents itself as a holistic meaning, in the discursive one it appears as a meaning open for interpretations.

Let us also consider the product of design as discourse. Based on the definition of discourse given by T. A. van Dijk, we understand design discourse as an accomplished or ongoing communicative act, as a complex communicative event and its finalized result designed by the addressor (designer) and interpreted by the addressee (user) in a certain temporal, spatial and cultural context [Van Dijk, 1998].

The multimodal components of design discourse operate allowing for certain socio-cultural factors, as well as personal characteristics of recipients, their needs, emotions and experiences. A multimodal product of design discourse is related to culture, linked to the context, is homogeneous and relevant and belongs to a certain genre. The main goal of design discourse is coordination of activities among people in society. The means to achieving this goal is by changing users' mental states: their knowledge, estimates, values, and volitional impulses. In the “designer–user” discourse, there is implicit inequality in relations: the designer performs the role of an “expert” capable of influencing the user's behavior by virtue of his professional competence. The “power” of the designer also explains the skeptical attitude to graphic design as confined to commercial tasks as V. Papanek stated in his work “Designing for the Real World” [Papanek, 1971]. This power consists in a strong and often unconscious impact on the addressee (user) associated with simple and quick emotional perception of visual information and graphic images and with the possibility to attract attention and imprint the image in the mind.

In design communication through multimodal design texts, the designer can both convey and distort the meaning, inform the user or manipulate them. Note also that “various semiotic resources are used for communicating ideas, values and identities, and these resources can both facilitate the improvement of various types of interaction and hinder them” [Gavrilova, 2016, 107].

The imperative message of design texts correlates with the issue of relations between language and authorities and R. Bart's concept of “myth”: design texts directed at changing the reality aim to create a value-based image of the reality while, at the same time, concealing their ideological essence

and passing manipulative messages for something natural. Thus, the function of design may consist in replacing true human motives with preferable ones.

At the same time, the designer combines units of information into a harmonious whole and directs the sequence of perception: the main and the subordinated, the compositional organization and the visual images helping to communicate the information (presenting, for instance, dry data and charts expressively and figuratively as infographics). The designer helps the user orientate in large amounts of information, “protects” against perceptual overload while directing towards the area prescribed by the customer.

3.4. User experience in the perception of multimodal products of design

Objects of the virtual information environment are sensory experiences, which do not exist outside our perception: “... it may be said that Internet images are not images of the world but the world itself that has become an image” [Aronson, 2004, 153]. The perception of multimodal objects of virtual information environment design is an act of intuitive perception of objects which are not a part of physical information. Such perception cannot be subject to a possible error since it is completely mental [Jackson, 1982].

Interpretation of signs involves issues of comprehension and incomprehension. It would be inaccurate to speculate about the specifics of semiotic representation of information without studying how people interact with the world and react to the world and to their own reactions and those of other people. Today we would be unable to describe a “red color experience” to a person who has never seen red color (from F. Jackson’s thought experiment (Mary’s Room)). We are of the opinion that a sensory experience is not identical to the description of this experience and, furthermore, description of reality is not reality itself (“The map is not the territory” [Korzybski, 1931]): “Who feels the taste knows it; who doesn’t feel it, doesn’t know it”. The proverb “*Seeing something once is better than hearing about it a hundred times*” reveals the communicative efficacy of graphic representations.

Analysis of the boundaries of multimodality in design becomes even more complicated when we deal with multimodality manifestations based on empirical knowledge, i. e. the totality of sensory experiences acquired by the individual in the process of interaction with the outside world. This multimodality may be expressed in a relationship between the visual and the ‘bodily’, when the “visuality” of the world is formed by bodily processes. This type of relationship is described in studies of the body-oriented approach and the concept of “embodied simulation”, where the body of the viewer and

his activity set conditions for the perception of screen-art images [Denikin, 2017, 117].

When the text perceived visually is “heard” through the means of inner speech with simultaneous production of new visual images, we can speak about a relationship between the visual and the auditory. Simultaneous perception of movement, weightlessness, flight and congestion when contemplating dynamic visual and auditory images point to the alliance of the visual, the auditory and the proprioceptive. A sour taste when seeing an image of lemon or hearing the word “lemon” is produced in us by the interaction of the visual, the auditory and the gustatory.

By way of interpreting the postulates of the theory of radical behaviorism with reference to the limits of multimodality in design, we can assume that owing to the mechanism of conditioned reflex, we can “see or hear ‘stimuli which are not present’”: we can perceive (see, hear or sense) an image not only when shown this image but also when a stimulus is presented which often accompanies the image: “The dinner bell not only makes our mouth water, it makes us see food” [Skinner, 1952].

An individual can mentally construct a visual, auditory or kinesthetic image based on certain stimuli which may have no direct relation to the image presented. This is also true of human emotional reactions caused by stimuli which are present when positive or negative events occur, which determines to a considerable extent attitude to this or that image. Proceeding from the theoretical premises of behavior psychology, we can state that an individual “sees”, “hears”, “senses” a lot more than the directly presented stimuli actually carry.

We call this manifestation of multimodality “aprioric”, whereby a multimodal image is pre-constructed as a whole entity. There are substantial potentialities here for the designer to produce a multimodal impact on the user.

3.5. Intentionality as a prerequisite to perception of multimodal design-text

We understand intentionality, on the one hand, within the mode of desirability, selectivity, interest in the perception of an object of design; on the other hand, as the ability of a design product to reflect the communicative intent of its designer, achievement of the objective pursued (intention of persuasion, motivation, stimulation, information, entertainment, teaching, etc.). In both aspects, intentionality presents two inter-related parts of the designer’s single intent: the user’s intent acquires continuation in the designer’s intent expressed in the design product, i. e. in the discourse created by him/her.

In design, intentionality may be treated as a phenomenon setting forth a communicative attitude and determining the super-objective of communication. On this basis, the designer forms a strategy of future communication through the design product — a plan of influence on the consumer chosen in accordance with the objective set.

The issue of intentionality as the possibility to have different convictions in relation to one and the same object is linked to the issue of dual contingency (dual dependence) of interaction. On the one hand, the stimulus for communication is the choice made on the basis of the needs of one of the communication participants (a customer); the reaction of the other participant, in turn, will depend on both the stimulus presented and on the needs of the other participant (a user). Assumingly, the perceptions and reactions of the partners in an act of communication are not determined uniquely. In practice, we can see examples of effective interaction both between individuals and between the designer and the user. How does this interaction happen in the context of extreme uncertainty?

Firstly, the designer creates a precedent by ensuring satisfaction of the customer's needs through the satisfaction of the user's needs. This intricate chain of relationships is further complicated by the format of satisfaction of the user's needs through design products, as well as the format of satisfaction of the customer's needs determined in financial terms.

Secondly, because of double contingency (mentioned above), “communication ... could not exist without both generalization from the particularity of the specific situations ... and *stability* of meaning which can only be assured by “conventions” observed by both parties” [Parsons, 2002, 437]. Moreover, double contingency “implies the normative orientation of action” in a symbolic system shared by all participants of communication [ibidem]. In other words, communicating in the system “customer-designer-user”, the participants of communication observe formal and meaningful conventionality of the shared symbolic system acting on preset rules — external symbols generate shared and mutually complementary images. The culture of a certain society sets standards — value-orientations — applied in the evaluation of design products.

Design communication is an essential condition for the production of cultural standards “... as a source for creating meaning and constructing experience. Texts belong to the language system and are determined by the situational context, the semiotic structure of which, in turn, is de-

terminated by the context of culture” [Gavrilova, 2016, 104]. Thus, we can question the difference between the essential foundations of sign typology as icon, index and symbol according to Peirce (the icon is based on likeness; for the index, the factual connection is “real”; and only symbols are conventional). Signs of different modalities have common ultimate conventionality and make up a whole multimodal design-product.

By way of concluding, the user/recipient’s empirical knowledge coherent to the semiotic content of a multimodal design-text is an essential precondition to comprehensive perception of the design product. In this regard, it is particularly important to examine the role of generalized symbolic means of communication and cultural values in the design of multimodal texts of design communication.

4. Results and discussion

Consideration of the products of virtual information environment design as multimodal texts expands the boundaries of the traditional approaches to the study of design based on the premises of social semiotics and theory of discourse.

The multimodality of virtual information environment design may be discovered in both the design product and the channels and means of design communication. The design product as a complex semiotic object expresses through multimodality the characteristics of the material embodiment of various media and signs — texts, images, animation, etc. The key semiotic form of multimodal products of virtual information environment design is image (photograph, illustration, diagram, chart), combined with other semiotic forms, mainly with text. Considering a design product as multimodal text implies studying the role of generalized symbolic means of communication in the development of design-communication.

Multimodal interaction, in turn, involves the provision of several modalities simultaneously to ensure interaction between the user and the object of virtual information environment design, i. e. a virtual interactive system. Multimodal interaction implies the simultaneity of use of various resources, such as facial expression, posture, gesture, glance, body movements, as well as the use of phonetics, lexis and grammar for organizing interaction between participants in communication.

We understand context in its broad sense as expression of an experience and as any factor — semiotic, cultural, or psychological — influencing

the interpretation of design-texts. Context may be conventionally divided into external, or situational conditions of communication, and internal, or psychological factors and the entire previous experience of the interacting parties influencing the process of communication. Context enables the semi-otic analysis of multimodal design products to be supported by sociological, historical and cultural studies.

Design discourse practice is determined by context and ensures direct experience. Discourse is a phenomenon of broad scope, including social, cultural and historical factors, as well as specific features of a concrete interactive context. Discourse analysis may be directed at the specifics of interaction between the user and the virtual interactive system. Within the framework of design discourse studies, one of the issues is design ethics and the power of the designer contained in the communicative potential and persuasiveness of objects of virtual information environment design.

The multimodal design text which is in the author's mind and the text perceived by the recipient are not identical. Design-text perception and comprehension involve reproduction of personal meanings generated by the user's own experience. The designer's message and the user's perception have an area of overlap, the boundaries of which are determined by the quality of the semiotic design text and by the extent to which the conceptual systems of the designer and the user embodied in conventional signs match up. The time separating the moment the design product is created from the moment of its perception in the virtual information environment is extremely condensed: the environment possesses the property of being continually updated, staying relevant and even "outpacing" time.

Thus, study of design products may be connected, first, with study of holistic, simultaneous multimodal design texts; second, with analysis of external conditions of communication (accessibility, informativity, situationality); third, with consideration of psychological factors underlying the perception of design products and the experiences of interacting participants (intentionality, intertextuality).

5. Conclusions

The study has revealed the following manifestations of multimodality in the virtual information environment:

1. "Structural multimodality" — the multimodality of a design product consists of several modes of meaning communication (image, text, animation, etc.).

2. “Citational multimodality” — manifests itself in the citation of elements and various objects of art existing within the framework of one culture or in different cultures, including “global culture”, in a single multimodal design text: multimodality evolving through the intertextuality of culture.

3. “Aprioric multimodality” — multimodal perception expressed in one or several modalities based on the user’s previous experience. It involves mental reconstruction of visual, auditory and sensory images based on the stimulus presented. It increases the value of the user’s subjective perception and experience and places emphasis on the study of, first and foremost, the pragmatics of the communicative act in design.

It is worth mentioning individually “multimodal interaction” as the property of distinctive objects of virtual information environment design, i.e. interactive systems. Multimodal interaction implies simultaneous presence of several modalities for the interaction between the user and the interactive system to happen.

For effective perception of a multimodal design-text, the imagery of the design product should match the experience of images and the immediate objectives of the perceiving subject. We distinguish the following regularities in the perception of multimodal design products:

1. The higher the compositional, meaningful and stylistic complexity of a multimodal design product, the greater the cognitive activity required from the user for its perception.

2. The higher the perceiving agent’s level of preparedness for perception and his psychological, social, cultural and intellectual attitudes, the more active is the process of design product perception. Information received in the previous experience is a prerequisite to active perception.

3. The more goal-directed is the activity of perception of a multimodal design product, the higher the measure of activity such perception.

The determination of the boundaries of multimodality in virtual information environment design is proceeding in several directions: in depth into the semiotic structure of the design product and mental processes of its perception; in breadth across numerous forms of organization of interaction among the participants of communication; and in time regarding aspects of cultural citation.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Use of New Nature Texts in the VKontakte Social Network

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Abstract. Multi-modal or multi-code texts are an important part of modern communicative culture. Frequently, specific feature of this culture could be determined through the creation and usage of such texts. As T. G. Galaktionova, we prefer calling such texts as “new nature” texts and consider their features and

analyze the case of using them in the social network communication. In the conclusion we prove that in such a case the “new nature” texts are dominant due to their emotional expressiveness.

Keywords: multi-code texts, multi-modality, new nature texts, social network, VKontakte

1. Introduction

Communication via the Internet is a unique and complex phenomenon that reflects the life of modern society. Likewise a real life communication, communication via the Internet tends to be emotional, and it is reflected in the use of polycode and polymodal texts by communicants.

The usage of the “new nature” texts is a distinctive feature of Internet communication messages. By calling such communication “Internet communication”, we emphasize both the channel, through which the message is transmitted, and the context in which the communication is taking place. And, at the same time, we are not highlighting a device used to commit the communication, as is the case with terms “computer communication” or “computer-mediated communication”.

We understand Internet communication as the process of exchanging polymodal and/or polycode information via the Internet. For this process are compulsory the using of a special Internet discourse and the communicators’ feedback. The uniqueness of the Internet as a means of communication is that this network is the only one of its kind—a medium for communication including the using of different types of texts. Today, various systems of speech perception and generation are used for communication, eliminating the boundaries of using different modalities texts, and neutralizing the factors of time and distance.

“New nature” texts are used in various types of communication: in mass communication (stories, live broadcasts) and in personal communication (stickers, emoji, voice messages, memes).

According to a study conducted by the Russian analytical company Mediascope “Social networks in numbers” [Mediascope, 2019], the first place in the rate of popularity in Russia is the social network tool Vkontakte, which is used by 72 % of Internet users in Russia (38.1 million), the second place is the messenger WhatsApp — 61 % (32.5 million), the third place is Instagram— 56 % (29.6 million), and then YouTube— 45 % (23.9 million);

the 5th and 6th are Viber and Telegram messengers– 41 % (21.8 million) and 21 % (11.3 million).

Each of the mentioned above social networks and messengers are a complex set of programs that people use to communicate via the Internet. The user's ability to have multiple accounts (personal pages) in different applications makes it possible to send information from one application to another, which creates one large information complex.

2. The purpose and hypothesis of the study

The authors' attention is focused on the question what are the texts of a "new nature" — polycode and/or multimodal texts that users use to communicate on the Internet, especially in the case of young people's communication via the Vkontakte network (further "the VK").

The hypothesis of this study is formulated as followed: "new nature texts help young VK communicators to raise the emotional level of network communication".

3. Research method and methodology

The term "texts of a new nature" is very popular among the authors of the RSCI; this term is used in 364.856 scientific publications. The most influential publications belong to such authors as E. I. Kazakova [Kazakova, 2016, 102], Galaktionova T. G. [Galaktionova, 2016, 13], Zagidullina M. V. [Zagidullina, 2019, 181], Eiger G. V. [Eiger, 1974, 106] and others.

To investigate the use of "new nature" texts by young VK communicators, we will use the "involved observation" method. We will analyze the communication activity of the academic group chat in the VK (one of the authors is the participant of this chat), and after that we will describe the usage of the new nature texts and their functional significance.

Next, we introduce a scheme, through which we will analyze the communicative texts of a new nature. This scheme is inspired by the classification of creolized texts proposed by L. V. Dubovitskaya [Dubovitskaya, 2013, 14] and P. Celentin [Celentin, 2007, 36]. This scheme assumes consistent answers to the following research questions:

1. Short description (What is it?);
2. What social networks and/or messengers is this text used in?
3. The type of creolization and compositional complexity;
4. Presence of hypertext complexity (hyperlinks);

5. Type of communication;
6. The degree of involvement of the addressee (minimal/ medium/ significant);
7. Communication goal (Why is it used by communicants?);
8. Communicative advantage (Why is it better than the regular printed text?).

4. The main body of the research

4.1.

To begin with, we will describe various genres of a new nature text, according to the scheme mentioned before. The texts for analysis were chosen by the author because of the frequency of their use in the VK.

Stories — photos or 10-second videos with text, emojis, stickers, and other handwritten notes. The key feature of such posts is that in comparison with regular posts in the feed, they are deleted after 24 hours. All popular social networks use this text (Facebook, Instagram, Vkontakte) and you can also find it on the YouTube video hosting service. The number of components in a story may differ depending on its communicative purpose. However, the story usually has a visual component (photo or video) and a verbal comment or a complex (verbal comment + Emoji). Stories can be personalized: you can apply filters and masks to a photo or video (filters that change your face), or it is possible to add an emoji or write something so that the audience can understand the mood of the author at the time of publication. According to the degree of compositional complexity, the story is a complex text, the degree of creolization of which can be assessed as “complementary” (the verbal message complements what was shown by the image, the codes complement each other).

Stories are used for oral (if it is a video story) or written (if it is a photo and text) one-to-many communication. Through stories, users are reminded of themselves in an unobtrusive manner. The plot of the story can be absolutely anything, but, as a rule, it is something that a person wants to focus the attention of their audience on: a new photo, a beautiful view, a cute pet, an interesting link. Therefore, hypertext complication is also possible. Thus, it can be argued that the story is an interactive text, since it requires the reader's direct participation (reaction to the story, reading/not reading the verbal text, visiting the author's page, etc.). It is also interesting that the story can be published by both individual users and communities. As soon as a user/

community publishes a story, it appears in a special block in the form of a circle with the user's photo highlighted.

Communication goal: attracting attention, narration. Communicative advantage: it reflects the mood of a person in a particular time, situation. With the help of caption-hints, the author manages to convey his idea to the recipients more accurately. If there is a hyperlink, the information content of the story increases, because the recipient of the message can click on the link to get more information.

Live – the function of video broadcasting in real time. As a rule, it is planned in advance and can take place in the format of a public monologue or dialogue. Each live broadcast has a chat where the audience can easily contact both the host of the broadcast and among themselves. The audience can also give feedback by clicking on the heart in the lower right corner of the screen. This function is available in Facebook, Instagram, VK. But it is not possible to conduct a Live in messengers.

This text has a complex composition, because it is video-verbal (contains visual and audio components). The degree of creolization of the live broadcast can be described as “parallel” (the verbal and non-verbal components are going simultaneously). By type of communication, this is the text of “one-to-many” and “many-to-one” mixed communication, since the verbal component is represented by the oral speech of the addressee and the written speech of the addressees giving feedback. The engagement of recipients is significant, because the feedback is instant. There is no hypertext complication in such texts, because hyperlinks cannot be attached.

The communicative purpose: the narrative, the exchange of information. Communication advantage: live dialogue in a real time.

Voice message — is a phrase recorded in real time (with all the noises). This tool is available in all social networks and messengers.

This is a text with zero creolization, because it is only text in audio format. The degree of compositional complexity is simple. However, it is noteworthy that by using this online communication tool, the communicator can accurately convey their emotions to the opponent by saying the message, rather than writing it. The degree of involvement is significant. This text is recorded for the one purpose — to be listened to. The text has no hypertext complexity.

A voice message is an oral communication text used in one-to-one or one-to-many written communication (if it is a chat). This is the most vivid representation of the oral-written nature of Internet communication, since

the dialogue can take place in the format of “audio-question — written response”. And the communication process will not be somehow complicated or interrupted.

Communication goal: information message. Communication advantage: allows the addressee to transmit more information with less effort.

A modification of the voice message is a *video message* - a phrase recorded on video. This tool is available only in Telegram. In general, it is a hybrid of a story and a voice message: a short video containing a couple of phrases. It is used as a voice message — one-to-one or one-to-many communication. It is a complex text, being a video-verbal message. The degree of involvement — significant. This text is recorded for the one purpose — to be listened to. The text has no hypertext complexity.

The communicative purpose: the narrative, the exchange of information. Communicative advantage: situational, allows transmitting more information, spending less effort.

Emoji — is the language of ideograms and emoticons used in emails and web pages, as well as the icons themselves. As a rule, emoji complement the text, because they are usually being used in written communication together with the verbal component. However, sometimes message could consist of only emojis component. It is usually a reaction to something and consists of one or two emojis repeated.

Emoji are used in all social networks and messengers, being perhaps one of the first ways to express emotions on the Internet. Messages containing them are used for one-to-one and one-to-many written communication. Such a text assumes minimal involvement of the addressee, because it is just a text that expresses the reaction of the interlocutor. Hypertext complexity is possible, because the emoji can be “turned into” a hyperlink.

Communicative purpose: the expression of emotions, economy of speech efforts. Communicative advantage: are helping to fulfill text with emotions and make communication more vivid.

With the enlargement of smartphone screens, it became possible to express emotions on a larger scale and due to this fact *Stickers* appeared — large graphic images that are helping to express emotions like emoji. These texts of a new nature are actively developing and are now becoming voluminous and animated.

Stickers can not only express emotions, but also reflect the interests and style of the person using them. Opposite to emoji, which are universal for

everyone, there are a huge variety of stickers (the hero of a sticker set can be anything from people and animals to objects and fantastic creatures). It is noteworthy that stickers can contain not only an image, but also captions, which makes them a fully-fledged text

The use of stickers is similar to the use of emojis: they are used for one-to-one and one-to-many written communication. Such a text assumes minimal involvement of an addressee, because it is just an informative text that expresses the reaction of the interlocutor. However, the use of stickers is often intended to defuse an atmosphere and create a comic effect. Therefore, the emotions of the sticker characters are hypertrophied. Stickers can also copy memes, which makes it necessary to know the original meme, in order to understand correctly the message encoded in the sticker.

Returning to the analysis of the sticker as a communicative text of a new nature, it is worth noting that stickers are used in all social networks and messengers. The degree of creolization depends on the compositional complexity and can be characterized as complementary (if the sticker has a caption) or as zero (if the sticker contains just a picture). There is no hypertext complication.

Communication goal: expression of emotions, exchange of information. Communicative advantage: are helping to fulfill text with emotions and make communication more vivid, show the interests of the person using them.

Memes- any witty or ironic statements, pictures, videos, or sounds that have spontaneously gained popularity and are steadily distributed via the Internet. Since the variety of memes is huge, we will describe them only in general terms, highlighting two groups: pictorial memes and video memes.

Pictorial memes– captions, pictures or pictures with captions. The degree of creolization depends on the compositional complexity and can be characterized as “complementary” (if the meme consists of a picture and a caption) or as zero (if the meme contains just a picture or a caption). There is no hypertext complication.

Video memes — funny videos. It is a complex text that constitutes a video-verbal message. Hypertext complexity is possible because each video has a description where the hyperlink can be placed.

Using of memes is quite similar to using emojis and stickers: they are used for one-to-one and one-to-many written communication. Memes are used in all social networks and messengers. Like stickers, memes are used to make communication more vivid. However, the use of memes in communication

has stylistic and status restrictions. The same is true for stickers based on memes. Moreover, for communication to be successful, both communicants must know the meaning of the meme and understand the joke encoded in it. The use of video memes in communication is even more difficult, because it appeals to the sense of humor. Therefore, as a rule, communication using memes occurs between people who have close and friendly relationships. The recipient's engagement rate is average. This text is sent to the interlocutor in order to amuse him, and the opponent then reacts either positively or negatively.

Communication goal: the exchange of information, expression of emotions, saving speech effort. Communicative advantage: helping to fulfill text with emotions and make communication more vivid.

Based on this research, we can conclude that texts of a new nature are used in all types of communication: both in mass (history, live broadcast) and personal (stickers, emoji, voice messages, memes).

Such texts could be classified according to the compositional complexity. There are simple texts (with zero creolization) — voice messages, stickers without captions, and memes expressed only by an image or phrase; complex texts (consisting of 2–3 modules) — video messages, video memes, stickers and memes consisting of an image with a caption, and highly complex (consisting of many modules (may include simpler texts)) — stories and live broadcasts.

Based on our classification, we can conclude that texts of a new nature are used in communication to make it more vivid, and involving less speech effort.

4.2.

In this part, we will pay attention to the new nature texts used in one-to-one and one-to-many communication through the example of chats in the social network Vkontakte (further the VK).

To study the use of texts we used the method of quantitative content analysis. The author selected seven chats in the VK. The total array is 46001 message. The sample is solid.

In two chats out of seven there is communication of one-to-many type. These are the so-called “group chats”: the classmates’ chat and the friends’ chat. These chats were selected by the following criteria: time (they were created at the same time), liveliness (people write often) and informal communication style. However, chats are not totally equal. The classmates’ chat unites less familiar people and the communication purpose is the educational

process, and the friends' chat unites people who are in a more close relationship, and the communication purpose here is the communication of people located in different cities.

The author selected all polycode messages from the two mentioned above chats; then their number was correlated with the total number of messages. The percentage of messages containing new nature texts is almost the same (even slightly higher in the chat of classmates). In this regard, we can conclude that the closeness of the interacting people does not affect the frequency of using new nature texts.

After that, the author analyzed and compared the types of new nature texts used in polycode messages and emojis were found to be the most popular way to emotionally enrich the written speech. It is quite remarkable that the closeness of communicators and the purpose of communication affects the variety of new nature texts. For example, in the chat of friends, all new nature texts of personal communication are used with almost the same frequency, and in the classmates' chat there were — mostly emojis, with no voice messages at all. In this regard, we can argue that emoji are the most neutral text of the new nature, which can be used regardless of the sphere of communication, while voice messages are used mostly while communicating with more close individuals.

Further, the author analyzed five personal chats with one-to-one communication using the same scheme. There were: chats with a colleague, chats with two male friends and two female friends. These dialogues were selected based on the frequency of communication.

As in the case of the two group chats, all polycode messages from the above five dialogs were selected first, and then their number was correlated with the total number of messages. As a result, it became clear that the percentage of polycode messages was approximately the same for all chats. It can be concluded that the use of new nature texts in online communication does not depend on such characteristics as gender or the frequency of communication in real life.

Then, the author analyzed the variety of new nature texts used in personal dialogues. It is noteworthy that the use of emojis is frequent, as in the case of group chats. Furthermore there is an interesting fact: memes have become the least used type of new nature texts, which probably means that the era of memes as a tool of communication is gradually ending. In addition, the authors prefer to think, that memes are giving way to stickers. It is also

surprising, that, in some cases, voice messages make up a significant percentage of polycode communication, almost equal to the percentage of verbal messages. This fact provokes the idea that the trend of using voice messages is still at the very beginning of its development, and it is likely that in the near future the percentage of voice messages in Internet communication will increase.

Due to the fact that the use of emoji has turned out to be the most frequent phenomenon, the author analysed polycode messages containing emojis for the presence of the “Emoji + text” cases. Thus, we were trying to investigate which function is dominant: the expression of a coded reaction/emotion or the emotional enrichment of a verbal message. According to the results of the study, it was more often the emoji used in combination with text, which proves that the enrichment function is dominant.

Speaking about the function of expressing a coded reaction/emotion, we should mention that it is usual for all texts of a new nature. However, it is the most clearly shown by the iconic component, which is represented by emoji and stickers — the most popular types of new nature texts. It is noteworthy that in most dialogues, the number of cases when stickers or emojis are used to express a coded reaction/emotion is almost equal, which makes it possible to conclude that these texts of a new nature are interchangeable.

Nevertheless this study has some peculiarities: the author studied the communication of the people of the same age and social status (urban dwellers of 20–25 years old and students). This fact does not allow the authors to talk about a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of using new nature texts in Internet communication. This analysis is more of a cross-sectional study, since it clearly reflects how young people are receiving higher education communicate online.

5. Conclusion

Summing up, the authors point out the fact, that in the majority of cases, the new nature texts are used to express a reaction to something. However, the main function of using such texts is the fulfillment of the verbal message with emotions and the creation of a friendly and positive atmosphere. For example, all stickers and emoji are bright and colorful images, no matter if they express negative or positive emotions.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Marginal Political Practices of Youth as a Communication Trend in the Post-Politics Era

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Abstract. The article examines the marginal political practices of young people as a way of communicating with the authorities. Such characteristics of political practices of young people as virulence, diversification, non-normality and hybridity have been revealed. Based on the analysis of political cases of recent years, the most popular marginal political practices, meme practices, the battle of sticker packs, hashtags, etc. have been identified. The main research method was trend watching. In the course of the study, the value-semantic grounds for the application of marginal political practices by young people and their legal regulation by the state were identified. The analysis showed that the popularity of marginal political practices as a way of communication between young people and the authorities lies in the imperfection of the organisation of power in the Russian Federation. As a result, possible steps were identified that government institutions and individual officials can take to construct a productive dialogue with young people. In the conclusion, the results of the study are summarised, including the unpredictability of the outcomes of the use of marginal practices, their excessive legalisation and social partnership as the most effective way of their constructivisation.

Keywords: marginal political practices, communication, political trends, trend watching, social partnership

1. Introduction

One of the factors of the formation, development and functioning of society and social systems is the communicative process, through which

intergenerational interaction and the transfer of traditions, culture and experience are carried out and organisation of communication and joint activities is provided. In addition, communication acts as a social mechanism for the emergence and implementation of power in the society.

The term 'communication' appeared in scientific literature at the beginning of the 20th century and is understood as a means of communication of any objects of the material and spiritual world; as communication, transfer of information from person to person (interpersonal communication); as communication and exchange of information in the society (social communication) [Shibutani, 1999].

Traditionally, three forms of implementation of communication in the society are considered:

1. Communication as a dialogue of equal partners. In this case, there is an exchange of information, interaction taking into account the interests and positions of each.

2. Management as a purposeful influence of the communicator on the recipient of information. It is about the desire to change the motivation, values, goals and aspirations of the communication partner in the process of communication and to endow information with certain meanings.

3. Imitation as borrowing patterns of behaviour, communication styles, lifestyle of some members of the society by others. Thus, for example, a transfer of traditions, language, knowledge and skills from generation to generation takes place.

Depending on the goals pursued, the following communication functions in the political sphere can be distinguished:

1. Information and communication — a process of exchange of information, emotions, opinions and feelings occurs. In terms of communication between young people and the authorities, it can be used to inform about each other's positions, about the vision of the essence of a particular political event, and can be used as a feedback channel.

2. Interactive — it is characterized by the interaction of individuals in the process of interpersonal communication. It allows you to negotiate and make compromise decisions, create a lively social and political interaction, correct decisions made and react to their consequences.

3. Epistemological — it creates space for adequate transmission and perception of information, taking into account the ability of the parties to correctly interpret information; promotes recognition and knowledge

of each other. Often, politicians misinterpret the messages of socially and politically active youth, since they speak in different categories.

4. Axiological — conditions for the exchange of spiritual values and for the formation of a single value space are created in the process of communication.

5. Regulatory — communication is a means of transferring and consolidating norms in everyday consciousness. Situations of double standards often demonstrated by officials can be regarded by young people as a variant of the norm, or contribute to the formation of destructive political practices.

6. Socio-practical — in the course of communication, the results of activities, abilities, skills are exchanged, the possession of competencies is demonstrated. In the process of the constructive political communication, including through forums, charitable and volunteer actions, young people and politicians can exchange positive experiences, be heard, and get real results of their activities.

Defining social communication Shilova considers it as a process that connects separate parts of social systems with each other; it is a mechanism through which power is realised (power as an attempt to determine the behaviour of another person) [Shilova, 2004]. Thus, political practices can be viewed as a means of communication between politically active youth and the government / state.

The political sphere is one of the spheres of self-realization of youth. The unstable political situation in the country and the world worries more than a quarter of young people (26.5 %) and every fourth (21.1 %) is concerned about the imperfection of the state [Chueva, 2017]. In addition, one in four young people (24.1 %) considers the situation with corruption in the country, as a characteristic of domestic political life, the most worrisome at the moment. Youth political movements and public organisations have been created and are functioning in Russia and political associations provide channels of social mobility for young people. At the same time, they do not feel themselves to be active participants in political life, an actor and a subject capable of influencing decisions made in public and political life. Thus, a study of the values of young people showed that a third of young people aged 16 to 24 is more likely to approve of the values of the modern Russian state, but 28.2 % do not approve. At the same time, in the event of unfavourable unforeseen social upheavals, every fifth young person (21.3 %) expressed readiness to take part in protest actions.

Participation in political rallies is one of the forms of political activity of young people which is gradually beginning to develop in modern Russia. According to the results of a study of the value orientations of Russian youth [Chueva, 2017], more than half (52.4 %) of the surveyed young people aged 16 to 24 did not participate in political rallies and are categorically against such actions. Only 4 % of respondents often take part in political rallies, and 8 % indicated that they tried to participate or rarely participate. A quarter of young people surveyed, not participating in political rallies, do not blame others for such participation. Since young people aged 16 to 24 are in the stage of forming a worldview, it is very important for state and public organisations and political leaders to take measures to create mechanisms for their constructive participation in the country's political life and to prevent destructive manifestations during mass political events.

P. Bourdieu [Burd'yo, 1993] spoke about the dualism of the political sphere where on one side there is the political sphere characterised by institutionalisation, approved and supported by the state, but on the other side, the marginal political sphere, that is, extra-institutional, extra-systemic and extra-ideological [Vafin, 2011]. The dualism of the political sphere is increasing, and the line of demarcation becomes more and more illusory as a result of the shift of politics to the digital sphere.

According to a study of the value orientations of Russian youth [Chueva, 2017], young people show a moderate interest in politics — half of the respondents indicated that they are interested in politics from time to time (48.9 %), and every third is not interested in politics at all. Thus, the majority of young people aged 16–24 are rather apolitical. Despite this, almost 17 % of the respondents closely follow the political life in Russia and in the world, and less than 4 % take an active part in political activities. The shift of politics to the digital space increases the participation of young people (aged 18–30) in it, since digitalisation is one of the main characteristics of modern youth, which means that the emergence and development of its political activity takes place precisely in the social media space.

The growth of civic engagement and political participation of young people is expressed primarily in the digital and not only political practices they use.

The political practices of youth have the following characteristics:

1. Virulence: the political mood of young people as a reaction to loud, significant or resonant events spreads extremely quickly across the Web becoming similar to a media virus;

2. Diversification: the repertoire of digital political practices of young people is constantly expanding creating the danger of their non-linear and unpredictable spread;

3. Hybridity: digital political practices of youth are carried out on the border of the street and social media;

4. Non-normativeness and fronting: digital political practices of young people cannot be unequivocally defined as constructive or destructive; at the moment, their research is between knowledge and ignorance, which makes it difficult to predict and regulate youth political participation.

Based on the characteristics identified, it can be concluded that the digital political practices of young people are marginal. But, if traditionally sociologists (G. Simmel [Zimmel], P. Bourdieu etc.) consider marginality as a borderline state, when a subject being outside moves to the border of something systemic and non-marginal, then we [Blinova, 2019; Kruzhkova, 2019] in our study understand the phenomenon of marginality from the standpoint of political anthropology focusing not on its constructive or destructive nature, but on its content. In this regard, marginality, in relation to the digital political practices of youth, is understood by us as a form of non-institutional interaction in the digital space, the result of which is the reproduction and transfiguration of political relations by young people, the acquisition of civic identity and the realization of civic subjectivity. Marginal political practices of young people in the digital space are becoming a new norm in the era of post-politics, post-democracy and post-ideology turning from a rare case into a communication trend.

2. Study material, methodology and research technique

The material of the study was publications in social networks, forums, blogs and vlogs representing significant political events for Russia — the ‘SQUARE conflict’ in Ekaterinburg in May 2019, elections to the Moscow City Duma in August 2019, the introduction of restrictive measures in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, protests in Khabarovsk, voting on amendments to the Constitution, protests in the Republic of Belarus.

Trend watching, as the main research procedure, made it possible to establish that the marginal nature of the political practices of young people and, above all, the uncertainty of normative assessments reveal contradictions in legal regulation in this area.

3. Research results and the discussion of the results

As a result of the analysis of individual cases, we have identified the following marginal political practices of young people:

1. Petition practices on the resources of Change.org and ROI used to attract more participants in the action.

2. Hashtags used to identify themselves and their position in a political conflict, and the 'hashtag war'. For example, #YazaSkver, #YazaKhram or #Ihavetherighttochoose, #liveBelarus, #YaMyBatka etc.

3. Battle of sticker packs, i. e. using stickers in messengers to express their position. For example, Telegram Channel users have access to sets of stickers reflecting both the position of the authorities in the conflict in Belarus ('Defend the Old Man!') and protest ideas ('Father, resign!').

4. Flash mobs performing a mobilisation function, for example, the organisation of walks, meetings, etc., serving to indicate the seriousness of their intentions and their visualisation to government institutions.

5. Cyberbullying, trolling, holivar implemented through bullying, threats spreading across the Network, including also physical violence against participants in the actions, as a rule, either opponents or representatives of the state.

6. Memo Practices — creation and replication of political memes as a reaction to what is happening and the representation of their subjective position in the conflict. For example, the image of the location of temples in the centre of Ekaterinburg in the form of a symbol of Baphomet — an inverted pentagram, a paraphrase of the famous saying 'There is no choice, but you cheer up!'; the meeting of A. Lukashenko and V. Putin in Sochi in a cosplay of a meme about two dogs of the Siba Inu breed — sickly Chims and pumped-up Doge.

7. Streams, posts and reposts on online news platforms and social networks, i. e. conducting online broadcasts from places where the main events take place, or a chronotope of events in real time distributing photos and positions of LOMs in their accounts.

8. The practice of creating and distributing fake news. This practice is used either to draw more attention to the conflict or to escalate it.

9. Digital remote rallies, including Yandex rallies. As an example, opposing the procedure for issuing passes, the lack of guarantees for the preservation of wages and jobs, complaining about financial difficulties in the context of a pandemic and the introduced 'self-isolation regime', residents of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, Rostov-on-Don, Krasnoyarsk, Nizhny Novgorod

and other cities used the 'Conversations' function in the mobile version of 'Yandex.Maps' and 'Yandex.Navigator' which allows you to put a point on the map (for example, near the building of the regional government) and write a protest commentary on it ('Finish with this! No money, no work! What to live on?', 'Feed my cats, and I will stay at home!' 'Either an emergency, or pay the loans and utility bills yourselves!', 'You can't even run alone' etc.).

Digital political practices of young people appearing in the Internet space, spreading within it and uniting like-minded people cannot fully realize themselves and achieve their goals while remaining on the Internet, for this they need to go beyond its limits into the offline space. Here they are reduced, as a rule, *to the practice of protest behaviour*. Protest behaviour can be considered as behaviour characterised by the dissatisfaction of a social group with the current state of affairs, unjustified expectations and at the same time a willingness to take concrete actions to change a subjectively perceived negative situation [Gaba, 2015]. In other words, protest for young people is a way of self-presentation, on the one hand, and a way of verbalising and accentuating their position, on the other.

The choice of protest by young people as the main political practice is not accidental, but it is conditioned by internal and external factors, namely, the social status of this social group, as well as the position occupied by the authorities in political conflicts. As for internal factors, they follow from the characteristics of young people as a social group. Young people are characterized by a lack of political knowledge and excessive emotionality, which together give a sharp and unpredictable reaction to what is happening. The marginality of political practices allows various unscrupulous power or opposition groups to manipulate the political activity of young people and, speculating on the desire of young people to change the situation in the country for the better, to direct it in accordance with their own selfish goals. Another characteristic of youth is dynamism and perspective. Since a young age is a period of acquiring civic identity, the formation of civic subjectivity and the formation of a social and political position, young people act as drivers of state development, striving to modernise the existing political structure through vigorous activity.

Therefore, the socio-political guidelines chosen by them determine the future development of the country and society. Besides, the practice of protest behaviour is close to young people due to their non-conformity and inclination to take unjustified risks in defending their interests and fighting

for justice. Ignoring the demands of young people on the part of the authorities, or the use of punitive measures, can lead to riots and violent confrontation between youth and the authorities, as it happened in the SQUARE conflict and the conflict over the elections to the Moscow Duma. Finally, the social inequality felt by young people relative to other social groups also gives rise to protest in order to define their view of the situation and force other people to hear and see them. The social inequality is expressed in their borderline position between childhood and adulthood, in connection with which the representatives of the authorities prefer to either not notice nor hear them, nor not give their speeches serious significance. For example, at the fifth Eastern Economic Forum (EEF) held in Vladivostok on September 4–6, 2019, President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin advised young people not to waste energy on protests, but to direct it to increasing the birth rate. It can be assumed that the President, as the highest official in the state, voiced the position of the official authorities regarding the expression of their political position through their protest behaviour. At the same time, it may be sensible (without reference to young people) to engage in a controversy with the authorities on this issue. It should be noted that protest for politically active youth is a democratic way to declare a position and invite the authorities to a constructive dialogue, and not an idle pastime. The authorities must remember that, on the one hand, young people are, according to K. Mannheim [Manhejm, 2010], a hidden resource of society on which its vital activity depends, but on the other hand, according to G. Marcuse [Markuze, 2003], they are a new revolutionary force, and therefore, a refusal for a dialogue and replacing it with populist speeches or ‘festival’ meetings, can lead to tragic consequences.

The authorities are not able to overcome internal factors since they are generated by the internal specifics of young people and their attitude to social and political problems; yet by their behaviour, by competently building interaction with young people, the authorities and officials can minimize these problems, ceasing to perceive young people as an insignificant socio-political force whose aspirations and demands are not essential and do not deserve to be heard and resolved.

S. Huntington [Hantington, 2018] said that people’s demands grow faster than the government’s ability to fulfil them. Nevertheless, the authorities must necessarily have the function of strategic thinking and forecasting in order to understand that young people are not an idle bored mass, but

a resource of citizenship for the sake of which and thanks to which the state will develop in the future.

‘The picture of the future formed by today’s youth also determines what Russia will be like in 10 to 20 years. Through children and youth, the country reproduces itself, and it will depend on what values the young generation will accept today’, said Pyotr Tolstykh* on youth policy in Russia at an expanded parliamentary hearing in the State Duma back in 2017.

As for external factors, they should include, firstly, a sense of the falsity of the events taking place and a sense of violated social justice that arise among young people, and not only among them. Unpopular reforms, humanitarian actions carried out by the state, and positioned as a benefit for the country and the people, undermine the credibility of the authorities. ‘... Those values and ideas that seem convincing, lofty and fascinating to the country’s leadership are simply alien and therefore do not arouse any interest in the milieu upon which they are trying to impose, and primarily among urban youth’ [Krashennnikov, 2017]. A sense of injustice also arises due to the adoption of ambiguous laws (for example, the one which enters into force from 1 November 2019, namely, No. 90-FZ of 1.05.2019 On Amendments to Federal Law No. 126-FZ ‘On Communications’ and Federal Law No. 149 -FZ On Information, Information Technology and Information Protection — the law on the sovereign Internet) and their ambiguous interpretation and application. Every seventh young person is worried about restrictions and control by the state (15.2 %). For example, Maria Motuznaya was accused for her reposting on social networks, her case being subject to Article 282 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation; and administrative proceedings were brought up against Lev Gammer for violation of No. 30 — FZ On Amendments to Federal Law No. 149-FZ On Information, Information Technologies and Protection of Information (Law on Insult to the authorities). But none of the officials who permitted themselves to insult society and its citizens, also protected by No. 30-FZ, were punished.

Secondly, a factor in the protest behaviour of young people is the negative moral and ethical image of the authorities broadcasting their disrespect, inability, and in some cases, unwillingness to talk to young people about the problems that concern them. Statements like ‘the state didn’t ask you

* <https://xn-b1aecn3adibka9mra.xn-1ai/blog/43288601502/Gosudarstvo-i-molodyozh:-popyitki-dialoga>

to give birth,' 'no money, you need to eat less,' 'you don't like the prices, then you earn little,' 'while you pay on the mortgage, you can take your children to the orphanage' are very clear examples.

Statements of politicians, their behaviour during high-profile and 'significant for young people' actions (the policy of non-intervention of A. Vysokinsky, the mayor of Ekaterinburg, in the conflict over the construction of the temple which led to its escalation, or the forceful measures taken by the authorities of Moscow during protest events) and the tendency to avoid solving problems but protecting themselves from young people marginalise the authorities themselves, making them objects of memes and various types of bullying and thus undermining their credibility. It can be assumed that the ideas of young people about the corruption in the country and state structures intensify the fear of not realizing themselves in life.

The control of external factors is completely in the hands of the authorities. The health of a society depends on the quality of power. A firm, accountable and decisive government with a socially significant goal has a positive effect on society. On the contrary, the vacillating, incompetent, self-serving government which has made quick enrichment a fetish negatively affects the stability of society and undermines the confidence of the masses in the supreme institutions [Safronov, 2006]. What can be proposed to the authorities to undertake so as to rationalize the youth practice of protest behaviour and make it constructive?

First, the authorities need to stop being afraid of young people, stop ignoring them and recognise their right to civic subjectivity and political activity. They should recognise that youth is human capital that will ensure the development of Russia in the future, and for this it is necessary to know and accept the values in accordance with which modern young people live, and not to reproach them with the notorious traditional values of a country that has passed away and is alien to them, and not to oppose the values of today's youth with state violence because this practice is short-lived and will turn against the authorities and the state.

Secondly, the authorities need to abandon the punitive policy towards politically active youth. Today, the government considers all manifestations of political activity of young people through a legal prism qualifying this or that marginal practice in accordance with the articles of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation or the Code of Administrative Offenses of the Russian Federation. If the corresponding article is not found, it is immediately

issued; so it was with the adoption of the so-called Law on the Protection of Power and with amendments to Art. 13.15 of the Administrative Code on punishment for spreading fake news. At the same time, the authorities prefer not to notice that such legislative activity not only does not solve the problem of marginal political behaviour of young people, but also endangers the democratic foundations of the state and aggravates the conflict situation forcing young people to engage in more and more marginal practices. Due to the flexibility and creativity of thinking, young people will find new ways to protest against inaction or injustice of government regulation. As a result, instead of organising joint productive work, the authorities are driving themselves and the youth into a bad infinity of confrontation.

The third step can be social partnership, i. e. interaction based on the desire of the parties to reach agreement [Shchenina, 2011]. Social partnership is based on cooperation between the authorities and youth as equal subjects of the political process. Realization of social partnership can be achieved by involving young people in the process of their concerns. In Russia, such a direction of political power as youth policy is developing, there are a large number of youth organisations, like the youth parliament, Rosmolodezh, and the Young Guard, etc. Nevertheless, there is no need to talk about the effectiveness of youth policy. The reason for this is the lack of clear goals for the activities of youth policy bodies and of the criteria for assessing the effectiveness of these activities. There is no clear algorithm for involving youth organisations in socio-political activities. There is no normative legal act governing the functioning of youth organisations in the Russian Federation (today there is only the Strategy for the Development of Youth of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2025). Exercising control over the activities of youth political organisations, government institutions determine the directions of this activity and its quality, which reduces the effect of the institutionalized political activity of young people to naught pushing them to use marginal practices. There are no effective youth leaders who can articulate the interests and needs of youth. In other words, we can talk about the absence of a system of youth policy in Russia, and accordingly, the authorities solve the problems of youth on a situational basis.

The fourth step in overcoming the protest behaviour of youth as the most popular marginal political practice is a constructive dialogue between the authorities and youth characterised by a high level of interest of the parties in reaching agreement. A dialogue in the political sphere is a reasonable

alternative to violence, war, terrorism, revolutions, uprisings, riots and other manifestations of political extremism, radicalism, impatience and intolerance. At the same time, dialogue in politics does not mean a conversation between two or more persons on political issues, but a certain configuration of interaction, a negotiation process and partnership based on the principles of discursive equality between the subjects of political communication striving for mutual understanding and achieving a mutually beneficial result and taking into account a wide range of existing opinions and interests [Zajcev, 2013]. Today the political dialogue is difficult for the following reasons. First, is mutual distrust. The authorities do not trust young people since they are an unstable social group capable of destabilizing the socio-political situation. Young people do not trust the authorities since the authorities have run out of the confidence vote and are not perceived by young people as an institution capable of rational management for the benefit of society. Secondly, the weak level of civil society development. Despite the fact that Russia is positioned as standing by the democratic rule of law, real democracy, civil society and the rule of law are not its integral characteristics. A specific feature of civil society is its formation on the basis of an association of citizens, while in Russia it arose 'from above' and, accordingly, cannot perform its intended functions. Youth organisations are institutions of civil society the purpose of which is to represent and lobby their interests before the authorities, but due to the specifics of the development and functioning of civil society in Russia, the authorities are not ready to hear them.

4. Conclusion

Summing up, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, the political practices used by young people to defend their interests are marginal. Secondly, the most common and effective political practice of young people in the offline space is protest behaviour. Thirdly, the marginality of the political practices of young people makes it difficult to predict and regulate them, which can lead to riots and destabilization of the situation in the state. Fourthly, the excessive legalization of attitudes towards marginal practices leads to the opposite effect, escalating the marginality of young people. Because of this, the political practices of young people are marked by the authorities as negative and threatening, and therefore subject to forceful confrontation. Fifth, the most effective ways to overcome the negative consequences of pro-

test behaviour are social partnership and constructive dialogue between the authorities and youth.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Stress Factors of the Virtual Environment of a Metropolis: Perception of Youth

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Abstract. The purpose of this article is to study typical stress factors of the urban environment in its virtual refraction in the context of the subjective assessment of their importance by urban youth. As a result of a survey of 210 respondents, in the age range from 18 to 30, living in two large cities of the Ural Federal District, Ekaterinburg and Tyumen, a list of typical stress factors of a virtual city environment was identified, among which the most mentioned by young people are an overabundance of information and a violation of the usability of the information content, and the most stressful are the intrusiveness of virtual city services and deanonymization.

Keywords: metropolis, stress factors, urban environment, virtual environment, youth's perception

1. Introduction

The city is a place where the average person spends most of their life, professionally and personally realizes themselves, builds communication and sets personal goals. Such a city should be as comfortable as possible, ergonomically organised and safe for residents, as well as congruently presented in a virtual environment, since this is the only way to build its interaction with young people in the context of widespread digitalization of various spheres of social life. The virtual environment of the city becomes an integral part of its image, a fully-fledged tool for the formation of a certain image or brand. At the same time, the eclecticism of real and virtual images creates a completely special space, scientific ideas about which are extremely fragmented and few in number. Such an environment produces completely different models of youth behaviour, requiring a detailed and comprehensive study and understanding of the mechanisms of their formation, since, in addition to a pro-social orientation, they can have (and obviously do have) a deviant version of development.

Thus, the scientific problem of this study is the lack of scientific knowledge about the already existing model of a modern city in the perceptions of young people, consisting of an organic synthesis of its real and virtual environment and, as a consequence, a lack of understanding of the mechanisms of formation of the behavioural activity of young people in such an urban space, including deviant orientation as well.

The solution to the stated problem is seen in the organization and conduct of a comprehensive fundamental research aimed, on the one hand, at studying the image of the city and attitudes towards it among young people in the aggregate of its virtual and real environment, and on the other hand, at describing the mechanisms and general characteristics of the behavioural activity of representatives of this age group, obtained through field and laboratory experiments. The key task will be to find and form a model of environmental predictors (virtual and real urban space) that determines the behavioural deviations of young people.

Currently, most people live in cities; therefore, strategic studies are certainly highly relevant and necessary to clarify the influence of this evolutionarily unfamiliar habitat on the psyche, behavioural activity and psychological well-being of a person in an urban space. At the same time, the modern urban space is rapidly evolving, saturated with new technological components, moving into a new plane of presence in human life — virtual space. As a result, both the usual schemes for constructing the orientation of space and its value are subject to changes, the activities carried out in certain places of the city change, new mechanisms and strategies for self-realization are developed. In the urban space, along with a galaxy of opportunities, new factors arise that increase the level of stress in the urban environment, and the subjective comparative assessment of the previously existing adverse effects of the urban environment is transformed. The consequence of this is a change in the typical forms of human behaviour in the urban space. These tendencies are most acutely felt in large cities and megalopolises demonstrating advanced positions in the development of technological and social innovations. At the same time, it is the younger generation who has a higher level of activity and greater digital competence that is most sensitive to such transformations. However, close interaction with the new conditions of the urban environment, which is formed at the junction of real and virtual space, can be the reason for the development of new forms of marginal and deviant behaviour which in turn requires their timely study and prevention.

In modern psychological science, interest in the problem of the environmental conditioning of human behaviour is becoming more active, the number of research works is increasing, and large-scale scientific events are being held. At the same time, among the top topics, the problems of the urban environment and its factors that determine the quality of life of various categories of the population and their behaviour in the urban space are increasingly heard. Nevertheless, the elaboration of this topic is more represented in foreign socio-psychological science. At the same time, by foreign scientists the city is understood as a special territorial community (E. Burgess, L. Pal, R. Park, D. Poplin, E. Shils), and Schepansky defined the city as a historically formed, territorially localized form of organization of the life of society, the functioning of which is based on the mechanism of the urban structure, expressing the means of the interconnection of subsystems that make up the socio-spatial structure of the city: urban social infrastructure, urban social morphology, social stratification urban population, urban culture, urban lifestyle [Schepansky, 1969]. Lynch and other researchers of the psychological aspect of the urban environment pointed out that the city should exist primarily for a person and, accordingly, satisfy not only their utilitarian needs, but also be congruent with their psychology and cultural-aesthetic needs [Lynch, 1982]. However, the city can be a source of stress and a decrease in the quality of life of a person in it. Some foreign concepts that consider the psychological characteristics of life in the city directly relate to the issues of human limitations via environmental factors, overload of their perception and exposure to stress from the environment (H. Proshansky and D. Stokolza's theory of limitation of behaviour; S. Milgram's theory of overload; D. Glass and J. Singer's theory of the environment as a source; D. Warville's theory of the adaptation level). It is understood that some of the stimuli of the urban environment can be experienced by a person as a threat and cause stress responses at the emotional, behavioural or physiological levels.

The studies of the last 5 years in foreign psychology of the environment, related to the study of the interaction of the city and the person, within the framework of the subject of interest to us, are mainly devoted to the following issues:

- the problem of orientation in space taking into account the changed mechanisms for constructing routes, including when interacting with virtual navigation services, social networks, etc. [Muller, 2017; Lopes, Cordovil and Neto, 2018; Schoenau and D'Acci, 2019];

- building the image of the city, assessing its attractiveness, behavioural reactions and strategies related to this [Belanche, Casalo and Flavian, 2017; Marcus 2018; Molana and Adams 2019; Valibeigi, Ghorbani and Jahanmehmani, 2019];
- characteristics of the urban space that determine the activity of residents [Kaaronen, 2017; Dmitriou, Stylianou, and Yannis, 2018; Kytta et al., 2018;] including deviant behaviour [Younan, and Tuvblad et al., 2016; Kimpton, Corcoran and Wickes, 2017];
- stress factors of the urban environment that affect the quality of life of the urban population and contribute to the development of certain types of behavioural reactions [Berto, 2014; Juan, Subiza-Perez, Vozmediano, 2017; Roe, Aspinall, Thompson, 2017; Russart, Nelson, 2018] including of a deviant character [Younan, Tuvblad, Franklin M. et al., 2018].

Until recently, studies on the characteristics of perception and interaction with the environment including the urban environment in Russian psychology were also fragmentary. At the same time, the prerequisites for revising the understanding of the phenomenon of the environment were the works of B. G. Ananyev, M. Ya. Basov, T. M. Dridze, V. L. Glazychev, G. Z. Kaganov, Y. Kruusvala, T. Niita, V. I. Panov, M. Heidmets, M. Chenoushek and others.

Over the past decade in Russia, the interest in the study of the environmental conditioning of human behaviour has significantly increased. Now the environment has begun to be considered much broader than in classical studies of the twentieth century and includes the spatio-subject and even temporal characteristics. Such industries that study the psychological aspects of the environment as environmental psychology or environmental psychology (V. I. Elensky, E. A. Solovieva, H. E. Panov), urban psychology (A. V. Baranov, V. L. Glazychev, L. B. Kogan, D. N. Sazonov), psychology of interaction with the environment (L. V. Smolova etc.) are starting to develop.

Despite the fact that the study of the socio-psychological aspects of the urban environment is a less common topic in domestic science, compared to foreign scientific space, nevertheless, within the framework of the problems of the presented project in the continuum of scientific publications, several thematic areas can be distinguished:

- the image of the city and the technology of work on its formation and positivity [Abramova, Antonova, Pimenova, 2019; Valishin, Arustamov, 2018; Druzhko, Kapkaev, 2017];

- the image of a virtual city and digitalization of urban space [Balyushina, 2019; Zheleznyak, 2011; Turkina, 2009];
- socio-psychological problems of urban space organization and stress factors of the urban environment [Prokopyeva, 2018; Barkovskaya, Nazarova, 2014; Kruzhkova, 2014];
- destructive and deviant behaviour caused by factors of the urban environment [Boltaevsky, Pryadko, 2015; Obolenskaya, Karimova, 2017; Rudenkin, Vorobyova, Kruzhkova et al., 2018].

Nevertheless, both in foreign and domestic scientific works, the topic of the synthesis of real and virtual urban space, new challenges of this interaction, including the aspect of assessing the potential risks of the development of deviant behaviour of young people as the most socially active group of the population of a megacity, has not been practically raised.

2. Methods

The study of stress factors of the virtual urban environment involved 210 respondents, in the age range from 18 to 30 and living in two large cities of the Ural Federal District, Ekaterinburg and Tyumen. Two survey forms were used to collect the data, namely a free essay description on the topic What Annoys Me in a Virtual Urban Environment and Causes Stress and a ranked list of 10 items in the form of an open-ended question on the stress factors of a digital city. The results obtained were processed by the method of content analysis and frequency analysis. Fisher's criterion (angular transformation) was used to identify the differences.

3. Results and discussions

Initially, it was found that the lists of stress factors in the virtual space of two large cities in the perception of young people living in them do not have statistically significant differences in all analysed groups (11 groups of stress factors). In this regard, the data were combined into a general sample without taking into account the specific city of residence of the respondents. Data analysis was carried out in two directions: 1) highlighting the most frequent (often found in respondents' answers) stress factors of the virtual city; 2) compilation of a ranked list of stress factors according to the degree of their significance for young people.

The results of the frequency analysis showed that there are two groups of stress factors of the virtual urban environment most mentioned by young

people (20 % each in the total volume of the mentioned stress factors) — an overabundance of information and a violation of the usability of the information content. Thus, the study participants pointed out that the city's information space is oversaturated with unnecessary information, including an abundance of unnecessary advertising, intrusive news content, annoying pop-up windows, and spam. An annoying factor of equal representation in the respondents' answers is the lack of ergonomics of the digital city, i. e. ease of use of sites with urban digital resources, the aesthetics of their design, and the optimum navigation algorithms for users. According to respondents, 15 % of the total volume of stress factors in the virtual environment of the city is occupied by the factor of the lack of necessary information or its insignificant amount. Young people point to the scarcity of the digital city, its fragmentation and the lack of a variety of information which is concentrated mainly around the function of alerting about something. 11 % of all mentioned stress factors are occupied by problems of technical access to the Internet — connection complexity, the lack of network coverage, low speed, etc. 10 % of the annoying factors, in the opinion of young people, relate to inaccurate information in the Internet environment regarding the virtual city, namely, incorrect facts, inaccuracy or erroneous information that is presented about the urban environment in the digital format. Also, among the respondents' answers, groups of factors annoying in the virtual environment of the city were singled out — problems of interaction and communication including aggression, user intolerance and cyber bullying; safety of data and confidentiality of information; unreliability of virtual city objects to their counterparts in a real urban space; intrusiveness of digital city services and requirements for mandatory registration of users; a lack of special skills for using virtual city services.

For a more detailed understanding of the degree of importance for the respondents of each of the identified groups of stress factors, the average rank of responses for each group was calculated and, in accordance with it, a place (from 1 to 11) was assigned from the most significant to the least. The results of ranking the groups of stress factors of the virtual city according to the degree of importance which was indicated by the respondents themselves ranking the adverse effects of the environment of a large virtual city from the most significant to the least in the individual list showed that the first place is occupied by the intrusiveness factor of virtual city services and the requirement for mandatory registration of their users; in sec-

ond place — technical problems of access to the network, in third — a lack of necessary information or its insufficient amount. Thus, young people react most sharply to the lack of choice and the coercion to abandon anonymity in a virtual city, to the technical difficulties associated with access to the virtual space of a metropolis and the mosaic and fragmented nature of its information content.

4. Conclusions

Thus, the analysis of young people's perception of stress factors of the virtual urban environment made it possible to formulate the following conclusions.

First, the virtual city for young people, like the space of a real big city, is quite saturated with stress factors, i.e. such stimuli which, subject to systematic exposure, can form not only negative emotional reactions, but also cause more destructive states, from aggression to apathy and depression.

Secondly, the virtual city in the minds of young people is to a large degree informational content that is presented on the Internet about a real city and the overwhelming number of stress factors characterize its problem areas, i.e. an abundance of unnecessary information, a lack of necessary information, the problem of search and navigation in abundance various data, etc. This emphasizes a certain information dominant or vector along which the virtual representation of a modern metropolis on the Internet develops, which correlates with the processes of replication of the most functionally significant aspects of human activity in the urban environment — orientation around the city thanks to online maps, search for goods or services, operational information about the most significant city events. The stress factors of virtual communication in the city are less represented, and there are practically no stimuli of the emotional and value sense.

Thirdly, the virtual city for its young residents is an integral part of the real urban space. Probably, now they are still ordinary users of urban digital services, but in the near future the virtual city will become exactly what it seems to them, the way it will be convenient for young people and maximally congruent with their actual age-related tasks.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Cyber Bullying in the Modern Media Environment: Sociological Analysis of the Ideas of Adolescents and Teachers (Based on the Materials of Applied Sociological Research)

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Abstract. The widespread use of the Internet determines the specifics of the social situation of a modern metropolis. Together with its information, technological, communication and educational resources, various risks and threats enter the life of a modern teenager. Analysing the degree of trust (distrust) in online information, recognising potential dangers, determining the mechanisms of personal and group protection and the skills of their application — these are the range of issues that require special applied research in the current circumstances. Using the example of an original sociological study, the author shows the emerging tendencies characteristic of the Ural region in the study of the social phenomenon of cyber bullying. The results obtained by survey

methods are used to determine the degree of awareness of schoolchildren and teachers about this phenomenon, and a description of their personal experience of dealing with bullying situations in the online environment is given.

Keywords: Internet space, threats in the media environment, cyber bullying

1. Introduction

The Internet today is ubiquitous in the life of a modern metropolis and Internet Studies for science are increasingly becoming an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field of fundamental and applied research. As the reviews of numerous secondary sociological data show, the thematic repertoire of Internet research is currently extremely wide. Today, they contain a variety of information: from studying the trust of Russians in information obtained from Internet sources [Analiticheskiy otchet VTSIOM, 2020] to attitudes toward fake news [Analiticheskiy otchet VTSIOM, March 20, 2019] and determining the characteristics of the audiences of various Internet resources [Analiticheskiy otchet VTSIOM, November 25, 2019].

Increasingly, in the scientific literature, one can find the thesis that the leading activity of older adolescents — communication — has moved today from direct social interaction to the field of Internet communities and the Internet space, which means that it has acquired its own characteristic features. Among them you will find special rules for this kind of communication, language, symbols and designations, regulations and formats, opportunities and limitations. In addition, it is clear that the Internet has firmly established itself as an active partner of the school in its information and educational opportunities. However, along with an innovative resource that implies new possibilities of the Internet, for example, educational practices, threats have also come to life with it. Through communication in the Internet space and its information materials, ‘death groups’, terrorist and extremist organisations, financial fraudsters, etc. are looking for potential users.

In addition, the modern social situation forms new forms of aggressive behavioural manifestations. In this regard, the emergence of such phenomena as cyber bullying, online grooming (network grooming), etc. should be noted.

2. Cyber bullying, its varieties and features

Cyberbullying is a social phenomenon that is a kind of aggressive behaviour [Hester]. This phenomenon can be described as a system of deliberate insults, threats, dossiers of dirt carried out using modern means

of communication. As a rule, these actions are performed within a certain period of time [Begina, 2018].

The first studies of cyberbullying began at the end of the 20th century. In 1993 Norwegian psychologist D. Olweus gave the generally accepted definition of bullying: “bullying is a deliberate, systematically repeated aggressive behaviour including inequality of force or power” [Olweus, 1993]. Then these ideas stimulated the emergence of a number of scientific studies in this direction. Canadian teacher Bill Belsey was the first to introduce the term ‘cyber bullying’ [Belsey]. He defines it as a deliberate, repetitive hostile behaviour of individuals or groups intending to harm others using information and communication technologies. Thus, the term ‘bullying’, which denoted intimidation, physical or psychological terror aimed at arousing fear in other people and thereby subjugating them, gave rise to the study of cyber bullying as a new social phenomenon. Active mentioning of cyber bullying also appeared in the works of Craig & Pepler in 1997 [Edeberg, 2016].

Domestic research in this direction began to be carried out a while later than in foreign countries. This influenced its character, as well as the understanding of the phenomenon itself, since it developed along with the technical capabilities within which it is implemented. Traditionally, in the domestic scientific literature, cyber bullying is considered as a type of aggressive behaviour and refers to behavioural deviation.

Let us emphasize that most researchers recognise cyber bullying as an element of bullying in general, that is, as a form of psychological and physical violence. Further, we will understand the phenomenon of cyber bullying as an activity based on the organisation of bullying which is a systematic, repeated harassment, insult or humiliation of the dignity of another person. It is realised through the Internet space in the media environment using modern means of communication.

Typical actions carried out in this case include the spread of deliberately false information (rumours and gossip) about a person, mockery and provocations, direct insults and intimidation, organisation of social isolation (boycott and demonstrative ignorance), attacks that infringe upon the honour and dignity of a person [Bochaver, 2014].

Modern cyber bullying has a number of features [Smith, 2008]:

- 1) round-the-clock interference with privacy;
- 2) it has no time or geographic limit;
- 3) long-term nature of the impact;

4) constant access through technical means to the victim: in this case, the mobile phone acts as a tool, and the personal profile on social networks and e-mail as a channel;

5) unlimited audience for impact;

6) high speed of information dissemination;

7) technical difficulties to neutralise (or block) content directed against the 'victim';

8) anonymity of the stalker.

Modern reality shows a variety of types of cyber bullying. According to N. Willard's classification, this is [Willard, 2007]:

- flaming — 'dispute for the sake of dispute', the process of exchanging messages in places of multiuser network communication (chats, Internet forums, social networks etc.);

- trolling — posting provocative messages, comments in order to lead a person to the reaction and development of the conflict;

- libel — dissemination of knowingly false information or information about a person discrediting his/her reputation;

- cyber stalking — Internet stalking or harassment;

- sexting — sending or distributing photographs or videos of an intimate nature;

- grieving — causing moral or material damage in video games;

- disclosing secrets — disclosing personal information about a person on the Internet;

- impersonating another person — creating fake profiles from which you can persecute without disclosing information about yourself;

- cat fishing — recreating the victim's profile by stealing his photos and personal data, posting inappropriate content from his page;

- dissing — transmission or publication of defamatory information about the victim online;

- fraping — the abuser gains control over someone else's account and sends unwanted content from the profile on behalf of the victim.

According to the results of all-Russian opinion polls, today more and more schoolchildren are becoming familiar with this phenomenon.

Cyberbullying risks can be differentiated, resulting in two main groups: communication and technical risks. The former are associated with the interpersonal relationships of Internet users and include illegal contacts, cyber harassment, cyber abuse, online grooming, etc. The latter include the possi-

bility of breaching information confidentiality or hacking an account, stealing passwords and personal information by cybercriminals using malware, etc. Social sciences focus on the first group of risks and threats since it is they that influence the processes of socialisation of adolescents, the formation of their value attitudes, life plans and choices, as they are realised in the process of interpersonal virtual communication and interaction of young people in the media environment and the Internet space.

3. Results and discussions

We turned to the study of this social phenomenon in the course of a survey of high school students in order to identify the ideas of modern adolescents — residents of a large metropolis — about it, and also describe their personal experience of encountering manifestations of cyber bullying, if any. Further, we present the results of a sociological study on the topic Multifactorial Study of Conflicts in the Micro- and Macro Environment of Adolescents as a Way to Determine a Strategy for the Prevention of Extremist Manifestations which was carried out in educational organisations of Ekaterinburg in October-December 2018 by order of the Department of Education of the Administration of Ekaterinburg by sociologists of the Ural State Pedagogical University*.

In total, 1,500 secondary school eighth-graders, upper-formers and 300 teachers of educational organisations in Ekaterinburg took part in the survey. To collect primary social information, the method of formalised face-to-face distribution questionnaire was used. The main tasks were: determining the level of trust and assessing the security of the Internet space with which today's adolescents — residents of a modern metropolis — and their teachers interact, as well as studying the personal experience of secondary school students and teachers in relation to the phenomena of cyber bullying.

According to the results of the survey, the majority of secondary school upper-formers surveyed by us are familiar with this phenomenon: 42 % of schoolchildren noted that friends, acquaintances, and friends told them about it. At the same time, about a third of the respondents heard the concept

* Our applied sociological research was carried out within the framework of an R&D agreement. The authors and developers of this research project were Pryamikova E. V., Doctor of Sociology, Professor of the Department of Philosophy, Sociology and Cultural Studies of the Ural State Pedagogical University, Shalagina E. V., Candidate of Sociological Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Philosophy, Sociology and Cultural Studies of the Ural State Pedagogical University.

of 'cyber bullying' for the first time in the course of the study, 34 % of the respondents defined their personal experience in this matter in this way. Thus, every third secondary school upper-former did not encounter manifestations of cyber bullying either in their own lives or in the information environment of the reference groups surrounding them.

Personal experience related to bullying in the Internet space information about which secondary school upper-formers indicated was available for 15 % of respondents. 7 % of respondents indicated that someone from their inner circle (friends) had suffered from cyber bullying.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that 4 % of schoolchildren admitted that they have initiators of such "cyber activity" among their friends. Thus, the majority of our respondents reveal a very high level of awareness of the social phenomenon of cyber bullying. They note that they discussed it and received up-to-date information about its manifestations in the course of interpersonal communication with peers in real and virtual social space. Let us emphasise that the residents of a large industrial metropolis with its wide technical capabilities and the spread of the Internet have become the object of applied sociological research, and this becomes a certain basis for such a high level of awareness and immersion in the problem.

However, one in four teenagers describes their personal experience of facing cyber bullying. This is the group of secondary school upper-formers whose members have already, directly or indirectly, faced organised and systemic aggression carried out via modern means of communication in the on-line space. This fact cannot but cause alarm. Since, on the one hand, this group seems to be quite large in the general mass of respondents, but on the other hand, as the researchers of this phenomenon emphasize, cyber bullying on the supposition of a systematic and aggressive impact, as well as inequality in the strength and power of the persecutor and the victim, has a very negative impact on the later life of a teenager (regardless of his role in this process).

A. Bochaver in her works distinguishes four categories of children involved in cyber bullying depending on the motivation for this activity and the style of its implementation [Bochaver, 2014]:

- a) 'angel of revenge';
- b) 'hungry for power';
- c) 'nasty girl';
- d) 'unintentional persecutors'.

Representatives of the first group, in her opinion, are taking revenge for the fact that they themselves were victims of bullying. Representatives of the second group want control, power and authority; they can work off their anger and helplessness in this form finding themselves in a state of vulnerability, for example, during divorce or parental illness. Still others are engaged in cyber bullying for the sake of entertainment associated with fear and humiliation of others. The latter are involved in cyber bullying by inertia, as a result of indirect bullying in which they are involved as witnesses and accomplices.

It is important to note that cyber bullying targets do not seek protection or help from relatives, friends or government agencies. Most cyber bullying victims usually prefer to solve the problem themselves. However, in practice this turns out to be a very difficult task for a teenager. Psychologists warn about the negative consequences of these processes for the formation of the personality of secondary school upper-formers, the formation of their 'I-concept' and the state of psychological health. They highlight the psychological consequences of the victim of violence and the 'cyber-rapist'.

'Victims of cyber bullying are the most vulnerable groups in need of psychological support,' writes E. A. Bengina [Bengina, 2018, 154]. And she highlights the following psychological consequences for the victim: decreased self-esteem, depression, aggressive behaviour, anxiety, distrust, frequent mood swings, fearfulness, fear, suicidal tendencies. Persecutors, in her opinion, also demonstrate a number of psychological consequences of their deviant behaviour: bullying develops high self-esteem in them, narcissism, aggression, authoritarianism, cynicism, problems with social adaptation. [Bengina, 2018, 155]

Thus, in the current social reality, the question of organising preventive activities, systematically carried out within the educational space, arises. Moreover, it should be emphasized that prevention today should be aimed not so much at the informational component of this problem, because the level of awareness of adolescents about cyber bullying, as shown by applied research, is very high. We are talking about the need to draw the attention of specialists to teaching effective skills for adolescents to work in the media environment and the Internet space, the development of their defence mechanisms when faced with virtual aggression, approbation of methods of assertive behaviour in interpersonal communication in the media environment, the formation of competencies to overcome threats in the online space and their consequences as well.

In connection with these challenges, in our applied research we turned to educators as active agents of the educational system to find out their ideas about cyber bullying as a social phenomenon and to discuss their personal experience associated with it. The topic aroused interest and we received very interesting data.

Comparing the results of a survey of teachers with the results of a survey of schoolchildren, it should be emphasized that in modern conditions the following trends are observed:

- the personal experience of teachers in the field of cyber bullying ('I personally have come across it') is much less than that of the children: only 2 % of teachers noted it;
- at the same time, 5 % of the interviewed teachers point to the presence of examples from personal experience in the immediate environment: 'one of my friends, acquaintances, or colleagues have suffered from cyber bullying,' they shared the information;
- among teachers, as well as in the survey of secondary school upper-formers, there is a group in which the respondents showed a low level of awareness of this phenomenon, and its share in the total number of respondents turned out to be almost identical to that which we find in the answers of schoolchildren: 32 % of teachers indicated that they 'have never heard of it';
- this topic arises in the process of communication of teachers with colleagues and students today more and more often: 52 % of teachers note that they were told about cyber bullying by their colleagues, and another 12 % of teachers have heard about it from students. Note that the level of interest of teachers in this phenomenon turned out to be even higher than among adolescents (recall that 42 % of the surveyed secondary school upper-formers discuss this issue among themselves).

So, according to the survey data obtained, an active interest in the issue, a low level of awareness, a lack of personal experience in dealing with or working with manifestations of cyber bullying are typical for modern teachers of the main general education level and teachers of senior classes. This confirms the need to improve their qualifications in the field of organising preventive work with adolescents to overcome virtual threats and risks of the Internet environment, and to develop their information and media literacy.

The relevance of the topic becomes obvious when the question arises that the teacher him/herself can become a victim of virtual aggression today. Mass media information is increasingly showing examples of such practices when

teachers are the objects of bullying in the Internet space, in particular in social networks. Moreover, both students and their parents, and even colleagues, can become persecutors. Today it becomes important to study the degree of prevalence of cyber bullying of teachers in Russia, to classify its causes and factors of distribution, to study its consequences and to investigate the legal framework governing the process of protecting the honour and dignity of a school teacher in cyberspace. Starting from 2019, the authors' teams studying the problem of cyber terrorism of teachers are beginning to have ideas for creating models of systems of school preventive programmes that would take into account this aspect of the problem (A. A. Rean, M. A. Novikova, I. A. Konovalov, D. V. Molchanova).

Not only the main educational subjects and specialists of the services of psychological and pedagogical support of the education system, but also representatives of state authorities and state bodies have recently become actively interested in these issues. Information materials containing a discussion of this issue are posted on their official sites. [Official website of the presidential commissioner for children's rights]

They emphasize the seriousness of the problem, first of all, of child cyber bullying and define the main directions of its prevention:

1) active drawing the attention of parents and teachers to the problem of bullying a child on the Internet;

2) the creation of a favourable offline environment, the formation of a positive socio-psychological climate for children's teams, an increase in conflictological competencies in the interpersonal interactions of children and adolescents;

3) maintaining a favourable environment within families: the formation of a trusting system of relationships between family members and increasing the educational potential of the parental family in the modern conditions of its functioning.

Ombudsperson Anna Kuznetsova emphasises that modern schools underestimate the importance of the threats children face online. Teachers need to understand what problems schoolchildren are experiencing, and in order to counter cyber bullying, "different tools are needed that help to quickly bring an alarming situation to a specialist" [Official website of the presidential commissioner for children's rights].

The relevance of this issue is emphasized by the practitioners of psychological and pedagogical support and scientists. Today, in their opinion,

such a phenomenon as bullicism is gaining momentum, which is understood as attempts to commit suicide due to the ongoing persecution of a person. In media resources, one can often hear about teenagers who have committed suicide due to the fact that they have become victims of cyber bullying.

4. Conclusions

1. The movement of communication from direct interaction to the field of Internet communities and the Internet space has led to the emergence of a number of characteristic features: special rules of communication, language and designations used, regulations and formats, opportunities and limitations, and new risks and threats.

2. The overwhelming majority of today's secondary school upper-formers regularly use the Internet. The goals pursued by the consumers of these services can be divided into informational, educational, communication and gaming.

3. Secondary school upper-formers have a high degree of trust in information that becomes available via social networks.

4. Every fourth secondary school upper-former surveyed has, directly or indirectly, already faced organised and systemic aggression via modern means of communication and online, which gives grounds for drawing the conclusion about personal experience of interaction with manifestations of cyber bullying.

5. The personal experience of teachers associated with the phenomenon of cyber bullying is much less than that of their upper-formers, however, 5 % of the teachers surveyed indicate the presence of related cases in the closest reference environment ('one of my friends, acquaintances, or colleagues suffered from cyber bullying'), another 2 % of teachers indicated having their own experience. In addition, this topic is increasingly emerging today in the process of communication between teachers and colleagues and students.

In this regard, a question that requires the continuation of such research practices arises, as well as the study of the experience of prevention and protection from such threats and risks already accumulated by the educational space. This problem requires a comprehensive solution. Cyberbullying must be fought both at the level of the children themselves and at the level of parents, teachers, and the state.

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The Use of Cartoon Characters in Extremist Internet Discourse as a 'Soft Impact' Technology

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Abstract. The article examines how cartoon characters are used in extremist Internet discourse according to soft impact technology. Main traits of the extremist internet discourse and its cognitive technologies of influence are reviewed. The role of cartoon characters as a tool of soft impact with the aim to contribute to the formation of extremist attitude is analyzed.

Keywords: Internet Discourse, Soft Impact, Cognitive technologies

1. Introduction

The Internet is a very complex communication space, where there is a lot of content aimed at provoking users to various actions. It has been noted

more than once that by means of modular flashes of information [Toffler, 2002] — commands, theories, news snippets truncated and charged with certain emotions, going beyond the boundaries of mental cells — mass communication forms in consciousness images through which one or another object is perceived or assumed. It is this collective image that acts as the 'trigger' that brings to life certain thoughts accompanying images and reactions. As a result, information that carries a certain 'charge' affects and stimulates the emotional sphere of a person, causes associative connections that provoke certain states and corresponding reactions. All this makes it a tool for manipulating consciousness aimed at shaping public opinion and behaviour, which allows stakeholders to use it to achieve their goals. Therefore, disinformation is used, manifested in the dissemination of distorted and contradictory information, as well as rumours, the formation of illusions; the creation of an information blockade due to the non-admission of a certain part of information into the open information environment, which contributes to the emergence of a one-sided view of the event in the consumer, perceived as the only true one, etc. All these methods of psychological influence are fully reflected in the information space of the Internet.

The presence of such content on the Internet is a source of risks for the socialisation of young people. At the present stage of development of the information society, it is the Internet that becomes the source and medium of socialization of the individual throughout their life. At the same time, socialization on the Internet is characterised by a number of specific features. So, T. V. Efimova [Efimova, 2011] notes the indirect nature of agents' influence on socialisation; in the Internet space, the latter is mainly spontaneous; Internet communications limit traditional forms of socialization (communication, game, learning, etc.); a person in the Internet space begins to assimilate norms, goals, values and rules adopted not by a specific society in which they live, but by that network community where norms and values not having strong historical and cultural roots dominate. Despite these risks of the information space, a person still lives in it, builds communications and relationships in accordance with its rules, thereby forming a special discourse — the Internet discourse.

2. Specificity of the extremist Internet discourse

The totality of sociolinguistic components of one space makes it possible to speak about the development of a new type of discourse: the Inter-

net discourse that functions directly in the virtual environment itself and uses its electronic channels to transmit a message from the communicator to the communicant. In this regard, 'the Internet discourse is a process of creating a text in combination with pragmatic, sociocultural, psychological factors, and a purposeful social action including the interaction of people' [Zagoruiko, 2012, 59]. As noted by Vinogradova, the specificity of the Internet discourse lies primarily in the peculiarities of communication via the Internet and the reasons for referring to it as a communication channel [Vinogradova, 2004, 63]. The features are understood as follows:

1. Anonymity. Despite the fact that sometimes you can get some information of a personal nature and even a photo of the interlocutor, they are not enough for a real and adequate perception of the person. Due to such anonymity and impunity, another feature associated with a decrease in psychological and social risk in the process of communication is manifested in the network — affective emancipation, abnormality and some irresponsibility of participants in communication. A person in the network can and does show great freedom of speech and action (up to insults, obscene language, sexual harassment), since the risk of exposure and personal negative assessment by others is minimal.

2. The originality of the processes of interpersonal perception in the absence of non-verbal information. As a rule, the mechanisms of stereotyping and identification have a strong influence on the idea of the interlocutor, as well as the attitude towards the expectation of the desired qualities in the partner.

3. Voluntary and desirable contacts. The user voluntarily makes contacts or leaves them, and can also interrupt them at any time.

4. Difficulty of the emotional component of communication, at the same time, a persistent desire for emotional content of the text, which is expressed in the creation of special icons to indicate emotions or in the description of emotions in words (in brackets after the main text of the message).

5. Striving for atypical, abnormal behaviour. Often, users present themselves from a different side, different from the real social norms or play roles that are not realized in activities outside the network or scenarios of abnormal behaviour [Zagoruiko, 2012, 59].

Thus, the Internet discourse becomes a platform for the development of other discourses. The Internet can be considered a polydiscursive space; penetration into its sphere and the active dissemination of dangerous dis-

courses in it, for example, such as an extremist discourse, are becoming especially relevant.

Moving on to comprehending the concept of ‘the extremist Internet discourse’, it is worthwhile to immediately clarify that today there is no single definition of it, like the term ‘extremism’. A number of researchers (Salimovsky V.A., Mishlanov V.A., Ermakova L.M.) note that the extremist discourse is ‘a part of the discourse of hostility — a practice represented by statements and texts that have signs of illegal (extremist) acts’ [Salimovsky, Ermakova, 2011, 72]. According to the amendments to No. 114-FZ On Countering the Extremist Activity dated April 29, 2008, the extremist activity (extremism) includes:

- forcible change of the foundations of the constitutional system and violation of the integrity of the Russian Federation;
- public justification of terrorism and other terrorist activities;
- incitement of social, racial, national or religious hatred;
- propaganda of the exclusivity, superiority or inferiority of a person on the basis of his social, racial, national, religious or linguistic affiliation or attitude to religion;
- violation of the rights, freedoms and legal interests of a person and a citizen, depending on his social, racial, national, religious or linguistic affiliation or attitude to religion;
- obstruction of the exercise by citizens of their electoral rights and the right to participate in a referendum or violation of the secrecy of voting combined with violence or the threat of its use;
- obstruction of the lawful activities of state bodies, local self-government bodies, election commissions, public and religious associations or other organizations, combined with violence or the threat of its use;
- commission of crimes based on the reasons specified in Paragraph ‘e’ of Part 1 of Article 63 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation;
- propaganda and public display of Nazi paraphernalia or symbols, or paraphernalia or symbols similar to Nazi paraphernalia or symbols to the point of confusion (swastika);
- public calls for the implementation of these acts or the mass distribution of knowingly extremist materials, as well as their production or storage for the purpose of mass distribution;
- a public, knowingly false accusation by a person holding an official government position of the Russian Federation or an official government

position of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation of committing, during the performance of his official duties, of the acts specified in this article and constituting a crime;

- organisation and preparation of these acts, as well as incitement to their implementation;

- financing of these acts or other assistance in their organisation, preparation and implementation, including through the provision of educational, printing and material and technical base, telephone and other types of communication or the provision of information services [Federal Law No. 114-FZ, 2002].

We find a more detailed interpretation of the term under study in L. V. Korosteleva's works, where extremist discourse is understood as 'public ideologically motivated statements of socio-political and/or religious content, addressed to a potential like-minded person and focused on psychological influence by means of language; their goal is the formation of extremist ideological attitudes, the propaganda of social violence and calls for aggressive actions against the government or a certain part of society' [Korosteleva, 2017: 46].

Thus, these definitions of the extremist discourse are based on public statements and texts containing signs of an extremist action in relation to an object (government or part of society). Following V. A. Mishlanov and V. A. Salimovsky, we will consider the extremist discourse as a part of the discourse of hostility, which is 'the hostile attitude of people towards others and/or, in accordance with their goal setting, containing obviously unfair assessments, offensive statements, etc. and therefore naturally causes enmity' [Mishlanov, Salimovsky, 2006]. As for the 'the extremist Internet discourse', we will understand all of the above, only with a small addition related to its implementation in a virtual environment, which creates certain conditions for the transition of communication to a new level, departing from the usual forms and methods of its implementation.

3. Cognitive technologies for influencing the audience

The activities of extremist groups not only today, but have always been aimed primarily at adolescents and young people. Manipulators carry out their work with this group through 'indirect actions' in the network space, which makes it possible to gently immerse the individual, with their network behaviour and individual personality characteristics in mind, into a new,

modelled reality through language patterns, transformation of meanings and terms, correctly selected communicative strategies and tactics, symbolism, metaphors, attributes, the creation of certain socio-cultural codes, smart forms, etc. As a result, firstly, thanks to various voluntary-playing methods, the representatives of the risk group, that is, young people, change / substitute social roles, statuses, positions, and also there is a transformation of the content of historical memory, which adversely affects the socialisation of this group in society. Secondly, network technologies are able to create and immerse people in virtual reality, provoke the same emotions, thoughts, actions in different people that are beneficial to those who control mass communications, which leads to the fact that a huge number of people who were previously unfamiliar with each other, who did not have any opportunity to intersect in ordinary life, suddenly become 'hostages' of one emotion, thought, idea and turn into a single whole capable of actions, sometimes contrary to the letter of the law. The reason for this is the cognitive and information technologies on reformatting the existing reality (known as NBIC convergence), actively used by manipulators in the global information platform which make it possible to purposefully form goals, values and behavior motivations in a given format — for individuals and small and large social groups — in the customers' interests and, above all, outside the control of the state.

This concept is most often viewed as the basis of social progress capable of improving a person's capabilities on the basis of their self-development, because cognitive technologies are ways of transforming human properties and qualities of human behavior by either modifying the psycho-physiological parameters of the body, or including a person in hybrid (human machine) systems. Today, there is even a separate area — cognitive technologies that change the social behavior of humans and human communities. This is what contributed to the fact that NBIC-technologies have played an important role in the development of criminal acts associated with political upheavals at the beginning of the 21st century, in the so-called 'colour revolutions'.

4. Research results and discussion

One such cognitive technology of 'soft impact' on the target Internet audience within the framework of extremist Internet discourse can be considered the use of cartoon characters in conflictogenic polycode texts. As the analysis of the sample in conflict-prone polycode texts shows, characters of ani-

mated films are often represented as the characters depicted in a picture. At the same time, when considering the specifics of this corpus of polycode texts, a number of regularities are observed. First of all, it should be noted that the character dataset is very specific and stereotyped. One of their main features is popularity and recognition. According to the results of the analysis, donor spheres are certain cartoons, which differ in time and place of creation. In accordance with this criterion, the following groups can be distinguished: Soviet (Russian) cartoons and American cartoons. It is noteworthy that, despite its popularity, the sample contains practically no characters from Japanese cartoons made in the anime genre, as well as modern characters. Domestic cartoons, which are donor spheres, include 'Holidays in Prostokvashino', 'Winnie the Pooh', 'Well, just a Minute!', 'The Scarlet Flower', 'Geese and Swans', 'Vovka in the Distant Kingdom', 'Twelve Months', 'The Tale of the Dead Princess and the Seven Bogatyrs', 'The Return of the Prodigal Parrot', 'Ded Moroz and the Grey Wolf', 'Umka', 'Mom for a Mammoth Baby', 'Junior and Carlson', 'Beware, Monkeys!' and others. The Russian films that appeared after 2000 include full-length animated films about the adventures of Russian heroes 'Alyosha Popovich and Tugarin the Serpent', 'Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber', 'Three Heroes on Distant Shores', 'Prince Vladimir'. American cartoons include 'My Little Pony: Friendship is a Miracle' and others. The most numerous group is made up of characters from Soviet cartoons; one of the reasons for using these images from these films is seen in their 'pragmatic potential of impact' on different target age groups. At the same time, if the characters from Soviet cartoons are familiar to representatives of absolutely all ages, then the characters of modern American cartoons are no less popular among young people. As a rule, in polycode texts, only certain heroes are used — positive and negative characters (antiheroes) — while the author prefers the images of 'the goodies', on whose behalf they broadcast their attitudes.

It is worth noting that the above points to a very specific tactic of influence, implemented through this group of polycode texts, which consists in masking the transmitted ideas in remarks attributed to positive (beloved by all) heroes familiar from childhood, who were empathized and learned, due to which the content of the message bypasses the barrier of critical perception. In this regard, a purposeful transformation of the original image of the character also takes place. The hero is credited with thoughts and remarks with content unusual for a given character, traits of his character

can be distorted, atypical attributes and details can be added to the external appearance, they can be placed into an unusual and unnatural context of the situation for them, while positive characters begin to acquire the features of negative heroes.

The results of the analysis also show that, as in the case of other polycode texts of a conflict-generating orientation, the images presented in the picture are intended to represent one of the poles in the 'friend-foe' dichotomy. At the same time, the author of a polycode text can broadcast his/her thoughts on behalf of the image, which s/he refers both to the pole of 'his/her' and 'someone else's' (in the latter case, deliberately ridiculing or showing their inconsistency). In this regard, we note that in the polycode texts under consideration, characters are presented that are attributed by the author to both the 'own' and 'alien' poles, where the latter represent the social camp of imaginary opponents. It is noteworthy that the cartoon characters, on behalf of whom the author broadcasts his/her messages, for the most part belong to the 'own' pole, which reflects the general trend characteristic of conflicting polycode texts in this aspect. Attention is drawn to the fact that the author refers to the pole of "his/her" precisely positive characters.

In this connection, the context depicted in the picture seems to be significant, so a character can perform a certain set of actions, or s/he can simply be present. The nature of these actions can be as follows: speaking, using violence against 'strangers', broadcasting the algorithm of behavior. Thus, the specificity of these actions is also unusual for the behavior of these characters in cartoons, which also indicates the transformation of the original image.

An important aspect in this regard is understanding the reasons for using these specific images and answering the question of why it is used in this context, what is the correlation between the image used and the content of the broadcast message. In this case, the choice of a specific character may be due to:

- the personal qualities of the character;
- features of his/her typical behavior;
- the similarity of the situation in which he found him/herself;
- secondary data that relate to the character, but are not significant for the disclosure of his/her image.

The connection with the character in this case is expressed indirectly. So, for example, in the polycode text 'The Jews have never loved my surname' this phrase is a replica uttered by Postman Pechkin, a character from the cartoon 'Uncle Fyodor, the Dog and the Cat'.

In this case, the choice of this character is in no way connected with the peculiarities of his image, but is conditioned only by the motivation of his surname, which is formed from the word 'pechka' ('oven'). At the same time, the essence of the message refers readers to the facts of the historical past. If Postman Pechkin had any other surname, the choice of this character for this text would not make sense.

5. Conclusion

Thus, the danger of such technologies of 'soft impact' lies in the fact that, like other cognitive technologies used in the extremist discourse, they affect stable personality structures (value orientations), operational motivations of a person, contribute to the formation of extremist attitudes and provide an opportunity to program the audience for certain radical actions.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Introduction to the Historical Past: Informal Educational Media Practices in Modern Russia

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Abstract. *Relevance of research.* The article discusses the situation in the Russian education system in 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic followed by a restraint mode. This is the time of active implementation of digital technologies in education and increased importance of media. The relevance of the article is associated with the need to structure media practices, that proved a good potential during that period, and a theoretical analysis of their place in the education system. The author identifies for the analysis aspects related to the problem of introducing children and youth to the historical traditions in the new social and cultural context.

Research objective — To summarise a number of media practices updated during the pandemic and associated with introducing pupils to the historical past.

Research methodology and methods. The research is based on an interdisciplinary methodology that allows integrating the achievements of various social sciences and humanities. The cluster analysis and content analysis of electronic information, outreach and educational resources were used as private methods. To identify promising educational trends, the materials of informal expert interviews were analysed.

Research novelty. The article presents a conceptual and categorical grid ‘media environment — media activity — media practice’, which is used to describe informal educational media practices. The author analyses three groups of media activities: 1) focused on expanding the educational field for schoolchildren (case ‘The 75th Anniversary of the Great Victory’), 2) offering new forms of family leisure (case ‘Then an inventor appeared...’) and 3) creating new professional activity opportunities for teachers (case ‘Urals during the Great Patriotic War’: scientific and methodological work in the context of digitalisation’).

As a result of the research, it is concluded that the described informal educational media practices, despite their specific content (Russian patriotic discourse), can be considered as versatile and promising: the use of new teaching

and personal development formats can expand the range of instructional tools in both formal and non-formal education.

Keywords: educational media practices, e-learning, media environment, non-formal education, Russian patriotic discourse

1. Introduction

The purpose of the article is to summarise a number of media practices that were updated during the pandemic and associated with introducing pupils to the historical past. The paper examines the features of media practitioners in informal education.

The situation in which the world finds itself in 2020 — the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing restraint mode — intensified the transition to and rapid development of the virtual space. The transition to the online mode turned out to be unexpected for not only education but it is the education and personal development process that can be considered an indicator reflecting the nature of social transformations. If the discussions of the education digitalisation features that have taken place over the past years [Valadez, Uvarov, Van, Kan et al., 2019; Difficulties and Prospects of Digital Transformation of Education, 2019; Elliott, 2017; Devine, 2014; Durán, 2007; Kerr, 2005; Negroponte, 1995], the prospects that open up in connection with the technological revolution [Schwab, 2016; New Technological Revolution, 2017], the emergence of new educational practices were rather the nature of intellectual reflections, then in 2020 all the fears and positive achievements of the inclusion of information and communication achievements in education have become the facts of life. Digital technologies were actively introduced into education along with reflection aimed at comprehending personal instructive experience and determining vectors for the system's development as a whole.

Critical assessments of 'violent digitalisation' that have reigned in the first months of the pandemic, as teachers, students and their parents mastered new technologies, began to give way to more balanced judgments by mainstreaming the role and place of media practitioners in education [Goldman, 2019; Chelysheva, Shapovalova, Muryukina, 2019; Kornienko, Potapov, Petrova, 2020].

Conventionally, issues of the role of media in education have been discussed in the context of including audiovisual materials as supplementary materials in training courses, fostering critical thinking, and creative projects

shaped in the electronic environment [Fedorov, 2015]. Today, the importance of media has increased many times by creating a new reality — the interpenetration and mutual conditioning of the real and the virtual. In this regard, it is necessary to systematise media practitioners who have shown promise during the pandemic, and a theoretical analysis of their place in the Russian education system.

The aspect, that we have identified for analysis is related to introducing children and youth to the historical traditions in the new social and cultural conditions. Essentially, the topic of introducing pupils to history and comprehending the values of the past for education has repeatedly become the target of research including our works [Murzina, 2019]. The research into the historical past is an important factor for the social and personal development (the personal and collective identity generation); it determines the scope of cognitive interests, acts as an important condition for the intellectual, artistic and aesthetic formation of a person. The cultural values are learnt through introducing an individual to culture, assimilating existing habits, norms and patterns of behaviour (inculturation) and assimilating a certain system of knowledge, norms and values that make it possible him/her to function as a full member of society (social engagement). The mechanism for assimilating values is through acquaintance with samples of culture, introduction to values, i. e. the acceptance and interiorisation of values and models.

Today, the media environment is viewed as a social and cultural space shaped primarily by electronic means and providing indirect communication between people. Its importance increases as individuals and social groups are included in its orbit. The explosive growth of media practitioners during the pandemic partly created and partly updated the previously existing new opportunities for introducing learners to the historical past.

2. Research methodology and methods

The research is based on an interdisciplinary methodology that allows integrating the achievements of various social sciences and humanities. The methods of cluster analysis and content analysis of electronic awareness-raising, outreach and educational resources were used as private methods. To identify promising educational trends, we turned to the materials of informal expert interviews with teachers in the city of Ekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk region (in total, the number of interviewees was more than 200 people) conducted by us in 2010–2019 and online surveys conducted

in April-September 2020 (expert interviews were conducted with 50 teachers of secondary schools and university teachers in Ekaterinburg).

3. Results and discussions

The contemporary education system unites into a complex unity *formal* (implemented in educational institutions according to approved state programmes and with the receipt of academic certificates at the end), *non-formal* (implemented in the additional education, has the qualities of institutionalisation, being purposeful and planned by a person or organisation of activities that provide educational services including various courses, training and/or short educational programmes [Chekalova, Roitblat, Surtaeva, 2012]); *informal* (non-institutional forms of education implemented through communication, reading, visiting cultural institutions, travel, mass media etc.) components. Both non-formal and informal education fosters lifelong learning ideas and ensures that the need for customisation of the learning process itself is met. It remains an urgent task to find ways to integrate them.

In the modern cultural studies and pedagogics, the practice of using media is considered in the context of mastering the meanings and values of culture, mediated by a set of technological means and communication methods that serve to transmit information messages in the form of text, music or images. Modern man lives in a constantly changing social and cultural context, a *media environment* in which the real and the virtual mutually condition each other, new technologies determine human existence; it is an imperative of our time to handle information flows.

Media practices are the use of information and communication tools for the creation and consumption of certain content as well as for the implementation of social connections and interactions [Kolomiets, 2010, 61]. Media practices are regarded as the areas of informal education.

Media activity is the ability of a person to quickly receive, systematise, perceive and evaluate information from various media channels. It manifests itself in the forms of behaviour, lifestyle and styles of thinking implemented in the information space, or in the media environment [Simbirtseva, 2016].

Media activities are multidirectional forms of activity of an individual or a group of people in the information space including the production and consumption of content. We consider media activities as forms of activity in the context of the informal education functioning.

The functioning of the media environment creates certain complications for education. First of all, they are related to the transformations that the traditional values of Russian society undergo, such as Fatherland, family, the world in which a person lives, the very existence of a person. Personal identity becomes fluid; it changes under the influence of circumstances, communication situations and group relationships. The meanings of the concepts 'commonwealth', 'community', 'partnership', that are traditionally significant for the development of personality and society, are changing; they acquire a new meaning in the virtual world: groups exist in social networks, friends exist in the news feed; the warmth of human connections is being lost, instead of which subscribers and commentators of personal pages and Internet channels become significant 'others'. There is an illusion that the multiplicity and mosaicism of points of view on the world does not require certainty in value orientations and personal choice. Today, it is urgent to search for new forms and means that provide and shape a stable value-based and standard-based personality type. In providing conditions for shaping the value orientations of young people, the educational nature of the media environment is manifested. It is implemented through the proposed media activity. It was them who became significant in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the unexpected lockdown.

In the context of the current events, the topic of introducing pupils to the historical past and raising awareness of its significance acquires additional meaning. We will consider a number of cases illustrating the media practices of informal education on the Internet. Due to the limited space of the article, we will not consider all possible options for introducing pupils to the historical and cultural heritage that exist in the media environment but turn to the cases that indicate the nature and needs of the audience. For the analysis, we selected three groups of media activities: those that 1) focused on expanding the educational field for schoolchildren (the case '75 Years of the Great Victory'), 2) offered new forms of family leisure (the case 'Then an Inventor Appeared...') and 3) created new professional activity opportunities for teachers (the case 'Urals during the Great Patriotic War': scientific and methodological work in the context of digitalisation').

Case '75 years of the Great Victory'

2020 was declared the Year of Memory and Glory and marked by the anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War. If in the pre-COVID-19 era teachers built their work with schoolchildren by offering the traditional

range of activities, such as conducting lessons of courage, visiting memorable places associated with heroic events of the war, meeting veterans, participating in military sports games and parades, then in the new context, there is a need to search for forms and means adequate to the situation.

Russian education found itself in a difficult situation, though, and like everything else in the world it was necessary to simultaneously establish the educational process in a distance format and continue to solve the problems of education. Let us leave aside the actual educational component of distance learning and turn to media activities, which at this time became decisive in the educational work. They can be provisionally divided into informational and educational, intellectual and creative media activities.

Information and outreach media activities include a variety of activities aimed at enhancing cognitive activity (lectures, conversations, round tables, viewing certain thematically collected media content) and causing an emotional response (watching performances, concerts, films, visiting virtual museums etc.).

Creative media activities include participation in various competitions (drawing contests, photo contests, literary or music contests), challenges (the genre of online videos in which a person performs a task on a video camera and posts it on the Web, and then offers to repeat this task to an acquaintance or unlimited circle of users), flash mobs (actions in which a large group of people simultaneously perform pre-determined actions), battles (competitions in which participants demonstrate their skills and/or achievements, and the Internet public votes for the creative product they like).

Intelligent media activities have an intermediate place between informational and outreach media activities and creative ones. Many of them involve a research component and, as an option, participation in individual or group project activities. Others are focused on game formats, such as quizzes and/or express polls which are so popular on social networks.

The described media activities do not represent anything fundamentally new; rather, it is the adaptation of known forms to the needs of the modern technological stage of development. Information and outreach media activities normally involve a fairly wide audience and may not be oriented directly towards adolescents. Another thing is that teachers and parents focus on certain events and invite children and youth to join them.

For example, the topic of moral choice and the meaning of heroism were brought up to date when watching films about the war. Many teachers

recommended to children and adolescents to watch feature films or documentaries, performances about the war presented on the Culture of the Russian Federation portal; then, if possible, invited them to a joint discussion of what they saw online. The range of films that were offered for viewing was quite wide; in general, those were classical films of the Soviet era (from *The Ballad of a Soldier* and *The Cranes Are Flying* to *The Dawns Here Are Quiet...* and *The Fate of a Man*). Discussing film production is a traditional activity for teachers and educators. Schoolchildren were invited to participate in the discussions of military-patriotic films made during the Soviet period or recently. Therefore, the transition to the remote format was reflected more in the form of discussion, such as online conferences, rather than on the nature of the activity. Interestingly, the discussion in the online conference mode began to engage not only the young audience but also their parents. A film, play or book about the war became the subject of conversation in the family circle, filling informal communication with some additional content.

During the lockdown period, virtual exhibitions became popular. For museums, exhibition or library and information centres, virtual excursions have become a form of drawing viewers'/readers' attention to active pastime. For example, specialists of the City Centre for the Protection of Monuments and the State Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region prepared the virtual exhibition *Victory Was Forged Here* dedicated to the fate of buildings and monuments of Ekaterinburg-Sverdlovsk during the war (the site <http://победа.екатеринбург.рф>).

Intellectual efforts, that encourage the cognitive activity of schoolchildren, were previously in demand when referring to historical materials, such as documents, personal stories, diaries and memoirs depicting the events of the Great Patriotic War. Quizzes to check the knowledge of events of the history of the war have become a popular form of intellectual leisure. Online games, in which participants have to answer questions about great battles, heroes or awards, were spread on social networks and attracted students. Internet communications, that erase territorial boundaries, turned out to be in demand and enabled residents of various regions to participate in various activities. Interestingly, along with cultural or educational institutions, schoolchildren themselves began to create such quizzes by posting them on social networks for their friends and subscribers. It seems to us that this format will turn out to be promising in the case of 'returning' offline as one of the forms of informal education to kindle interest in history.

Educational and research projects of a historical orientation have long and firmly been growing into a habit of education. During the transition to the remote mode, the project activities acquired a fresh impetus and provided the basis for participation in various intellectual events, e.g. research competitions or the preparation of materials for the Memory Road gallery. Addressing the memory of your family, talking with the older generation, searching for photographs and letters from the front in home archives have combined the traditional project work, which is mandatory in school, and informal education, focused more on an emotional attitude to the historical past, and, as a result, encouraging research activities. At the same time, the presentation of the work outcomes in the form of a complex text combining photographs of the war years, pages from letters from the front, a story about the fate of a relative, became a new form of creativity via the media environment.

The number of creative contests held during the lockdown period is incalculable largely because they were organised in addition to federal or regional government bodies by a variety of institutions, such as libraries, creative unions, educational institutions or teacher communities. For example, as part of the Online Marathon # 75 Words of Victory, an action was held in which famous actors, writers, cultural and sports figures, together with librarians from all over the country, read on the air lines from military correspondence, personal correspondence of soldiers, as well as excerpts from favourite books at the front and in the rear from the times of the Great Patriotic War. And schoolchildren from different parts of the country responded to the proposal to record a video with the reading of a memorable excerpt from a letter or a favourite book of the older generation of their family and post it to any social network with the hashtag #75wordsofVictory.

In a large number of creative competitions, schoolchildren were invited to submit photographs, essays and video materials. The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation invited children and adolescents to take part in the Russian patriotic action 'Letters of Victory' which united various events: competitions for knowledge of the state symbols of Russia, competitions of children's drawings 'My Great-Grandfather is a Winner!', videos 'I will tell you about the Victory' and graffiti on the topic of the Great Patriotic War, the poetry competition 'I Remember' and the essay competition 'Letter to the Front'. Thus, the already existing media activities were integrated into educational practices.

Perhaps for the first time this year, large-scale campaigns began to be held, within the framework of which videos with the performance of songs or poems of the war years were posted on social networks. Initially, they were dedicated to exclusively the Victory but later they began to coincide with other public holidays. For the Day of Russia, the Russian Rhymes challenge was held and the participants of which recorded a video with the reading of poetry or excerpts from the works of Russian authors about the war; the Windows of Russia flashmob, during which a picture or congratulations on the holiday was glued to the window of an apartment or house, was organised; there was an action 'Bake a Pie and Say Thank You' the participants of which were invited to give a cake of their own to those whom one wanted to thank, and it ended with a competition for the best pie for which they had to vote for on social networks.

Memory Watch, the actions St. George Ribbon, Immortal Regiment or Candle of Memory were aimed at involving people in patriotic events and showed their effectiveness not only in the traditional face-to-face format, as they took place before the pandemic but also in the conditions of restrictions by providing an avenue for interaction between people. The joint performance of the famous song 'Victory Day' online has become a symbol of the unity of the inhabitants of the whole country regardless of age and place of residence.

An attempt to create communicative communities through arranging joint activities in an online format was made; for example, on specially created Internet sites, a variety of music festivals and gatherings were held on social networks to unite residents of various regions. The focus of such media campaigns is obvious, namely, to stimulate the creative activity of people and to ensure self-realisation in the context of restrictions associated with the high-alert mode.

For children and adolescents, participation in such events is also the promotion of a positive image of *T*. Scientists have repeatedly noted that children and adolescents identify themselves with media characters with leadership skills. In part, participation in the proposed creative contests and promotions can be considered as prevention of the negative behaviour of children and adolescents in the information environment. If we remember that the cognitive interests of adolescents as indicators of self-identification are at the bottom of the rating of qualities that determine the image of *T* [Koroleva, Bogdanovskaya, Lugovaya, 2014], then it can be said that there is the need to develop

the media environment from the entertainment content itself prevailing now towards the educational, creative and intellectual contents contributing to the internal growth of children and adolescents.

We turn our attention to promising media practitioners, who have not yet become widely sought after but at the same time have a significant educational potential and may be in the area of interest of young people. That is the creation of blogs dedicated to the participation of children and adolescents in various events related to school life and extracurricular activities; the development of such an activity as travel journalism dedicated to travelling to the native land; creation of streaming programmes that discover in real time participation in patriotic actions or present their own experience in any activity; preparation of various research or creative projects with online presentation — in other words, the creation of a creative media environment in which young people of different ages can find an opportunity for realisation of their personal potential.

Case ‘Then an inventor appeared...’

In educational practice, teachers strive to rely on the basic national values of Russian society (patriotism, social solidarity, citizenship, family, health, work and creativity, science, traditional religions of Russia, art, nature, humanity) and build their work by focusing on the development and education of a Russian citizen who accepts the fate of the Fatherland as his/her own, and is aware of responsibility for his/her country's present and future rooted in the spiritual and cultural traditions of the multinational people of Russia [Concept of Spiritual and Moral Development and Upbringing of the Personality of a Russian Citizen in General Education, 2009]. However, the ways and means of achieving this goal is still a debatable point. The integration of formal, non-formal and informal educational practices to ensure social and personal, intellectual, artistic and creative development through introducing pupils to the values of culture remains urgent. However, experience suggests that this ideal is still far from being achieved.

It is an indispensable element in the creation of cultural and civic identity to introduce pupils to the history and culture of the small homeland. For ten years, we have conducted informal expert interviews with teachers in Ekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk region, the main focus of which was on the educational activities designed to acquire the social and cultural experiences by children and adolescents (mastering the system of traditional and current cultural standards and values transmitted, preserved and reproduced in so-

cial and cultural practices). This experience is due to the self-determination of individuals, the acquisition and awareness of the meanings of their own activities (in educational, research, creative, volunteer and other activities); the developed self-awareness and reflection in the choice of social activity areas based on the accomplishment of personal aspirations and inclinations; by volitional effort when performing an assigned or independently chosen socially-oriented business; acceptance of responsibility to oneself, parents and others for the learning outcomes; independence in choosing the area of applying one's own forces; in the implementation of public-spirited and morally oriented actions.

Thus, the place of life, 'small homeland', becomes mainstream. Insight into the biographies of people who lived and live nearby, the study of the history and culture of the native land as an experience of mastering space in the transformative activities become steps towards the transformation of the territory where a person lives into his/her homeland, a place with which he/she feels a spiritual kinship. Consequently, the content aspect is of particular importance: knowledge about the region's history testifying to its uniqueness, images that represent the territory and forms of activity that reflect the ethos of the people living in the region. Shaping a unique image of the Sverdlovsk region, promotion of the region's industrial image through the creation and distribution of media, Internet, audio, video and printed products of a patriotic orientation have recently become a trend in the regional education and youth policies.

Today, the Sverdlovsk region as an industrially developed territory is faced with the challenge of increasing motivation of students of secondary schools to study subjects of the natural science cycle and the subsequent choice of technical professions and engineering specialties, which is enshrined in the conceptual provisions of the Ural Engineering School project for 2015–2034 (decree of the Sverdlovsk region's Governor dated 31 May 2016 No 307-UG). It will be more effective to fulfil such extensively formulated tasks if we rely on the region's historical experience and update it in modern conditions. To address the issue of schoolchildren's poor knowledge of the history of engineering and technical thought, the contribution to its development by the best representatives of the Urals science and technology fields, insufficient understanding of the relationship between the current state of the region's industry and the technical achievements of the past, the project 'Then an Inventor Appeared...' was proposed.

The project objective was to create an electronic information resource ‘Then an Inventor Appeared...’ posted on the Web, the materials of which can be used to arrange for taskwork, extracurricular, out-of-school (cultural and leisure) activities in order to promote the technological solutions of the Urals. The social significance of the project, as conceived by the authors, consists in the development of schoolchildren’s interest in the scientific and technical creativity on the basis of studying the activities of famous fellow countrymen and their discoveries which contributed to the development of the industrial potential of the Middle Urals; raising awareness and procedural competence among teachers in the history of science and technology; providing conditions for child-parent interaction via organising productive family leisure with the materials presented on the online information resource. In the long term, the project is aimed at strengthening regional identity and self-awareness as an important part of patriotic education based on introduction to the historical heritage.

This project has become unique in its own way: until that time, there was no such resource dedicated to the regional scientific and technical heritage. For the first time, an attempt was made to update the heritage of the Ural inventors by combining on one platform the historical and biographical information, features of engineering solutions, and to propose to conduct experiments or create models for the study of physical or chemical phenomena by schoolchildren that underlie the inventions of the Ural craftsmen. We consider the project as a model for both informal and non-formal education: the existing experience can be used to create individual and/or group projects for school-age children in the additional education system and when shaping work as part of a summer health campaign, or it can be used to arrange for family leisure.

The online resource ‘Then an Inventor Appeared...’ (<http://izobr-ural.ru>) is an attempt to combine education with entertainment (edutainment). The created product meets the infotainment and information combination requirements (in our case, about Ural inventors in the context of studying physics, chemistry and technology at school) with leisure practices (creating your own projects ‘based on’ inventions and presenting them on social networks). The content presented on the site (biographies of inventors and engineers; stories about their discoveries; referring to the materials studied in school courses; models proposed in the ‘Studio’ heading that you can make yourself; recommendations for parents on how to use the site materials

to arrange for leisure together with your child) solves educational problems, entertains and, hopefully, educates by uniting children and parents.

The project was launched in the spring of 2020. Its approbation in the non-formal education (summer health camps) proved to be difficult due to the restrictions associated with the pandemic. According to the evaluations of parents who got acquainted with the electronic resource, the proposed experiments and models provided the basis for joint leisure, during which children became acquainted with physical phenomena that were studied remotely in the school physics course.

Case ‘Urals during the Great Patriotic War’:

Scientific and Methodical Work in the Context of Digitalisation’

Teaching activities are more focused on both formal and non-formal education. Educators, who are aware of professional deficiencies, turn to various courses, training, additional professional programmes to acquire the necessary skills and competencies in order to work with children and adolescents. In the situation of entirely switching to online education, short-term programmes and webinars aimed at mastering certain information and communication educational platforms, that provide work with children remotely, started to gain in popularity. In part, the features of additional education were taken over by social networks and teacher communities that have operated in the electronic environment and provided mutual teacher training.

In recent months, the situation has been complicated by the fact that many teachers had to not only master new learning formats for themselves and look for opportunities for the implementation of educational tasks but also select from the huge content on the Internet that would be more suitable for solving educational problems. In this context, traditional research and methodological products (books and scientific and methodological articles) gave way to electronic resources. During the COVID-19 pandemic, many publishing houses of research and methodological products began to actively distribute electronic copies of the published books in order to at least partially meet the emerging demand. Electronic libraries have also become more active in the selection and offer of methodological products. In fact, research and methodological book publishing has not undergone any serious transformations, except for the replacement of paper books by their electronic versions.

Recently, expanding the resource base of education, also by including previously unknown or little-known materials, has also become a trend. This is clearly seen by the example of historical and cultural studies many of which

teachers were previously unaware of. The research papers by domestic and foreign scientists, presented via wider access on the Internet, have become more accessible and have been included in educational content for studying domestic history. However, it was often a problem to assess the quality of certain works associated with the explicit or latent bias of the authors.

Due to the pre-determined topic, we will again turn to the military example by relying on the regional presentation experience. In our opinion, an appeal to regional history in the context of a military theme should become a de-ideologised and de-mythologised space in which a young person truly encounters the history of the country like *his/her* own history. This is a unique opportunity for education to combine experience-emotional upheaval (emotional attitude to events of the past), experience-cognition (study of historical documents of eyewitness accounts of those events) and experience-action (participation in research, search, volunteer activities).

The recent romanticisation of war and many blockbusters that create the illusion of ease of victory, an emphasis on heroic events, that neutralise the understanding of everyday hard work both at the front and in the rear, all this creates additional difficulties for teachers and parents involved in educating the younger generation. Teachers are challenged to create a value-based attitude towards the history of their country through emotional experience (sympathy) by creating the foundation for civic and cultural identity.

The theme of the feat of the rear, the contribution of the Urals to the Victory in the Great Patriotic War is one of the most important in the shaping of the historical consciousness of young people. We have set the task of including materials related to wartime events in the actual space for modern schoolchildren to study. The task was designed to solve the publication of teaching materials for teachers, which are based on historical and cultural works published in recent decades. Addressing the theme of the Great Patriotic War in modern schools very rarely includes research conducted in the last two decades; teachers and methodologists rather turn to the works of historians of the Soviet era. At the same time, in the post-Soviet period in historical science, events were utterly reassessed. The discovery of many previously classified documents and their introduction into scientific circulation made a picture of the period 1941–1945 more opaque and more dramatic. If in previous years special emphasis was put the theatre of military activities and operations, in recent decades the emphasis has shifted towards studying living conditions in the rear, i. e. personal stories, individual and

family experiences — all of this is now part of the educational field and requires additional reflection by teachers.

The generality of the historical memory represented in artifacts, texts, rituals and traditions as the embodied unity of historical fate, is used as a consolidating principle for social groups and societies. Consequently, understanding events, heroes or phenomena labelled in the collective memory as ‘ours’ becomes a condition for the formation of cultural identity, which, in turn, is a ‘guideline to follow’ for the education system, i.e. acquainting ourselves with historical collisions and shaping a positive (at the same time, not necessarily attractive but labelled as meaningful) image of the collective past.

Today, historical traditions are introduced by the efforts of teachers in both the lessons of social and humanitarian disciplines (history, literature, the foundations of religious cultures and secular ethics), and in extracurricular activities (museum excursions and tourist-local history workshops), and in educational work (organisation of memorial events). It is explored at two levels, the informational level (the knowledge about historical events, ‘heroes’ of the past, sites of battles etc.) and activity-event level (the development of research projects, creative activity or participation in memorial actions). An essential condition for introducing pupils to traditions is the emotional experience of the past (collective, joint *co*-experience), which provides a ‘live connection’ with the present.

The tasks of methodological publications in the new conditions are 1) selection and the possibility of including materials devoted to life in the rear into educational practice; 2) identification of the potential of new information technologies in the creation of a wider representation of a given period; 3) creation of methodological comments that will help a teacher to use the presented materials in his/her work. In the context of the topic of our research, it should be noted that the appeal of teachers towards research and methodological products can be considered as an informal educational practice.

In creating the book ‘From Rear to Front. 1941–1945’, we tried to methodically present historical material for teachers in a small edition (the substantive part); to create a polyphonic space linking eyewitness accounts, historical documents and recent academic research (a space of dialogue with the historical time); to combine the non-linearity of presentation and the availability of audio and visual materials (creolised text); prepare methodological ‘keys’ for the lesson and extracurricular activities (methodical

commentary). As a technological tool, we used QR codes (an abbreviation for quick response) — two-dimensional barcodes that can be used to access information on mobile devices.

Today, the QR-coding technology is considered by researchers as an innovative method of presenting information, when the material of various volumes and content can be presented in a collapsed form — from a business card of an enterprise created for advertising purposes to personal data of a person; from the information about an artifact in a museum or a tourist site to the design of an architectural space as in the information project of the Skolkovo innovation city presented at the Venice Biennale and repeated in Zaryadye. Access to information is granted in ‘reading’ by a smartphone, tablet or laptop with a video camera by a preinstalled QR code scanning programme. Recently, this informational presentation method has become widespread in education. It is used to motivate students to read educational or fictional literature (the QR code is placed on the bookshelves of school libraries); they are attracted to participate in various quests (the QR code accompanies the ‘route sheet’ with which tasks need to be accomplished), expand the information field of academic subjects (the QR-code gives access to accompanying materials, such as diagrams, charts, graphs, tables, pictures, audio files), encode the information about educational and scientific events. As a rule, QR codes in books contain the information about the publisher, the business card of the publication.

As rightly noted by S. A. Glazkova, this technology is used as a new communicative practice, i. e. mobile communication which has gained widespread use in the field of marketing, interpersonal contacts, symbolic/ritual acts and contemporary art, the subject of which is the communicative act *per se* [Glazkova, 2012, 65]. Especially for young people, such significant features of this type of communication become attractive as new features for obtaining information; availability and at the same time selectivity of obtaining information associated with the need to use additional software and certain models of a mobile communication device; personality-oriented (personalised) information.

We have considered the use of QR codes within the text of a textbook for teachers in the context of the creation of new communicative trends, i. e. the development of activity in shaping one’s own position to the presented material, the inclusion of layers of different times in a single educational field,

the creation of conditions for the formation of a network community in respect of the problem under study (going beyond the edition's boundaries).

Here are some examples. The topic dedicated to the peculiarities of the evacuation of industrial enterprises to the Urals is provided with several QR codes. One refers to the site 'Documents of the Soviet Era' (Project of the Federal Archival Agency), the link allows a teacher in his/her work to involve various wartime documents for analysis with students by expanding the source base of the topic under research. Resorting to regional sources is provided by the QR-code of the site 'Tagil of the Wartime' which includes the systematised information based on the materials of the Tagilskiy Rabochny newspaper. The emotional background is created by a QR-code that 'hides' the documentary film 'Labour Feat of Nizhny Tagil' (2020) created on the basis of the film 'City N'. (1944). The QR code, in which the 'Information about the Hospitals Located in Sverdlovsk during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945' is encrypted, provides for the future project activities of students, since many of the hospitals were located in schools, as evidenced in school museums... The materials pointed to by QR codes are freely available information on the Internet.

By solving the problem of the emotional involvement of modern schoolchildren in the events of the Great Patriotic War, we tried to prepare some audio and visual materials for a teacher including feature films and documentaries, the viewing of which can be recommended at home, or in fragments — during lessons or as extracurricular activities. This is also a reference to documentary films by contemporary authors, for example, The Evacuation Novel dedicated to the evacuation of the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Theatre named after Kirov (Mariinsky Theatre) to Perm (scriptwriter and director B. Karadzhev; the film studio 'New Course', 2011), or 'Rear of Art' (script: A. Kondrashova; Production of the UOTK 'Ermak', 2015), and films shot during the war and became significant for that time, the film essay 'City N' (director: Vl. Boykov; production of the Sverdlovsk newsreel studio, 1944), the documentary 'Ural Forges Victory' (director: Vladimir Boykov; production by the Sverdlovsk and Kuibyshev newsreel studios, 1943), the feature film 'Silva' (director: A. Ivanovsky; production of the Sverdlovsk film studio, 1944).

Since the potential audience of our publication is represented by teachers of various subject areas, the task was to expand the possibilities of addressing the region's culture during the war years: for music teachers, through the inclusion of audio material (QR codes: 'The Song "The Urals

are Beating Greatly', music by T. Khrennikov, lyrics by A. Barto; performed by the choir of the music school under the direction of A. Kuznetsova, 2013 or 'Article by Musicologist M. Cheremukhin about opera by V. Trambitsky 'The Thunderstorm' from the magazine 'Soviet Music', 1940); for teachers of the world's art culture — the documentary 'Hermitage. Chronicle of Feat' (script: Yu. Osipov; director: E. Sulla; production: STS Studio, 2004). To arrange for project activities of the social and cultural nature, a link to a film about workers and children of the rear, was provided, prepared by students of school No 1273 (Moscow, 2016).

The QR code 'Great Victory Virtual Guide dedicated to the Year of Memory and Glory — 2020', which addresses the list of resources, has become a summary material that methodically represents various materials posted on the Internet and dedicated to the Victory in the Great Patriotic War collected by the library staff of the information centre of the Financial University under the Russian Federation Government.

For information not uniform in quality in a published product, it was necessary to prepare for the material presentation. By using traditional typography methods (with different fonts for different quality information, headings and logos, headings of several levels, background 'substrates' for short titles etc.), we tried to create a visually complex whole reflecting the polyphonic structure of the text.

The inclusion of QR codes has defined a special type of creolised text based on the combination of verbal text with elements of virtual reality. The creolised text of this type is more typical of advertising media products than research and methodological publications. However, in our case, it was justified as a new communication format providing additional expressiveness to the statement and 'reflecting a heterogeneous, polycentric and non-linear perception of the world around' [Tumakova, 2016, 49].

In our case, we broadly interpret the 'creolized text' concept as a set of information sources that meet the task of free choice of educational material and include, within a single topic, printed text, visual and audiovisual materials. Consequently, we consider our teaching and learning aids as a creolised text on the topic 'The Urals during the Great Patriotic War', and methodological comments as the 'keys' to its use. Algorithms for working with a written, visual and audiovisual source, forms and methods of organising task-work, extracurricular and extracurricular activities, the creation of museum information projects with digital technologies become such 'keys'.

The nature of the publication is scientific and methodical and it involved the preparation of a more or less detailed methodological commentary on the information offered. Proceeding from the principle that a modern teacher is distinguished by a creative and critical attitude to any proposed recommendations and descriptions of educational practices, reflexivity and reasonable doubt about the appropriateness of repetition and reproducibility of certain techniques, methods and technologies in a particular school, we decided to designate individual educational initiatives used in Russian education and aimed at the patriotic education of young citizens.

Since the book was released by the printing house at the very beginning of the restrictive measures associated with the high-alert mode during the pandemic, the paper-based publication was not available to teachers. The electronic version presented in the open access for reading, as the readers noted in the reviews, was especially interesting in terms of its technological concept: the ability to simultaneously use a computer and a mobile device turned out to be a new and interesting experience that will come in handy in preparing lessons with schoolchildren.

4. Conclusions

As a result of the conducted research, it can be stated that the described informal educational media practices, despite their specific content (Russian patriotic discourse), can be considered as versatile. Thus, the informational, educational, intellectual and creative media activities presented in the first case can be reproduced with any other, not necessarily historical, material. The practice of creating and using an electronic resource (the second case) sets the vector for addressing the possibilities of natural science and technical education by offering it as a material for the joint creativity of children and parents. Supplemented by the forms and methods of working in the media environment described in the first case, it acquires a new quality, namely it becomes a part of the educational content, for both formal and non-formal educational segments. The use of new technological solutions in a research and methodological publication (the third case) enriches the package of teaching tools that can be updated in professional activities.

We examined three cases that represent informal educational media practices in modern Russia. To summarise, it should be noted that in the context of the restrictions associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of informal education is increasing by providing the needs for self-education

and leisure activities. It is becoming obvious that media practitioners, who were previously on the periphery of educational activities, have demonstrated their potential in present-day developments. For the Russian education system, the experience gained is valuable in that new teaching and upbringing formats have been tested, the use of which can expand the range of teaching tools in both formal and non-formal education.

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The Concept of a National Idea in a Multicultural Media Space: Formal vs Informal Logics

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Abstract. On the one hand, the relevance of research is due to the great social, managerial and research potential of the ‘national idea’ concept; on the other hand, the possible risks of incorrect formation and implementation against the background of poor development of a comprehensive methodology for analysing its construction logic. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to identify and conceptualise, in the context of the theory of formality and informality, the dominant logics of understanding and shaping of the national idea that have emerged today in the modern media space. The article focuses on a comparative analysis of two dominant logics, formal (traditional), where it is understood as a directive formed by elites and is centrally determined for the general public, regardless of the local cultural characteristics of its members; and informal, the emergence of which is due to individualisation, heterogeneity, multiculturalism of modern society, and it involves an appeal to the plurality of bases and cultural nuances as well as intersecting local practices as a basis for building a new concept of the national idea. In the second version, the national idea is considered as a ‘national idea for me’, which is formed in the cross flow of official sources of information along with informal communities, personal connections and alternative versions of other nations. Differences in the language of description and forms of broadcasting, which determine the formal and informal versions of the national idea and circulate through various channels and differ in the corresponding content, are of great importance. Methodologically, we rely on the theory of formality and informality, social topology, social heterogeneity, the provisions of the general intellect theory. Data collection methods (focused on a qualitative strategy): scientometric analysis, analysis of scientific texts, community review on VK.com, Facebook, and news analysis in the official media. The research was carried out with Russian materials and the article provides an overview and arranges academic approaches that determine both

logics, describes the main media channels and distribution practices of both versions, as well as the corresponding communication features. The strengths and weaknesses of the selected approaches are indicated by taking into account the modern cultural context.

Keywords: media communication, multicultural media space, national idea, social networks

1. Introduction

The concept ‘national idea’ shows its relevance in the situations of crises, fractures [Karlova, 2019], intensive changes [Genova, 2018; Krivoshein, Ivanenko, 2019], situations of strong external influence [Connell, 2017; Sagatova, 2019] or confrontation [Reeves, 2017], when there is a need for grounds for consolidation and adherence to unified practices of social organisation, ensuring loyalty to certain strategic actions among a significant number of citizens. It can be used as a necessary impetus for the internal modernisation of the state and the acquisition of a stable soil in the face of the destruction of traditional communities and ties; it is an important strategic resource of the state [Kazakova, 2014]. In addition, such a need is conditioned by the demand of the ruling elite for the self-description practice, a statement of the direction of the government and key stakeholders. The potential for using the ‘national idea’ concept is great in terms of its integration capabilities, when it can act as a reference point for goal-setting and a modern cultural core of practice [Vincent 2011; Vandenbroucke, 2016; Bonnett, 2017; Powell, 2017; Hellmuth, 2018]. The national idea is influential in determining the strength and influence of the world’s states and societies; it affects the positions they take in the world of information, ideas and images’ [Semenov, 2001; Karaganov, 2020]. The importance of the national idea for the Russian brand creation is high [Danilova, 2017].

The fruitfulness of the national idea concept is of great importance as a basis for research work: people’s ideas about key practices, promising areas of the country’s and society’s life accumulated in the national idea, are convenient for study and are interesting both in themselves and as a basis for understanding a wide range of social processes. At the same time, the use of the concept is fraught with a number of dangers associated with excesses, when an idea can develop into ideology, and the social subject loses the necessary measure of autonomy and independence, and unification is akin to be total whilst unique cultural traits and individual human strategies are

ignored, which, as historical experiences show, affects the social situation in an improvised manner, and is simply dangerous from the point of view of the possible flourishing of totalitarianism.

Both the indicated favourable prospects and risks associated with turning to the use of the national idea make it urgent to study in detail this concept itself, the procedures for its formation and content. However, today, despite the abundant circulation of the 'national idea' concept in the media space, its content remains very ambiguous, against the background of a variety of information sources offering both ready-made and discrete versions and fragmentary elements; there is no methodology that offers the possibility of analysing mechanisms of the national idea that somehow explain its structure and content.

Meanwhile, today we can talk about two dominant approaches that describe the information production and dissemination procedures, the analysis through the prism of which it is possible to fill the indicated gap, this is the idea of formal and informal (from Latin *informalis* — informal) practices in the media sphere. The purpose of this article is to identify and conceptualise, in the context of the theory of formality and informality, the dominant logics of understanding and shaping the national idea that have emerged today in the modern media space.

2. Methodology

The goal determined the features of the methodology used in the research. As already noted, the concepts of formal and informal channels and practices of the creation, dissemination and consumption of information are basic for identifying and describing the most noticeable logics of the formation of a national idea. One of the most famous works, that allows one to get an idea of this approach is Zhilyavskaya's book; it pertains to the features of information production in the media sphere in the fields of journalism, education etc. through the concepts of formal and informal. She notes that in addition to traditional formal (institutionalised) sources, which are represented by the professional community, non-professionals in the media take part in the creation of an information product, they also communicate information to a mass audience through blogs, open and other media. In parallel with traditional and/or official sources, every mediarate person can create and publish his/her own materials; he/she does not need any editorial board, reviewers, experts and acts in accordance with his ideas about the subject

of the statement. Therefore, in creating an information product, the entire educated but non-formalised community can participate one way or another.

Based on the descriptions proposed by the author, it is possible to single out such features of the informal production of information as self-activity, lack of formal organisation, unprofessional creators, non-economic nature, social orientation, communicativeness (close connection with other people in making a product). Referring to Rosen, she notes the disappearance of the 'one for many' broadcasting model, which, in my opinion, is true for not only journalism but also other areas of communication including the formation of a national idea. Against the backdrop of information chaos, 'informal media is a chaos of networks, which in their finished form can represent a perfect form (idea) of communication. This idea could be expressed in the statement: people are doomed to hear each other and come to an agreement' [Zhilavskaya, 2009, 210]. The same applies to informal practices of searching for and obtaining information, where its development is devoid of the rigid framework of an organised pedagogical process and can be carried out 'in the family, informal communication, in various groups and associations, in particular, in educational societies, libraries, museums as well as through mass media [Zhilavskaya, 2009, 211].

In the framework of conceptualising the indicated logics of the formation of a national idea, I focused on a combination of modern and classical social and philosophical attitudes, which make it possible to reflect the strategic and customised nature of the national idea, its dependence on the location of the subjects of design in the social space as a set of stakeholders of social and political processes in a changing context. To understand the current state of social reality, its versatility, heterogeneity, transitivity and mobility, as contexts of formation, the theories of mobility by J. Urry and Z. Bauman etc.; social topology J. Law (the concept of the primacy of the 'network' of relations over the 'social' and 'material' entities), S. A. Azarenko (topologem, practice and technology), M. Serra (statement of the relationship of spaces in terms of 'continuity', 'localisation', involvement' and 'non- involvement'), the idea of the network society M. Castells (space of flow and space of places).

An important method for the final development of the key definitions of the research is social topology (S. A. Azarenko, P. Bourdieu, C. Levin, J. Lo, M. Serre, G.-N. Fisher, M. Foucault). The use of this method makes it possible to determine a national idea in terms of the space of a human event arising and lasting precisely in the act of communication, in the manifestations

of joint activities of people. This step allows us to unpack the national idea as a set of specific relations reproduced in practice and fixed in the original orders of a society.

The basis for understanding the fundamental diversity and irreducibility of the political life of young people, and, consequently, the concepts of national idea to a single format is provided by the principles of philosophical heterology by T. Kh. Kerimov, the ideas of postoperaism by A. Negri (decentralised set and the forces of self-organisation), E. Tucker (involvement in social and political processes of 'scattered' forms of communication set-up (networks, multitudes and sets)), P. Virno (the idea of heterarchy based on communication), I. V. Krasavin (building general intelligence through the development of communication networks).

I used such research methods as scientometric analysis of thematic publications in the ELibrary.ru and Academia.edu databases; analysis and systematisation of the presented concepts; analysis of the content of thematic groups in social networks VK.com, Facebook; analysis of publications in the official media (Russian-speaking segment). The research strategy was qualitative, the emphasis was on determining the content of various statements related to the national idea, and attention was paid to the peculiarities of the means of expression in the communities under research along with the chosen communication channels.

3. Results and discussions

This should explore the significance of the results of the work, not repeat them. A combined Results and discussion section is often appropriate, and avoid extensive citations and discussion of published literature.

It has been established that concepts of the national idea and its formation order can be found; first, in the publications of the academic community representatives, where both formal and informal logics are most clearly visible; secondly, in the official statements of key government officials; thirdly, in informal thematic communities, where not only any published content is of great importance but also the communications around.

The formal approach oriented towards vertical strategy is widely represented in contemporary academic works. So, T. B. Abykeeva-Sultanalieva notes that the idea itself can only be stated, these are politicised spiritual principles designed to protect the material, spiritual and cultural interests of the elite and ruling circles [Abykeeva-Sultanalieva, 2019]. Authors put

an equal sign between the national idea and the ideology of the state, affirming its vertical and top-down nature [Nagoeva, 2018]. This logic assumes that it is the state represented by the main government representatives that should proceed with developing and further disseminating a national idea that will meet its interests, while the majority should obey and accept the developed idea that is essential for the country and all its inhabitants. It is assumed that everyone will follow the proposed idea. The state takes care of the official mechanisms, which are implemented in a centralised and uniform way, and will allow the majority to convey and communicate the idea through all existing channels. It should be noted that today official information providers willingly and actively use unconventional channels for the delivery of information along with tools, such as television or radio, well-known press etc.; you can often see pages on Instagram, Twitter, VK.com and others, where information is posted as if 'first-hand', and is no less credible than the sites of government agencies, for example. For example, direct statements regarding the national idea can be heard not only in the news of the official media but also on the Internet on less significant commercial media sites, in the ruling party groups, in pro-presidential youth communities, for example, the statement from the President of Russia V. V. Putin's speech 'patriotism is the national idea of Russia' was widely circulated on the Internet and was imbibed by a certain audience, as can be seen from the main trends in the social and political life of Russia in recent years. Conceptually, patriotism is associated with such cultural nuclei as the Great Victory, which determines the main features of the official version of the national idea, which at the level of formal (vertical) attitudes is not subject to any discussion but should be instilled in the context of a range of disciplinary, educational, and outreach measures for every citizen of the Russian Federation.

Going back to various logics in scientific research, it can be noted that for the academic community itself, in addition to such a channel for dissemination of concepts concerning the national idea as scientific publications, as well as databases disseminating those publications, today it is quite common to duplicate information on the personal pages on social networks, give additional comments and/or add visual images to publications. Thus, researchers, as bearers of professional (expert) opinions, can express themselves on both formal and informal versions via formal and informal channels. Interestingly, today there are precedents for broadcasting ready-made versions of a national idea on the part of the academic community, that is,

formal, already formulated and proposed as a kind of integrity, but the proposal is being implemented through informal channels; to promote an idea, groups are created on social networks, YouTube channels etc.; for example, an ambitious project created by the Centre for Problem Analysis and Public Administration Design with the support of the Russian Technologies State Corporation [National Idea of Russia, 2012].

The informal nature of constructing a national idea is also represented by the positions of a number of authors, who believe that its creation cannot occur vertically, i. e. a ready-made idea cannot be proposed from above and instituted institutionally; it is necessary to ensure that horizontal initiatives are collected, and at least be taken into account. So, V. A. Avatkova notes that 'the process of nation formation can and should take place in a two-way movement on the bottom-to-top and top-to-bottom basis: you cannot build a nation relying on the aspirations of the top of the state administration. It is impossible to build a nation even if there is exclusively a desire for individual elements of society, or even for most of the elements of society, without the desire for that from the administrative machinery' [Avatkov, 2016]. An interesting perspective on this problem is considered in the work of M. V. Silantjeva: she notes that ideologisation, on the one hand, is the realisation of a completely understandable desire to increase the controllability of complex and multiple-valued processes. At the same time, from historical and philosophical perspectives, the 'national idea' concept is a complex one that implicitly affirms the connection between man and freedom. The very use of this concept assumes that the possibility of the existence of both national and cultural wholes is linked to the implementation of meaningful attitudes of personal development as a unique and universal unity within the framework of a special whole, both national and cultural. In this case, the national idea is initially interpreted as a non-ideological project capable of coordinating its projections with the ideological level of the social and cultural design and, at the same time, resisting mono-ideological strategies for formatting social space as a civil unity of a certain type, that is totalitarianism [Silantjeva, 2017].

According to N. N. Shchetinina, the national idea is the integration of the 'way of life' and 'way of thinking' of citizens of one state. The author also notes that it is necessary to distinguish on what grounds this idea arises and be clearly aware of this. Without this, the political forces along with the broad social strata of our country, may never meet in a common conceptual, and

therefore, ideological field. At the same time, the seizure of an already incipient idea and its promotion will still be carried out by the forces of acting political actors [Shchetinina, 2011]. K. G. Krasnukhin notes that it is important to formulate an idea, you cannot take it from outside; but you also need to rely on cultural stereotypes and people's self-awareness [Krasukhin, 1998, 9]. A similar idea is voiced by K. A. Kaveev, who notes the presence of a 'personal 'national idea' at the level of a specific individual and a 'national idea' at the level of the state and society. It is not always clearly understood, nor it has any clear outlines and is difficult to formulate, but the social development prospects and people of the state depend on it. He also speaks about the difference between national and state ideas, which 'at certain stages can be identical'. To determine the future vector of Russia's development, it will be necessary to formulate a 'national idea' in understandable and clear ways not only for the political elite but also for the entire population of the country. It provides the methodological basis and raises awareness of the need for a clear understanding of the 'national interests' of the state and society, and on their basis, it will allow formulating the 'national security' concept, which will provide the basis for the formation of the 'domestic and foreign policy' concept. A well-thought-out and validated development strategy, which is specified in the set of development goals, in building a 'tree of goals', will become a tool for implementing the 'national idea'. Being a systemic phenomenon, it is concretised as a strategy at the federal, regional and local levels of government [Kaveev, 2017]. For the Azerbaijani researcher Allahverdiyev, the national idea in a generalised form reflects the dominant ideas in the national consciousness about the historical fate of the people, their cultural mission in the world etc. The national idea is most often a kind of 'dream slogan' directly arising from the ethnocultural identity of the people (ethnos), rather vague in its outlines, but clearly emphasising its focus on the transformation of an ethnos into a nation. In contrast to it, a national ideology is used as a vector of mobilisation of an already formed or emerging nation on the way of its transformation into a full-fledged ethnosocial organism, that is, on the way of the nation's growing with the state [Allahverdiyev, 2015; Chaker, 2017; Bahranov, 2016; Bellamy, 2018].

Thus, in the logic of the informal approach, the national idea is collected, as far as possible, in communication in everyday life, in not always pronounced and rationally comprehended images and attitudes, on the basis of which it is necessary to formulate any theses and establishments. This

idea is reflected in the desire of some authors to search for the foundations of the national idea in horizontal logic within the framework of the analysis of various artifacts [Arbatskaya, 2010; Pavlova, 2008; Rozhdestvenskaya, 2019; Esina, 2020; Logvinov, 2020].

The national idea generated informally is created as a combination of acceptable and desirable human practices, in the flows of communication and human co-existence. In fact, an idea in one or another more or less conscious form appears in a modern person as a 'national idea for me'. It is quite important for the awareness and content of the horizontal version of the idea to have the possibility of seeing and discussing possible options, components and directions in which the idea can crystallize. Informal communities are of great importance here. They can offer various versions of national ideas, for example, an interesting project by T. N. Mikushina, is a ready-made concept of a national idea, which is posted on a personal website, in groups of all major social networks, and which, according to the author's idea, should be supported by at least 1 % of the Russian population (about 1,500,000 people) for implementation. However, non-professional authors often influence the emergence of an idea, who create content in thematic groups, whose repertoire is very diverse — from nationalistic attitudes, pedagogical projects, to the exploration of deep space as a national idea. As a rule, such media create an opportunity and even call for discussion (they propose to discuss private issues on the topic in the comments, post the discussion works of classics, thematic films or literary objects for discussion; often calls are made to become authors (administrators) of all those who are close to such problems; created are special topics devoted to the definition and content of the 'national idea' concept) Only in the Russian-language segment of VK. com, the search engine for the query 'national idea' made it possible to find 42 communities devoted to this problem, most of which have more than 500 subscribers, actively participates in discussions, reposts, likes and comments on the proposed materials.

As noted in the interesting critical work of A. V. Yurevich, one of the main characteristics of modern versions of the Russian idea is its pronounced negative character — paying great attention to what we should not be, in contrast to what we should become. Modern projects for the development of Russia and, hence, variants of our national idea can be divided into two groups. One type of project is based on a rather tough and aggressive opposition of Russia to the West, while the other is based on borrowing all the best from it and

supplementing it with its own [Yurevich, 2017]. This is true for not only the academic environment but also the entire media industry in the field. Several dozen groups have been found on social networks where attention is paid to the problems of 'what is bad' and 'what is good' in Russia, where, through short posts about the problems or successes of the Russian life, online users are fruitfully invited to participate in discussion. The problem is often posed precisely through the opposition of Russia and the western countries. Criticism, condescending and sometimes mocking posts offered by the subscribers themselves, which help readers clearly understand what they would not like to see in the future, what practices they would like to avoid, are very typical. Due to such communities, subscribers, and there are on average about 200,000 in such groups, can reflect on a problem, share information with others, and draw up their own concept of the national idea. For communities, such as, for example, 'Miracles of the Russian Federation', 'Time to Shove off', 'Conceptual Vandalism', 'Peskov's Mustache' etc., not only textual statements, which are often minimal in posts, are very important but also visual selections as well as videos. Often there you can find both positive content (beautiful landscapes, images of resourceful people, technology etc.) and hilarious pictures (drunks, injuries, vandalism, hooliganism, ruins etc.). The opportunity to see different sides of life as well as quickly get acquainted with the opinion of other people about the situation through comments (where users also often attach files, links, pictures and exchange information) makes it possible for one to quickly immerse oneself in the discourse and create your own vision of the nation's future.

4. Conclusions

The formal institutional practices of the national idea formation remain; although the vertical logic 'from one to many' is no longer the only one, it is no longer dominating. Poles of activity turn out to be horizontal practices focused on small formats, non-professional but intensive communication, attraction of audiovisual, figurative means of expression, stimulation of a broad discussion, which creates a private, individualised discourse around the construct 'national idea'. As has been shown, this situation is clearly reflected in academic research, and is also clearly visible in the analysis of the content of traditional and new media. The informal nature of the formation of the structure and content of a national idea ensures the influence on them from ethnic, religious, sub-cultural and other microideologies including those characterised by a number

of radical features. Collected in the informal logic, the 'national idea' concept allows us to analyse the conceptual foundations of social and political activities, to get an idea of the political autotopology of modern citizens and understand the coordinate system and the projection of the future at the social level.

The proposed methodology for considering the formation of the 'national idea' concept in the formality/informality logic made it possible to separate the national ideas, vertical and horizontal in origin, to show the differences in the mechanisms of their emergence. The refined 'horizontal' concept of the national idea itself fills the theoretical gap that now exists in this area: the contours of the national idea phenomenon remain blurred, despite the wide demand for the term itself and many discussions that have flared up around it with renewed vigour in recent years. The author's position lies in the fixation on the disclosure of the theoretical and practical potential of the construct of the national idea lies precisely in the discovery of the content that is put into it by people, since then the national becomes such when it grows from the bottom. A national idea, in both theoretical and applied terms, can be effective when it is associated with not only institutions, including an enlarged institution of the state, but it provides a link between the latter and society and its practices. In the face of such threats as a decreased trust in official institutions, an increase in negative migration trends among the country's talented contingent, as well as taking into account some discredited 'spiritual bonds', a certain ideological resource is required, a basis for rallying and collaborative activities within the country, which would arise on real grounds, which is especially important for young people, and which makes the results of this research quite promising.

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Problems of the Phenomenon of Empireness in the Postcolonial Era and Its Expression in Various Forms of Media Imperialism via the Examples of the USA, Japan and Russia

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Abstract. The aim of the study is to define the phenomenon of empireness and to define its role in the era of postcolonialism. We consider the forms of empireness in the form of media imperialism in relation to the policies and development trends of the United States, Japan and Russia. As a result of the research based on the works of M. Beissinger, E. M. Wood, G. Münkler and R. Rilling, we offer a definition of the concept of empireness as a variable quality, a property of a state that claims to dominate in a globalized world, manifested in the form of imperial ambitions in the politics of cultural imperialism. Further it is shown that currently the leading form of cultural imperialism is media imperialism (G. Münkler, G. Schiller and O. Boyd-Barrett). In this regard, the manifestations of imperialism via the examples of the USA, Japan and Russia were examined from the position of media imperialism. Everything allowed us, on the one hand, to outline a general theoretical methodology for working with empireness, and on the other hand, to show the possibilities of its application with specific examples, having determined that modern media in the form of mass media and mass culture can be successfully used as tools for realizing imperial ambitions.

Keywords: empireness, postcolonialism, media imperialism, the USA, Japan, Russia

1. Introduction

In this study, we set out to comprehensively consider the phenomenon of empireness: the main characteristics, its role in the era of postcolonialism, as well as the leading form of its manifestation in the form of media imperialism via the examples of such countries as the United States, Japan and Russia. In this regard, our research is divided into two parts: theoretical and practical.

We begin the theoretical part by considering the role of an empire in the postcolonial discourse, then dwell separately on general approaches to defining the concept of an empire and variants of its classifications. Further, we formulate directly the very concept of empireness and consider the features of its manifestation in the politics of media imperialism. We characterize media imperialism itself as the leading form of cultural imperialism and trace the relationship between media imperialism and soft policy.

In the practical part, we analyse the manifestation of empireness in the forms of media imperialism using a number of examples. First of all, we characterize the specifics and stages of development of media imperialism in relation to the United States as a country where media and communications play a significant role in a number of political and social processes. Next, we turn to the example of Japan, as a representative of the Asian region, and analyse its features of the manifestation of imperialism in the form of media imperialism and soft policy, both in the form of direct export of mass culture, and in the form of the activities of various foundations that popularize it. We conclude the practical part with an analysis of imperialism via the example of Russia where we observe the emerging tendencies of media imperialism in the form of the promotion of modern cinema and cartoons and the activities of a number of government organizations.

2. Theoretical approaches to the concept of empireness

Next, we will consider the theoretical framework that will allow us to define empireness in relation to postcolonial countries. To do this, we will consider contemporary postcolonial discourse and the role that empires play in it. Then we will consider the issue of typologizing empires, present a working version of the definition of empireness and analyse the features of the manifestation of empireness within the framework of media imperialism.

2.1. Empires in the postcolonial discourse

In recent years, a number of domestic and foreign researchers dealing with modern political processes have noted a revival of interest in the concept of empire and issues of its functioning, including in relation to the modern postcolonial era, and, moreover, are discovering its new forms. The pioneer of these studies is Edward Said who in the 1980s proposed the concept of orientalism and drew attention to the relationship between culture and imperialism [Said, 1993; 1978].

Within the framework of modern research, one can single out the work of Stephen Slemon who proposed to systematize the postcolonial scientific discourse based on the analysis of the nature of the relationship between the colonizing and the colonized which can occur through direct influence, or through institutional regulators, or through the semiotic field [Slemon, 1994]. In general, according to the author, the main direction of postcolonial research had examined the power of the state apparatus and the political and economic relations of a state with satellites, taking the relationship between the empire and its colony as a model of their interaction. April Biccum focuses on the discourse of history and development as a problematic point of the concept of empire and proposes to highlight the globalized empire as a modern form of empire in the post-colonial era [Biccum, 2009]. Turning to the modern discussion of the concept of empire and its modern forms, Mark Beissinger proposes to introduce the concept of empirehood into scientific circulation which will allow us to not only state the existence of new forms of empire, but to present it as a kind of variable quality, a change of state, a claim for domination. He notes: '... an empire is a situation in which claims to submission to imperial control are becoming widespread, gaining weight and becoming more hegemonic' [Beissinger, 2005, 20].

Thus, clarification of the features of the new globalized form of empire becomes a significant problem in postcolonial research; it becomes necessary to single out a separate concept of imperialism as its characteristic that requires more detailed theoretical consideration.

2.2. Uncertainty of the concept of empire

A significant difficulty in defining empirehood is created by the vagueness of the very concept of empire. Historical and political approaches to understanding the empire dominate in Russian-language studies. Within the framework of the historical approach, V.E. Matveev examines the development of the concept of empire in Russian science in the period of 1989–2006. and notes that in the XXI century the conceptual field of the empire is expanding and meta-concepts appear that go beyond the realm of historical science itself. These include myth, memory, diaspora, war, word, gender, emotions, etc. [Matveev, 2008, 19]. Within the framework of the political science approach, as S. I. Kaspe notes, an empire is most often understood as a political system that covers large and centralized territories. The centre of such a system can be embodied in central political institutions or in the personality of the emperor. The key characteristics of the empire, according to S. I. Kaspe, there are

ethno-cultural heterogeneity, vast territories, a special structure of social ties and institutional interactions, an internally heterogeneous political culture [Kaspe, 2001, 24–25]. Both approaches point to the possibility of transforming modern forms of empires.

The question of the typology of empires is also rather problematic. When considering specific historical examples, a large number of subtypes of empires can be distinguished: empires of land or sea, military or economic, dictatorial or democratic, bureaucratic, national, territorial, colonial or continental, etc. Scottish historian N. Ferguson suggests taking into account a large number of different factors: political system, goals, public goods provided, methods of government, economic system, distribution of benefits and nature of society. Such a broad understanding leads to the fact that in the entire history of mankind according to the author about 70 states can be referred to as empires, but at the same time he does not single out empire-ness as their characteristic [Ferguson, 2005, 19–20].

An alternative typologization, taking into account the current situation of postcolonialism, is proposed by E. M. Wood. She notes that throughout the history of mankind there have been three types of empire: empires of property where power was retained through ownership of land and its redistribution; trading empires whose main expansionist project was the search for new trade routes and places; empires of capital based on the nation state. Empire-ness in this context is understood as something that characterizes the empire making this state possible. And in the case of the third type of empire, it is based on three aspects: 1) direct power is dependent on the market for economic agents; 2) the separation of economics and politics makes possible a manifold increase in the power of capital; 3) the difference between the capitalist “centre” and “periphery”, “core” and “edge”, “the internal” and “the external” is formed by economic levers. Global forms of empires can also be attributed to the third type — the empire of capital [Wood, 2003].

2.3. Definition of the concept of empire-ness

German-speaking authors work with the concept of empire-ness in more detail. The most famous political scientist is Herfried Münkler [Münkler, 2005]. He uses the concept of empire-ness (German Imperialität) in relation to the empire in the same sense as statehood — to the state. Thus, empire-ness acts as a certain set of properties and characteristics that form an empire, although empire-ness itself does not replace statehood, but is built on top of it. This set includes functions of boundaries where the degree of influence

of the centre on the periphery is taken into account; distribution of rights characterized by heterogeneity in favour of the centre; more often random circumstances of occurrence; extension in time and space, and in relation to space we are also talking about the sphere of influence; impossibility of observing neutrality in political terms; special logic of empires, allowing interference in the affairs of nearby satellite states. According to Münkler, these properties of empires are characteristic not only of classical empires of the past, but also of modern globalized forms.

Rainer Rilling, a political sociology professor, has offered the most detailed analysis of empire-ness for modern forms of empire, or, as he describes them, imperial projects [Rilling, 2008]. He considers the first aspect in relation to the classical characterization of the empire through the delimitation of the centre and the periphery. The interaction between the centre and the periphery is organized hierarchically where the relationship with the centre becomes more important than the relationship between the individual parts of the periphery. Rilling notes the delimitation of the periphery: there is an internal periphery whose existence is presented as part of the civilized world in accordance with its norms and rules, and an external periphery which is understood as something excluded from civilization, from an empire. Other aspects of empire-ness are associated with the characteristics of the centre and periphery. Within the empire, an illusory social unity is formed with an actual internal diversity and heterogeneity. Empire allows one to manage this plurality, relying on state institutions and power actors, and on its intermediaries and supporters. The stability of the empire is ensured by the moral and political side of its power, when military intervention is justified by high moral potential, for example, the defense of democracy or the prevention of genocide.

Another factor of empire-ness is the scaling of power through the expansion of territories with their resources which makes it possible to build up the economic potential. This gives rise to another feature of empire-ness in the form of a desire both to expand in the spatial sense, and to deepen as a qualitative strengthening of the nature of influence. Thus, the boundaries of the empire become blurred due to the constant process of inclusion and exclusion of territories and spheres of influence. And the most significant feature of empire-ness is the desire for a world order and the ability to establish it, and today we need to talk about the desire for globalized projects and the solution of geopolitical issues. Rilling unites the presented characteristics

of empireness in the form of a model of an imperial project — the general structure of new forms of empire which is characteristic of the era of post-colonialism.

2.4. The manifestation of empireness in the politics of cultural imperialism

Empireness as an intention to dominate in different spheres and for different types of empires including new forms of empires of the postcolonial era can be traced in the politics of cultural imperialism. In our view, such a policy is the main way of exercising power in modern relations between states. Cultural imperialism has been studied by many scholars, for example, by E. Said [Said, 1993], J. Galtung [Galtung, 1971], S. P. Mains [Mains, 2009], G. Münkler [Münkler, 2005], O. Boyd-Barrett [Boyd-Barrett, 2015] and others. We, in turn, define cultural imperialism as follows: it is the subordination of the entire integrity of the cultural system and its individual components (such as geography, state cultural policy, visual epistemology, communications) to the power of the empire, and broadcasting this power on a global scale. Most often, the policy of imperialism is directed at other countries, so one state in this case tries to subjugate or exert a significant influence on another country through culture.

The concept of the relationship between empireness and cultural imperialism is based on the concept of the importance of symbolic boundaries which are described by Münkler [Münkler, 2005]. Symbolic borders play a major role in the empire's striving to strengthen its influence in the foreign policy opposition of the main and subordinate state. In such a situation, it is precisely the influence through culture that makes it possible to influence the sphere of the symbolic. In modern realities, a country with imperial intentions should occupy a leading position in all spheres of culture: not only in the level of economic development and the arms race, but also in the Nobel Prizes, the ranking of universities, the number of Oscars, the Olympic medal standings, etc. [Münkler, 2005, 54]. This also includes medical developments. That is why it becomes extremely important which country will be the first to create a vaccine against COVID-19 and offer it for use around the world. Thus, according to the author, a country in the postcolonial era which possesses empireness is in its form a state in which the features of the empire are transferred to the sphere of the symbolic, for example, the boundaries of influence; such a country has the aspiration to become an empire and builds its foreign policy based on the model of relations between the dominant Centre and the dependent Periphery.

2.4.1. Media imperialism as the leading form of cultural imperialism.

Within the framework of cultural imperialism, the focus is increasingly made on the form of media imperialism, due to the fact that the media sphere in the era of postcolonialism is becoming an important instrument of influence of one country on another or one region on another. Herbert Schiller was one of the first to study the influence of the media in the 1970s considering the United States as an example. This theme is the subject of his works, namely *Mass Communications and the American Empire*, *Manipulators of Consciousness*, as well as *'Communications and Cultural Dominance'* [Schiller, 1969; 1973; 1976].

According to Schiller, one of the important attributes of power is the flow of information that goes from the centre to the periphery, therefore, in order to achieve domination, it is necessary to seize the media, including television. At the same time, the cultural and communication sector of the world system is developing in accordance with the goals and objectives of the system of cultural imperialism. Thanks to this, cultural and information products that advertise the values of the system are distributed within the global capitalist economy with the help of transnational corporations. They are, according to Schiller, the institutional basis of media imperialism. So, the centre begins to dominate the periphery in the field of culture and information due to the transmission of its ideology through modern means of communication. In particular, the content carries the ideological features of the world economy which makes it possible to effectively advertise the values of the Centre's system. In general terms, it turns out that 'the content and style of programs (TV programmes — Yu. G.), no matter how they are adapted to local conditions, bear the ideological imprint of the main centres of the world capitalist economy' [Schiller, 1976, 10].

O. Boyd-Barrett continues to study the topic of media imperialism on the example of the United States in the 21st century. In his opinion, with the help of the media, one can not only implement and promote the processes of imperialism, but also transform and even weaken it. In the relationship between the media and the empire, the opposite direction of influence is also possible when the empire begins to model the media themselves [Boyd-Barrett, 2015, 14].

Media imperialism also reveals itself in the framework of diplomatic processes since the sphere of media allows you to broadcast outside a favourable image of the country and in this way to influence decision-making in foreign

policy issues. This mechanism of influence, regardless of the media, is called soft policy. American political scientist Joseph Nye defines this type of policy as follows: 'What is soft policy? It is the ability to get what you want through attraction, not coercion or payments. This stems from the attractiveness of the country's culture, political ideals and politics. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft policy is strengthened' [Nye, 2004, X]. Soft policy in this sense does not always pursue the goal of domination in the media sphere, as in the case of media imperialism, and is a broader concept. Nevertheless, since media imperialism presupposes the influence of the centre on the periphery through the broadcasting of information approved by the centre designed to form a favourable image of the centre, then we can talk about the policy of soft policy in relation to new forms of empire.

3. Specific examples of the manifestation of empire-ness in the forms of media imperialism via the examples of the United States, Japan and Russia

In this section, we will dwell in more detail on specific examples of the manifestation of empire-ness that we find in the forms of media imperialism in relation to the countries such as the United States, Japan and Russia.

3.1. The manifestation of empire-ness via the example of the United States

The USA is one of the modern carriers of empire-ness. A number of researchers in the analysis of American policy of cultural imperialism focus on communication imperialism as its form, and they include J. Galtung [Galtung, 1971], P. Golding and P. Harris [Golding, Harris, 1997], D. Y. Jin [Jin, 2007], G. Schiller [Schiller, 1969, 1973, 1976]. According to Galtung's definition, one of the directions of communication imperialism is domination in the world communication networks and transportation of objects and ideas [Galtung, 1971, 92]. Since the end of the 20th century, communication imperialism has been implemented to a large extent in the field of media; therefore, it is also called media imperialism.

According to Shestakov [2012] and other researchers, the main distinctive feature of American communication imperialism is total control of the industry of production and distribution of information. The United States carries out cultural expansion controlling the production and distribution of a mass cultural product and norms on a global scale, and therefore with the help of mass art and technical means of its dissemination. The Korean scientist D. Y. Jin identifies the following instruments of expansion. Firstly, these are transnational

corporations for the production, selection and distribution of news and series (fiction, documentary cartoon, popular science, etc.), as well as other television content. Secondly, these are corporations for the production of feature films and, thirdly, it is the industry for the production of gadgets and software for them. In addition, Jin identifies several periods in the development of US communication imperialism. At the first stage, the Americans independently produced a cultural product which then spread throughout the world; at the second stage, they were engaged in the dissemination of technical means for creating and broadcasting content, and at the third stage, they moved on to investing in the development of national telecommunication systems based on American programs and technologies. Let's consider these stages in more detail.

If at the first stage there was a one-way international flow of American-made films from the United States to the rest of the world, then at the second stage the United States were engaged in the dissemination of technical means of creating and broadcasting content gradually moving to investing in the development of national telecommunication systems based on American programs and technologies [Jin, 2007]... Media imperialism in this case is a conscious and organized effort by Western, especially American, communications conglomerates, which are necessary to maintain commercial, political and military superiority.

Jin examines the development of US communication imperialism using the example of South Korea. His research convincingly shows how South Korea, a periphery of US media content in the late 1950s, has levelled the flow of imports and exports of television programming since the mid-1990s. Due to the economic crisis, South Korea gradually reduced purchases of foreign content, foreign audio and visual products, and began to increase the production and export of Korean products. To do this, Korea had to develop its own programmes. There was an increase in the number of Korean programme producers and a decrease in the Western content. This has led to the strengthening and active development of local Korean media industries and to an increase in the export of Korean cultural products around the world, especially to China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Japan and Hong Kong. Thus, since 2002, TV program exports have exceeded imports for the first time [Jin, 2007]. Thus, the relations between the United States (Centre) and South Korea (Periphery), which were at the first stage, gradually began to move to the second, because South Korea no longer had a need for US media content due to import substitution in the media environment.

In the second phase, the United States was also involved in the distribution of technical means of creating and broadcasting the content; transnational companies began to actively appear and develop, and they spread their cultural influence throughout the world as transnational media giants. Boyd-Barrett notes that the dominant position in the international film industry is occupied by Hollywood distribution studios and transnational conglomerates, for example, 21st Century Fox, Paramount, Sony Pictures, Walt Disney, Warner Bros [Boyd-Barrett, 2015, 121], and namely they own 40 % of the revenues from world film production and distribution.

At the third stage, relations between the United States and other countries moved to investing in the development of national telecommunication systems based on American programmes and technologies. American media giants use local cultural resources to promote their products because people prefer to watch programmes in their own languages, so global media enterprises have to adapt to local cultures and connect with local partners to support their expansion [Jin, 2007, 763].

Thus, US dominance is growing rapidly in the form of investment and the flow of cultural products. It can be concluded that, as a result of such a communication-imperialist policy, national telecommunications fall into a triple dependence: on American funding, on the supply of American software and equipment, and on the American content and American licenses for the production of the national content.

3.2. The manifestation of empireanness in Japan

Next, we will consider various forms of manifestation of empireanness via the example of Japan and focus more on media imperialism and its manifestations in soft policy.

Japanese media imperialism is closely connected with the economic crisis of the 1990s and 2000s, when the classical system of Japan production began to fail and Japanese mass culture came to the fore and became an important segment of economic exports. In connection with the spread of the Internet, there is a growing interest in the novelties of Japanese animation, cinema, manga comics and video games among foreign fans. The producers and leaders of the country note the high export potential of such products. And if Japanese cinema gained worldwide recognition back in the 1950s, during its 'golden age', Japanese animation, primarily in the form of cartoons by the Dzubli studio, became an international discovery in the early 2000s [Katasonova, 2012, 311–336]. Against the background of these natural pro-

cesses, Japanese governments decided to increase their influence in the world through soft policy developing the Cool Japan concept and opening in 2013 a public-private fund of the same name the purpose of which is to promote Japanese media content, fashion and cuisine (www.cj-fund.co.jp).

In general, the Japanese Foreign Ministry has been pursuing a policy of soft policy for quite a long time working in different directions. According to the Russian Japanese scholar A. E. Kulanov, *the exchange of people and programs of educational and sports exchanges, exchanges in the fields of culture, art, science and Japanese studies abroad* are considered to be the most effective direction. Among other things, it is worth noting not only exchanges of outstanding personalities, but also various youth exchange programmes implemented by various foundations (Japan Foundation, Japan-Russia Centre for Youth Exchanges) [Kulanov, 2007]. And if in the 1970–1980s more emphasis was placed on exchanges in the field of traditional arts, then now the promotion of mass culture is also underway [Katasonova, 2012, 313–317; MacGray, 2002]. The second area is public relations which includes special programmes to develop understanding and promotion of the image of Japan and the foreign press about Japan. This programme also includes the activities of various centres that promote the study of the Japanese language and culture abroad. The most significant news and educational Internet resources about Japan for Russia are the website of the Japanese Embassy in Russia (<https://www.ru.emb-japan.go.jp>), the Web-Japan portal (<https://web-japan.org>), the Japan Foundation website (<https://jpfmw.ru/>), the Nippon.com news portal (<https://www.nippon.com/ru/>), and others.

The key agent of soft policy, according to S. V. Chugrov, is the Japan Foundation government organization [Chugrov, 2015, 62]. The Foundation was founded in 1972 as an independent administrative organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan; since October 1, 2003, the Foundation has been a legally independent organization. Its main activities are the promotion of cultural exchange, the Japanese language and scientific research about Japan abroad, as well as assisting in the collection and provision of information on international exchange. Among other things, it assists in the organization of Japanese film festivals in different countries.

In general, we observe a fairly clear orientation of Japan's soft policy towards media imperialism in the form of the spread of Japanese mass culture and a favourable image of the country through the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japan Fund and the Cool Japan fund.

3.3. *The manifestation of empire-ness via the example of Russia*

As a final example, let us consider the forms of manifestation of empire-ness in Russia, also referring to media imperialism and its manifestations in soft policy. Media imperialism in Russia is still gaining momentum, and to a greater extent it is represented in the field of cinema and animation. Initially, individual film companies promoted only a few films to achieve greater commercial success, and in recent years, thanks to international film festivals and the work of producers, Russian films and cartoons have begun to gain popularity. Examples of this are *Burnt by the Sun* (1994, directed by N. Mikhalkov), *Russian Ark* (2001, directed by A. Sokurov), *Return* (2003, directed by A. P. Zvyagintsev), *Stalingrad* (2013, directed by F. Bondarchuk). Domestic cartoons are also popular, among other things “*Cheburashka*” (1971, directed by R. A. Kochanov), as well as the animated series “*Masha and the Bear*” (2007, directed by O. G. Kuzovkov, etc.) [Those who have conquered the world, 2018].

We also find some manifestation of media imperialism in the implementation of soft policy. In general, the policy of soft power in Russia, according to R. S. Mukhametov, is more focused on the export of education, as well as strengthening the position of the Russian language and popularizing Russian culture since these directions contribute to the creation of a positive image of Russia in the world [Mukhametov, 2010, 197]. Examples of this are the work of foreign branches of Russian universities, many of which are represented in the CIS countries, grants and scholarships for foreign students in Russia, as well as the system of Russian-national (Slavic) universities and state funds: International Humanitarian Cooperation (Rossotrudnichestvo) and the Russian World. And it is the last two organizations that use the tools of media imperialism to popularize Russian culture.

Rossotrudnichestvo traces its history back to the beginning of the 20th century when it was known as the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad. In its current form, the organization appeared by decree of the President of the Russian Federation in 2008 [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated 06.09.2008 No. 1315]. Representative offices of Rossotrudnichestvo operate in 81 countries including 74 Russian centres of science and culture and 24 representatives of the Agency as part of embassies. One of the activities of this organization is assistance in holding various cultural events, for example, exhibitions from the collection of the State Hermitage and the Russian Museum, organizing the Days of Russia, etc. (see: <http://rs.gov.ru>).

The Russkiy Mir Foundation was established by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation in 2007 [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 21, 2007 No. 796]. The main activities of the foundation are related to supporting the Russian language abroad which is facilitated by the work of Russian centres around the world. The Foundation also supports the Russian-language media, organizes contests that popularize journalistic activities sanctifying the features of the manifestation of Russian culture in the world, for example, the Correspondent of the Russian World television competition, the Co-Creation international competition for young journalists (see: russkiymir.ru).

In general, we can record a certain reorientation of Russia's soft policy towards the media in the form of promoting Russian modern cinematography and animation abroad, as well as the formation of a positive image of the country in the media through the activities of Rossotrudnichestvo and the Russkiy Mir Foundation.

4. Results and discussion

In general, within the framework of this study, we have carried out a thorough theoretical development of the concept of empireanness in relation to the era of postcolonialism based on the scientific works of S. Slemon, E. Bikkum, M. Beissinger, E. M. Wood, G. Münkler and R. Rilling and thus obtained a working toolkit for identifying the degree of imperial intention of a country. In general, we can characterize empireanness as a variable set of qualities or properties that characterize a state that claims to dominate in a globalized world which include: delimitation of the centre and the periphery; semi-permeability of borders and uneven distribution of rights in favour of the centre; the illusory nature of social unity with the actual internal heterogeneity of society; the presence of political control and the moral and political aspect of power; extension in time and space intensified by the desire to expand; the impossibility of maintaining neutrality in relations with other countries expressed in the form of logic justifying the legitimacy of intervention in the affairs of states based on moral justification.

Next, we traced the modern manifestations of empireanness in the form of the policy of cultural imperialism whose leading form at the moment is media imperialism. We relied on the research by G. Münkler, G. Schiller and O. Boyd-Barrett. We characterized cultural imperialism as a mechanism that is the subordination of the entire integrity of the cultural system and its individ-

ual components to the power of the empire and the transmission of this power on a global scale. In view of the fact that the field of media is gaining more and more importance in the era of postcolonialism, it is precisely such a form of cultural imperialism as media imperialism that is becoming the leading instrument of influence within the framework of imperial intention.

In addition, in the course of the study, we have examined specific examples of empireanness in the form of media imperialism for countries such as the United States, Japan and Russia. With regard to the United States, we have found that media imperialism was initially defined there as communication imperialism and developed in three stages: starting from the simple export of cinematographic products, then the export of technical means for creating and broadcasting content, and then to investments in the development of national telecommunication systems based on American development. With regard to Japan, media imperialism finds its manifestation to a greater extent in the policy of soft power aimed at exporting various directions of Japanese mass culture, as well as promoting a favourable image of the country. As for the last example, here we noted the emergence of media imperialism in the form of the gradual advancement of Russian modern cinema and animation abroad, and the growing desire to create a positive image of the country in the world.

5. Conclusion

The work that we have done in the framework of this study made it possible to outline a general theoretical methodology for working with the concept of empireanness in relation to the era of postcolonialism, and also to consider its manifestations in the form of cultural imperialism, the leading form of which is media imperialism. In general, we were also able to outline the forms of manifestation of empireanness in the politics of countries such as the United States, Japan and Russia noting the leading role of the media in the form of media and mass culture.

The research results can be used to clarify the policy of soft power and diplomatic strategies not only for the United States, Japan and Russia, but also for conducting research on the nature and characteristics of the imperial influence of certain countries through mass culture and the media.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Russia — Post-Soviet Central Asia Cooperation in Information and Media

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Abstract. The authors discuss the cooperation between Russia and each of the post-Soviet Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan) in information and media. The regulatory frameworks for bilateral cooperation are studied, and their practical implementation is also reviewed. The analysis is based on the study of the documents and events of the last decade.

Keywords: Russia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, people-to-people exchanges, information, media

1. Introduction

The cooperation between Russia and the countries of Central Asia (the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) at present stage is an example of intensive partnership and friendly ties in the post-Soviet space [Lavrov, 2017; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2019]. In this partnership, the examples of cooperation in military, political and economic areas are well-researched in academic community. At the same time, the development of what is usually addressed in post-Soviet research as humanitarian cooperation, namely the relations in the areas of culture, education, tourism, sport, information and media, and youth policy, has been less studied so far. Meanwhile, humanitarian cooperation has already become one of the key components of inter-state relations, as a means of people-to-people exchanges.

We analyze the way the humanitarian cooperation between Russia and post-Soviet Central Asian countries is carried out in such area as informa-

tion and media, which includes broadcasting, contacts of the national media communities, joint projects and special events [CIS, 2005].

2. Researched material

We consequently study the regulatory framework, which has been created for the cooperation between Russia and its Central-Asian partners on the bilateral basis, and the practical steps in cooperation, which have been made in bilateral ties so far. Information and media, as a crucially important area of social and political life, can be regarded as a channel of intercultural dialogue and a strategic component of national information security. The development of international cooperation in information and media can be considered an indicator of maturity and mutual trust in interstate relations.

The analysis of information and media cooperation between Russia and post-Soviet Central Asia is a curious topic of a high academic interest, due to a wide range of contradictory factors, which specifically shape its development in modern conditions. Information space in the countries of Central Asia has some special common characteristics: on the one hand, it is strictly controlled by the states, with the ideological use of mass media by the governments, as well as with the wide distribution of national information products, aimed at strengthening national identity [Rollberg and Laruelle, 2015; Junisbai et al., 2015; Anceschi, 2015; Shafiev and Miles, 2015; Rollberg, 2015]. On the other hand, this control cannot exclude the advance of foreign players in Central Asian media space, and cannot weaken the interest of the consumers of information towards the external sources [Rollberg and Laruelle, 2015; 9–10]. Besides, researchers note that the media markets of Central Asia have not expanded enough to have large independent media production [Rollberg, 2015]. For example, entertainment programs from Russia often attract large audience, and few local news programs, concerts and TV series compete with the popularity of Russian products [Laruelle, 2015].

Another factor is the dissemination of the Russian language in Central Asia. In three out of five Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan), the Russian language has an official status of the second used language in the country (in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan — official, in Tajikistan — the language of international communication), while in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan it has no special status by law. Moreover, according to some estimations, the percentage of local citizens who do not speak Russian, has reached 50 % in each of post-Soviet Central Asian countries [Bekmurzaev,

2019]. Therefore, the positive factors for developing humanitarian cooperation here are adjacent to the negative ones.

Yet there is one more factor that potentially promotes media contacts as much as the Russian language dissemination, — the Russian expatriate communities. In Kazakhstan, the number of Russian community reaches 3.5 million people, in Uzbekistan — 650 thousand, in Kyrgyzstan — 364.5 thousand, in Tajikistan — 34.8 thousand. Absolute data for Turkmenistan are unavailable in open statistics and scientific literature, but there is evidence of small Russian communities still living there [Sukharevskaya, 2019].

Thus, the conditions in which Russia — Central Asia media cooperation is carried out, are rather special, and the more interesting the research of their organisation appears to be.

3. Research methodology

The research methodology we use is a combination of two methodological approaches. The first one is the discourse analysis, applied with the purpose to study and compare the texts of the bilateral diplomatic documents. The second one is the institutional approach that includes outlining the participants and the arrangements of bilateral cooperation between Russia and each of the Central Asian countries.

4. Research description

We have studied information and media cooperation between Russia and each of the Central Asian countries — Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan. The sources used include the diplomatic documents, which regulate the bilateral cooperation, the press-releases and the reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the media newsletters.

5. Research results

5.1. Russia and Kazakhstan

Information and media cooperation between Russia and Kazakhstan is carried out within the framework of the following documents: the Agreement on the cooperation in the areas of culture, science and education, 1994 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1994], the Agreement on the procedure and the conditions of distribution of the programs of the Russian television and radio broadcasting organizations in Kazakhstan, and

the programs of the Kazakh television and radio broadcasting organization in Russia, 1996 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1996], the Agreement on the cooperation in the area of information, 1998 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1998] and the Agreement on the status of mass media reporters from Russia in Kazakhstan and vice versa, 2000 [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2000]. All these documents are rather detailed, and the rights and obligations of the parties are mutual and symmetrical. The countries committed themselves to developing the cooperation in the exchange of information between agencies and editors of their mass media, the mutual distribution of their mass media products, the contacts of information agencies and other organizations operating in the field of information, the mutual assistance to TV and radio broadcasting and to accredited mass media representatives, the training of experts in media, and the exchange of statistics and experience in the sphere of legal regulation of mass media.

Concerning radio broadcasting, we can witness that in 2017, the following Russian stations were broadcast in Kazakhstan: “Avtoradio”, “Russkoye radio”, “Retro FM”, “Love Radio”, “Europe plus”, “Dorozhnoye radio” [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2018, 37–38]. In 2018, “Avtoradio” was removed, while “Hit FM” and “Radio Dacha” were added [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2019, 43–44]. Russian TV channels in Kazakhstan are available on cable and satellite TV. During the last decade, there had been difficulties from time to time with their broadcasting, but everything was settled by means of negotiations. In 2012, the press-service of the cable TV operator “Alma TV” announced that the company had stopped broadcasting Russian channels “RTR Planet”, “Russia 24” and “Russia-Culture” because of the impossibility to find compromise on the cooperation conditions [Vesti, 2012], but later the issue was settled, and the broadcasting continued. In 2017, a similar situation happened when the operators “Kazakhtelecom” and “Alma TV” announced a suspension of broadcasting of four Russian channels — “NTV–Mir”, “RTR-Planet”, “Russia-24” and “Russia-Culture” due to the reason of a requirement from the right holder to increase the payment for broadcasting, but later this issue was settled, too [Forbes, 2017]. Kazakh channel “KazakhTV” started broadcasting in Russia in 2019 [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 60].

People-to-people exchanges in Russia-Kazakhstan media cooperation are also vibrant. In 2014, the Deputy Minister of communications and mass

media of Russia and Vice Minister on investments and development of Kazakhstan met in Moscow and discussed in detail the cooperation in media. They agreed to maintain regular contacts in order to discuss the development of media markets of the two countries, as well as the development of media literacy. Russia agreed to share its practice in this area with Kazakhstan [Ministry of Digital Development, 2014].

In 2015, a delegation from Russia participated in the conference “Legal regulation of limits of freedom of speech” in Astana [Commonwealth of Eurasian nations, 2015]. In 2016, the Minister of communication and mass media of the Russian Federation and the Minister of information and communications of the Republic of Kazakhstan held a meeting in order to discuss the enlargement of cooperation in information, including combating the use of Internet by criminals (especially in social networks), as well as the changes in legislation of the countries, regulating the issues of information. At the same time, the representatives of Kazakhstan denied Russia’s idea of the withdrawal of limits for the TV channels of both countries on their work at the advertising market and on the limits of foreign ownership. Later in 2016, the Russian Ministry of communication and mass media held a video conference for the representatives of Russian TV companies and Kazakh TV operators. As a result, the parties agreed to remove advertising from Russian TV content and increase its price by one third [Ministry of Digital Development, 2018]. In 2018, Kazakh developers of software for mobile phones were granted a right to use the standard for mobile applications developed by the “Russian system of quality” (Roskachestvo) [Russian periodical press, 2019, 100].

In 2016 [Ural-Eurasia, 2016] and 2018 [Ural-Eurasia, 2018] Kazakh journalists participated in educational training in Yekaterinburg, and in 2019 in Moscow [Sputnik News, 2019]. In 2018, Russia and Kazakhstan jointly organized a summer training for reporters in Astana (journalists from Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan took part in it) [Ural-Eurasia, 2018]; in 2018, representatives of Kazakhstan participated in the conference “Radio in global media competition” held by the Russian Academy of Radio in Moscow [Federal Agency for Press, 2019, 5]. In 2019, a large press-tour was organized for Kazakh reporters in Moscow [Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Russian Federation, 2019]. Moreover, in 2019, Kazakhstan was one of the hosts of the “Digital dictation”, launched by Russia. The event was organized in Belarus as well. The dictation was held in specially selected

centers, accessible for everyone, and included questions on digital literacy. The aim of this event was to increase the public digital literacy [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 22].

5.2. Russia and Kyrgyzstan

Russian-Kyrgyz ties in information and media are regulated by the following set of documents: the Agreement on the humanitarian cooperation, 2012 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 2012], the Agreement on the status of mass media reporters, 1995 [Russian Embassy in Kyrgyzstan, 1995], the Agreement on the procedure and the conditions of distribution of the programs of the Russian television and radio broadcasting organizations in Kyrgyzstan, 1996 [Conventions.ru, 1996] and the Agreement on the cooperation in the area of information, 2000 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1999]. Notably, the composition and the contents of the documents are almost similar to those between Russia and Kazakhstan, except for one difference: while Russian-Kazakh document on broadcasting has mutual force, Russian-Kyrgyz agreement concerns only the distribution of Russian programs in Kyrgyzstan. Perhaps, this can be explained by the difference in geographical position: Russia and Kazakhstan are the nearest neighbors with the longest border, providing better conditions for technical interaction.

In broadcasting, the following Russian stations were broadcast in Kyrgyzstan in 2017 — “Avtoradio”, “Retro FM”, “Mir”, “Europe plus”, “Dorozhnoye radio”, “Hit FM”, “Radio Record” and “Sputnik” [Radio-broadcasting in Russia, 2018, 37–38]. In 2018, “Hit FM” was removed [Radio broadcasting in Russia, 2019, 43–44], but in 2019 it was returned. At the same time, “Dorozhnoye radio” was removed in 2019 [Radio in Russia, 2019, 51]. The social digital TV multiplex in Kyrgyzstan includes the following Russian channels: “First channel. World network” and “RTR Planet” [Ministry of Digital Development, 2019]. Other channels are available on the platforms of cable and satellite TV. According to the data of the Ministry of culture of Kyrgyzstan, Russian TV channels have high ratings, therefore their broadcasting is regularly prolonged despite the fact that there are opponents to this prolongation, considering it a strong competition to Kyrgyz media production [Krasnaya vesna, 2020; Russian newspaper, 2015].

The level of people-to-people contacts in Russian-Kyrgyz cooperation is also quite high at the present stage. In 2014, in Bishkek the experts from Moscow State Linguistic University held a training “Russian-speaking journalism: current state and development trends” for more than 50 Kyrgyz participants

from the country's leading media — newspapers “Vecheryi Bichkek”, “Argumenty i Fakty — Kyrgyzstan”, “Chuiskie Izvestia”, information agencies “24, kg”, “Vesti.kg”, “Russia in Kyrgyzstan”, the journal “Delovoi sobesednik” and TV channel “5th channel”. The issues discussed included the specific features of content in quality journalism, the ways and the forms of news presentation in printed and electronic mass media [Soloviev, 2016].

In 2015, the Deputy Minister of communication and mass media of the Russian Federation and the Minister of culture, information and tourism of the Kyrgyz Republic agreed on the exchange of experience in the area of creating digital TV infrastructure [Ministry of Digital Development, 2015]. In 2016 the Deputy Minister of communication and mass media of RF and Chairman of Government Committee of informational technologies and communication of KR agreed on widening cooperation between mail agencies and operators of the two countries [Ministry of Digital Development, 2018]. In 2018, Kyrgyz developers of software for mobile phones were granted a right to use the standard for mobile applications, developed by the “Russian system of quality” (Roskachestvo) [Russian periodical press, 2019, 100]. In 2016 [Ural-Eurasia, 2016] and 2018 [Ural-Eurasia, 2018] Kyrgyz journalists attended the educational trainings for reporters in Yekaterinburg and the Russian-Kazakh training school in Astana [Ural-Eurasia, 2018], in 2019 the training in Moscow [Sputnik News, 2019]. In 2018 the representatives from Kyrgyzstan participated in the conference “Radio in global media competition” held by the Russian Academy of Radio in Moscow [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2019, 5].

5.3. Russia and Tajikistan

The ties between Russia and Tajikistan in information and media are regulated by the following set of documents: the Agreement on the cooperation in the areas of culture, science and education, 1995 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1995], the Agreement on the cooperation in the area of information, 2004 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 2004], the Agreement on the status of mass media reporters, 2001 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 2001] and the Agreement on the procedure and conditions of distribution of the programs of the Russian television and radio broadcasting organizations in the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan, 1999 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1999]. The types and the contents of these agreements are similar to those between Russia and Kyrgyzstan.

According to the data of Russian Federal Agency on press and mass communications, in 2017 only one Russian radio station was broadcast in Tajikistan — “Love Radio” [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2018, 37]. In 2019 “Novoye radio” was added to it. But the number of broadcasting points is very low — one for each, i.e. the coverage area of both stations is minimal [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 50]. Russian TV channels in Tajikistan are available on cable and satellite TV. In Russia, it was reported that Tajik TV channel “Jahonnamo” [Commonwealth of Eurasian nations, 2017] is available in Russia via cable and satellite systems, meanwhile migrants from Tajikistan, living in Russia and interviewed by K. Muratshina, noted that they watch Tajik TV on Internet.

The results of an opinion survey by Tajik agency “Media consulting” on the topic “Media preferences of citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan: TV, radio, press, web-sites, social networks and messengers” conducted in 2019, suggest that Russian TV channels are the most popular in Tajikistan among foreign TV channels, and the TV channel “Russia” is ranked as the most viewed. In addition, such Russian channels as “NTV”, “ORT”, “RTR-Planet”, “TNT”, “Zvezda”, were also noted by the respondents [Zerkalo, 2020].

The contacts of Russian and Tajik media communities, people-to-people exchanges have also occurred in the recent decade. In 2016 [Ural-Eurasia, 2016] and 2018 [Ural-Eurasia, 2018] Tajik journalists participated in educational training for reporters in Yekaterinburg, in 2019 — in Moscow [Sputnik News, 2019]. In addition, in 2018 Tajik representatives took part in the conference “Radio in global media competition” held by the Russian Academy of Radio in Moscow as well as in the international Forum of Russian-language broadcasters “Russian-language broadcasting in the conditions of global increase of the role of information” [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2019, 5]. Similarly, Tajikistan was represented at this Forum in 2019. [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 5].

5.4. Russia and Uzbekistan

Information and media ties between Russia and Uzbekistan are carried out within the framework of the bilateral documents: the Agreement on the cooperation in the areas of culture, science and technology, education, healthcare, information, sport and tourism, 1993 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1993], the Agreement on the status of mass media reporters, 1998 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1998], and the Agreement on the cooperation in the area of information,

1999 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1999]. These documents are almost similar to Russia's documents with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, however, Russia and Uzbekistan do not have a document on the broadcasting of TV and radio stations. As a result, according to the 2019 data, no Russian radio stations were broadcast in Uzbekistan [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 50–51]. Russian TV channels are available in Uzbekistan via cable and satellite TV, and they have always been extremely popular [Koshkin, 2003], but several conflicts occurred throughout the last decade. In 2010, “Kamalak” — one of the large Uzbek cable operators broadcasting Russian channels — terminated its activity. Moreover, Russian channels “TNT” and “DTV” were excluded from Uzbek cable TV network. This resulted in huge demand for satellite aeriels in Uzbekistan [Fergana, 2011]. In 2011, a group of Uzbek experts in culture and art published an open letter addressed to the management of TV channel “Russia” and condemned the documentary “Without Russia”, that had been dedicated to the violation of human rights of Russian expatriates in Central Asia. In 2013, Uzbek company “UzDigital-TV” terminated broadcasting of Russian TV channel “Domashnyi”, and earlier Uzbek side had also stopped the broadcasting of Russian channels “TVC”, “Ren-TV” and others. The reason was the discontent of the Uzbek side, as it was declared that the content of those channels did not match Uzbek traditional vision of morality [Fergana, 2013]. At present, Russian TV channels are available in Uzbekistan only via satellite TV. As for the reception of Uzbek TV channels in Russia, Uzbek migrants told K. Muratshina that they watch Uzbek TV in the Internet, as the quality of its reception via satellite TV is poor.

As for the contacts of professional communities, there are regular meetings of Russian and Uzbek ministerial representatives, with the purpose of exchange of experience [Ministry of Digital Development, 2018; Ministry of Digital Development, 2019]. In 2018, Uzbek journalists participated in educational training in Yekaterinburg [Ural-Eurasia, 2018], in Russian-Kazakh training for reporters in Astana [Ural-Eurasia, 2018], in the conference “Radio in global media competition” in Moscow, and in the international Forum of Russian-language broadcasters [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2019, 5]. The first Russian and Uzbek Media Forum was held in 2018, it was organized by the National TV and Radio Company of Uzbekistan and the Ministry of digital development, communication and mass media of the Russian Federation. Issues important for Russian, Uzbek and international

mass media were discussed at the forum, and it was beneficial for direct contacts between representatives of the professional communities of both countries [Sputnik Tajikistan, 2018]. In 2019, representatives of Uzbekistan participated again in Moscow International Forum of Russian-language broadcasters [Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, 2020, 5].

5.5. Russia and Turkmenistan

The cooperation of Russia and Turkmenistan in the area of information is minimal due to the specific political course of the Central Asian country, that from the moment of announcement of its continuous neutrality in 1995 [Electronic fund of legal and technical documentation, 1995] follows the way of formation of a closed society. There are no specialized agreements on cooperation in the area of information between these two countries, except for the Agreement on the status of mass media reporters, 1995 [Conventions.ru, 1995].

Russian TV channels (especially “Pervyi” channel, Russia, as well as entertainment channels, for example: “TNT”, “STS”, etc.) are available for Turkmen citizens on satellite TV and are quite popular among those who can afford buying an aerial [CABAR.asia, 2019].

Although the Treaty between Russia and Turkmenistan on strategic partnership, signed in 2017, binds the countries, inter alia, “to support the development of cooperation between informational services (agencies)” and “to assist to the training courses for the staff engaged of the mass media” [Electronic fund for legal and technical documentation, 2017], regular direct contacts of Russian and Turkmen media communities have not been formed, due to Turkmenistan’s policy of maximum closure of its social life and information space from the rest of the world.

6. Conclusion

The results of the analysis of Russia’s bilateral cooperation in information and media with the post-soviet Central Asian countries have brought the research to the following conclusions.

Each of the Central Asian countries, except for Turkmenistan, has specialized agreements with Russia on cooperation in information and media, which are usually standard for the partner countries in terms of the set of mutual obligations. The agreements are directed at the simplification and the clear regulation of the cooperation, ensuring the work of mass media agencies and reporters on a mutual basis, the accessibility of TV channels

broadcasting, and the contacts of professional media communities. Talking about the institutional structure of cooperation, we can indicate that it usually includes the ministerial level, the allowance of TV and radio broadcasting, and the contacts of non-governmental organizations, namely the professional communities.

Practical implementation of agreements is also of a similar nature. The state parties organize regular communication between their specialized ministries with the purpose of exchange of experience and planning the cooperation, hold meetings, participate in joint education projects and forums. Certainly, in order to continue these ties, both the resolution of the governments and the development of the direct contacts network are vitally needed.

The most intensive practical contacts in information and media are those of Russia with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Remarkably, the role of the official status of Russian language in these countries is a meaningful factor of the coverage of the continuous communication and exchanges. Paradoxically, in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, where Russian language has no special status, the institutional structure of exchanges is incomplete, but at the same time, Russian media still remain popular. This situation illustrates the constant demand among the population for the continuation and expansion of information exchanges. However, the arrangements of ties of governmental institutions and professional communities in the case of Turkmenistan are not used at all, and in the case of Uzbekistan, are used less than with the rest of Central Asia.

It seems that for Russia, a promising area of cooperation development can be new TV and radio programs or channels, focused on Central Asian audience, that would be similar to those already existing (for example, international CIS TV and radio company “Mir”, or “Sputnik” agency, that produces news and radio programs in various languages), but will also take into account the local cultural specifics and requirements to the content.

Furthermore, the results of the research indicate that the common information space of post-Soviet countries still exists, and its maintenance will be essential for the development of integration and mutual understanding between nations. However, this development requires continuous and intensive work of all the cooperation parties.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Representation of Migrants in the Public Discourse of Russia

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Abstract. Public attitudes toward immigrants in contemporary Russia are rather negative and significantly more hostile than in European countries. To trace the relationship between attitudes toward migrants and their representation in the media and political discourse I turn to the Russian mass media as one of the meaning-making factories in the society. As a database to evaluate whether there has been a change in stereotyping of migrants in the mass media over the recent decade, I utilize the newspapers sub-corpus of the Russian National Corpus. On the basis of a content-analysis of 254,000 texts from 2008 to 2014 I conclude about both official and popular dissociations of migrants with the idea of ‘ethnic criminality’ in the period after 2010. On the popular level, the association between ethnicity and criminality has declined, even though references to ethnic groups and migrants increased over the same period of time.

Keywords: migrants, public discourse, ethnic stereotypes, ethnic crime, Russia

Introduction

Previous research has shown that public attitudes toward immigrants in contemporary Russia are rather negative and significantly more hostile than in European countries [Gudkov, 2006; Pain, 2007; Malinkin, 2013; Iakimova & Menshikov, 2019]. Scholars identify the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes among Russians on the level of more than 60 % and characterize it as a quite stable across all social strata over the recent decade [Laruelle, 2009; Gorodzeisky, Glikman & Maskileyson, 2015].

The prevalence of negative sentiment toward migrants and ethnic stereotypes is also evidenced by national opinion polls, which recorded a very high level of xenophobia amidst the population. In August 2020, for instance, 73 percent of Russian survey participants stated that the influx of labour migrants into the country should be limited [Levada-Center, 2020]. Respondents

regularly report that members of other nationalities bring with them more problems than solutions for the country. Official state data showing that migrants are no more likely to commit crimes than the supposedly 'native' population flatly contradicts this assumed connection [Dmitrieva, 2013]. Nevertheless, migrantophobia is widespread among even liberally-inclined Russians, as well as strong among more conservative circles. It is exactly the ability to unite such an impressive scope of public opinion that explains rallies against migrants in more liberal Russian cities (like Ekaterinburg and St. Petersburg) at the same time as pseudo-pogroms in the Moscow suburb of Biryulevo-West and Arzamas. Emil' Pain called this 'negative consolidation' the only unifying basis for Russian society in its current condition [cited by RBC.ru, 2013].

Similarly, Kozhevnikova [2008] highlighted the utility of anti-migrant rhetoric to electoral campaigns in Russia, providing a resource with which politicians mobilized their electorates. The political practice of recent years shows that ethnicity became one of the most overt ways of mobilizing the electorate, so everyday problems often acquired the semblance of inter-ethnic clashes. The conflicts of Russians with external migrants, as well as internal (from the North Caucasus) are associated in many cases with the unresolved problems of crime, shadow employment, and corruption. In order to shift public discontent onto a convenient scapegoat, the authorities often contrive to depict these conflicts as ethnic in origin. By constantly reporting data on the growth of crime connected with migrants (especially in Moscow), the authorities manipulate public opinion and incite panic in the population.

Migrants in the media and political discourse

The mass media provides an opportunity to evaluate the relationship between the representation of migrants in the media and political discourse and attitudes toward them spread amidst the population. To trace this relationship, we turn to the Russian mass media — one of the meaning-making factories in any society, although perhaps especially in contemporary Russia.

Indeed, studies of the Russian press [see, for example, Peshkova, 2004] found that, in the first decade of the new millennium, reporting often featured migrants connected to criminal activity or conflicts. By casting cultural difference as the cause of social conflict, the mass media hailed migrants into the position of threat.

This was even more stark in the work of Vesnina [2010], who investigated the use of military metaphors when referring to migrants. In the framework of this metaphor, articles referred to migrants as foreign ('insidious mountaineers'; 'Azeris'; 'Churka'; and 'cross-eyed'), as invaders ('horde'; 'legion'; and even 'army') and as coming to Russia 'to fight for a place in the Sun'. Interactions between locals and migrants were described using similar military metaphors, such as 'occupying', 'storming', 'conquering', and 'capturing'. Thus, when the lines 'some urban spaces are already captured' appears, it becomes possible for those acting against the presence of migrants to be 'liberating' an urban space or raising 'protective barriers'. Migrants become hostile enemies against whom various kinds of resistance are warranted, or even demanded. When inter-ethnic relations become viewed through the lens provided by such discourse, it is not surprising that violence is the result.

In the first decade of the 2000s, visibly different foreign labor migrants who come to Russia predominantly from Central Asia (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) were mostly represented negatively in the media. This happened not necessarily because journalists or media presenters are hostile to migrants but because (1) the specific topics of news involving migrants (mostly crime reports); (2) the language used (commonly involving derogatory comments); and finally (3) the headlines (provocative and often scary). Research on the media discourse in Russia shows that publications that mention migrants primarily deal with cases where migrants violate the law or are involved in criminal acts. Such texts depicted migrants as 'drug dealers', 'criminals', or a 'menace' even when their activity is legal [Iakimova, 2015].

Similarly, texts alluding to migrants represented them as a 'threat to national security', for example 'the number of migrants is getting larger, so that in the future they might outnumber the indigenous population', or 'migrants are culturally distant, they do not want to integrate and are poorly adapted'. Finally, the headlines of some news pieces about migrants speak for themselves: 'Drugs Were Burned', 'Contraband Came from China', 'Hashish Was Transported by Trucks', 'Poppy Seeds Were Transported in Sacks', 'Choked to Death by Duct Tape', 'We Are Already Not Numerous Enough', and so forth. These texts disseminate latent negative assessments of migrants through dichotomous oppositions; the use of stereotypical images of legal and illegal employment of migrants such as 'gastarbeiters', 'low-level workers', 'drug couriers'. Other standard phrases with negative overtones include, for example, 'illegal immigrants', 'ethnic and cultural closure', and 'cultural detachment',

as well as combinations of words that emphasize foreignness, for instance, 'native of Tajikistan' [Iakimova, 2015, 130]. Thus, the media extends negative attitudes toward migrants even without mentioning criminal activity directly.

Seemingly demonstrating awareness of the rise in xenophobic attitudes, the government has recently worked against the production of negative images. First, on the official plane, the government has worked to prevent the automatic conflation of ethnicity with criminality. As early as in December 2012, Putin claimed that he endorsed a legislative initiative proposed by the Moscow City Duma to ban the media from referring to the national origin or religious affiliation of those taken in custody, arrested or convicted. Putin argued: 'Criminals do not have nationality. <...>What difference does the ethnic group of a person who violated the law make?' He added that 'It is necessary for this legislative initiative to pass through the relevant formal procedures. I do not want to intervene, but if a final version of the law, accepted by the State Duma, reaches me, I am likely to support it' [Interfax, 2012]. While laudable in its own right, the fact that such a bill was not enthusiastically supported earlier is concerning.

A similar legislative initiative had, in fact, been first proposed by the 'United Russia' faction of the Moscow City Duma in September 2006. At the time, the legislators claimed that due to the law, 'journalists will not be involved in unintentionally constructing an enemy image of immigrants' [SOVA, 2006a]. Further, the City Duma's speaker, Vladimir Platonov, emphasized that there is not any connection between nationality and crime, claiming that references to particular ethnic groups in the media actually provokes ethnic/national hatred and hostility towards them [SOVA, 2006b]. There was thus at least tacit recognition at the administrative level that the association of minorities with criminal actions was creating a hostile environment. The lack of regime support for such an uncontroversial bill suggests that tackling xenophobia was not a prime concern for the regime, despite its very notable position in contemporary Russian life.

Further, the authorities have sometimes sought to legitimize their actions through appeal to this very criminal image. Such images were present once again in the authorities' reaction to the *Matveevskii* market affair in 2013. The open-air *Matveevskii* market in Moscow saw North Caucasian migrants beat a police officer to death when he came to arrest a Dagestani man accused of raping a 15-year old girl. The attack allegedly exposed some of the connections between organized ethnic criminal gangs and the au-

thorities, as the officer's colleagues did nothing when the merchants began their bloody assault. Just as interesting, however, was the Russian authorities' reaction to the events, namely to investigate criminal links between the police and migrant traders while simultaneously denouncing an inherent connection between migrants and crime.

To quote Putin's press secretary Dmitry Peskov 'there's only one relevant dimension here: The presence or absence of crime. If there is a crime, the ethnic identity of the perpetrator doesn't matter. It is obvious — and the President has mentioned this — that ethnic crime does not exist' [Samarina, 2013]. On the one hand Peskov's statements can be understood as tacit recognition that such talk of criminality contributes to generating ethnic violence (which is presumably why he downplays it). On the other, the active involvement of senior Russian officials in de-emphasizing the ethnic identity of criminals marks an approach which had, at least officially, become more common after 2010. Was there a corresponding decline in the popular portrayal of ethnically different migrants?

Methodology

To evaluate whether there had been a change in the association of ethnic minorities with crime in the mass media, we performed a content analysis of the Russian print media. As a database we used the newspapers sub-corpus of the *Russian National Corpus* [www.ruscorpora.ru] which is a reference system based on an electronic collection of texts in Russian. The National Corpus is created specifically for academic research and has two benefits which make it ideal for this enterprise. First, it is representative of actual newspapers in Russian society. Second, the corpus contains additional information on the properties of included texts. The newspaper sub-corpus began in the 2000s and contains 433,373 text items. It is represented by seven media resources: four print newspapers (*Izvestiya*, *Sovetskyi Sport*, *Trud*, and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*) and three electronic resources (*RIA-Novosti*, *RBK*, and *Novyi Region*). Unfortunately, at the time frame of our research, the database only possessed data up to 2014, but we judged this sufficient to evaluate the role of the media in the formation of particular stereotypes. Such a wide array of texts and resources thus constitutes a comprehensive sample of the media over this time period. The dataset for each year contained approximately the same number of text items (apart from 2014). We

examined 45,363 documents in 2008; 43, 667 in 2009; 43,947 in 2010; 39,107 in 2011; 37,172 in 2012; 34,026 in 2013; and 10,417 in 2014.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows that between 2008 and 2011 the media demonstrated a stable interest in the issue of migration, but in 2012 it began increasing rapidly and in 2013 displayed about 3 percent (1,091 text items) out of all pieces of media texts in the National Corpus (more than one and a half the corresponding figure for the preceding year). At the same time, for the naming of migrants the number of terms with a neutral connotation is higher than the number of terms which give migrants a derogatory connotation, and even more so — with a negative one (see Table 1).

Table 1

The naming of migrants in text items, 2008–2014

Year	Neutral connotation		Derogatory connotation		Negative connotation	
	Migrant (s)		Gastarbeiter (s)		Illegal (s)	
	%	N (text items)	%	N (text items)	%	N (text items)
2008	.44	196	.35	157	.14	63
2009	.56	244	.38	165	.18	78
2010	.42	182	.30	128	.23	99
2011	.51	199	.38	147	.23	88
2012	.85	316	.55	204	.29	108
2013	1.87	635	.81	273	.54	183
2014	1.34	139	.44	45	.33	34

The number of textual items related to the ethnicity of internal and foreign migrants also demonstrates an interesting pattern: if until 2009–2010 migrants from Central Asia — Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (external migrants) were mentioned more often than migrants from Caucasus (internal migrants), in 2010–2011 this trend changed as issues related to migrants from the Caucasus stepped forward in the media (see Table 2). In 2013, however, both internal (Caucasian) and external (Central Asian) migrants were approximately equally likely subjects of discussion. So, in 2013, the media covered

the Caucasians in 151 articles (three times more than in 2008); Tajiks in 140 articles (approximately two times more than in 2008); and, the Uzbeks in 111 pieces of news (also twice as many as five years before). Far from a decline in the image of the migrant in the press, then, their number increased.

Table 2

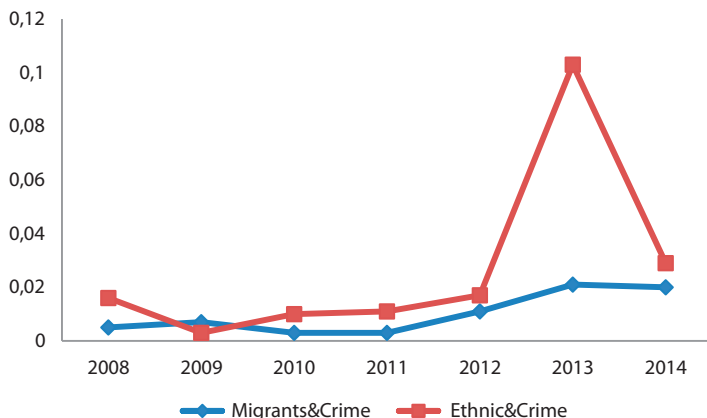
Textual references to the ethnicity of migrants, 2008–2014

Year	Internal migrants		Foreign migrants			
	Caucasians		Tajiks		Uzbeks	
	%	N (text items)	%	N (text items)	%	N (text items)
2008	.11	48	.15	65	.13	55
2009	.08	32	.14	61	.12	50
2010	.23	99	.12	51	.30	129
2011	.29	113	.22	84	.12	44
2012	.28	104	.27	99	.16	58
2013	.45	151	.42	140	.33	111
2014	.18	18	.23	24	.12	12

While the number of media articles involving discussion of ethnic migrants increased, however, there was not a corresponding increase in the number of accusations of criminal activity associated with ethnic minorities. In other words, the concentrated poison of ethnic criminality was dissolved in a larger pool of neutral references. Thus, the overall impression created by the media is one of a relative decline over time of the stereotypes purported to generate violence.

The sole spike in the data, as Table 2 demonstrates, came after 2012 and reached its peak in 2013, the year of the Mayor of Moscow election. As mentioned above, one of the salient features of the mayoral campaign was that four out of six candidates (Sobyanin, Yavlinsky, Naval'nyi, and Mel'nikov) focused on the issue of legal and illegal migration to Moscow. All included measures to combat illegal migration in their electoral programs [Moskva24, 2013]. For example, Naval'nyi who has been periodically criticized by the liberal community of Russia for making overtures to nationalism, said in one of his interviews on the sole liberal television station, *Dozhd TV*: 'We have an immense problem with migrants in Moscow and we will never solve it if we do

not establish a visa regime with countries of Central Asia and Transcaucasia' [Osharov, 2013]. Moreover, Naval'nyi stated that more than half of the crimes were committed by migrants from Central Asia and in case he would win, he would decrease the number of migrants in Moscow by 70 percent [Ibid.].



Graph 1. Textual references to “migrants & crime” and “ethnic & crime”, 2008–2014

This section has provided evidence of both official and popular disassociations with the idea of ‘ethnic criminality’ in the period after 2010. On the official level, although senior politicians have publicly rebuked connections between migrants and crime, it took until 2012 for them to do so. This was despite opportunities to dissociate migrants and crime at the height of the skinhead wave of violence. On the popular level, the association between ethnicity and criminality has also declined, even though references to ethnic groups and migrants increased over the same period. The evidence thus suggests that while state entities were working on cure, they also sought to prescribe remedies to the disease in the first place.

Conclusion

Thus, the article offers reflections on the role of the media in generating anti-migrant sentiment. Within the Russian print media, attitudes towards ethnic migrants are divided because they reflect the assessment of different aspects of the migrants’ culture. Employers mainly assess the qualities of migrants in terms of a *labor culture*, emphasizing such things as their

promptness and modest demands. Businesses are interested in financial gain, so they hire low-paid migrants and provide a liberal assessment in the migration discourse. For locals (and journalists reflecting their viewpoint), however, the *public behavior* of migrants is important. If migrants display patterns of behavior very different from those habitual in society it tends to provoke negative attitudes to migrants and a conservative contribution to the discourse. The authorities are mainly interested in maintaining stability, so they do not articulate their stand on the migration issue precisely. The net result is to produce an ambivalent attitude to ethnic migrants, but one which after 2010 downplayed the earlier purported connection between migrants and crime. This implies that while negative attitudes toward ethnic others and migrants continue, so hate crimes may reappear as a significant feature of Russian society at some point in the future.

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2.2. MODERN MEDIA EDUCATION

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Segmentation and Profiling of Media Communications: Industrial and Educational Determinants

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Abstract. The subject of this article is the explication of segmentation and profiling of media communications. The rationale is based on a combination of interdependent industrial and educational determinants. A case study method is used on the example of the best practices of National Research University Higher School of Economics, where 'Media communications' was developed. It is an innovative direction for the Russian educational space, which is currently included in the curriculum of more than ten universities of the country (not only in the federal center but in the regions as well). The research also involved a secondary analysis of statistical data. The productivity of this direction is determined both for the Russian media industry and higher education.

Keywords: media, media communications, media industry, media education

1. Introduction

Modern media communication realities cause significant adjustments to the traditional media education system. Although there is a solid understanding of media activities based on a philological, historical, sociological, philosophical, cultural, political and psychological basis, which forms a personal and professional worldview, analytical thinking, a critical (verifying) position in the perception of social reality and objectification of data, the technological dominant forces specialists to master new practices. They

need not only to receive but also to distribute content on more advanced multimedia and transmedia platforms.

If we consider the 'Journalism' program for training Bachelors and Masters, which is familiar to Russian theory and practice, then it already assumes the challenges of the time to some extent. Notably, more attention is paid to courses such as 'Internet journalism,' 'Convergent journalism,' and others. At the same time, the main emphasis is still placed on the so-called 'traditional' media (periodicals, radio, television). The two-level system of journalists training is mostly the successor of the liquidated specialty program (retaining about 70 % of the training courses or substantive content of disciplines which have changed its name).

2. Theoretical background

In the process of integrating with the international educational system and borrowing the progressive experience from the developed countries, it became apparent, if not to rethink the training program for journalists, then at least to highlight a new media education vector — the direction of 'Media communications' (A. V. Bolotnov, E. V. Bulatova, E. A. Voytik, I. M. Dzyaloshinskiy, E. Ya. Dugin, E. A. Kozhemyakin, V. P. Kolomiets, O. E. Kokhanaya, E. V. Lukashevich, T. A. Semilet, A. V. Polonsky, V. V. Smeyukha, D. A. Podobed, E. S. Sipko, S. L. Urazova, N. G. Fedotova, F. I. Sharkov, V. V. Silkin, R. A. Laishev, A. N. Chumikov, and others).

Such federal state educational standard (FSSES) was created on the initiative of the media department faculty, National Research University Higher School of Economics, and approved by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation in 2015. The rationale (concept) notes that "new technological conditions stimulate the development of areas at the intersection of media and other areas of activity, such as online services (including the system of providing public services), museum and exhibition, theater and concert, educational multimedia projects; search engines; network video games, etc. Mass content and multimedia products are produced today not only by the media but also by organizations of the most diverse orientation" [Bachelor's program, 2018].

3. Materials and methods

A set of methods is applied. Case studies based on the exceptional experience and analysis of current pedagogical practices of National Research

University Higher School of Economics, where ‘Media Communications’ was developed. For the Russian educational space, this is a unique and innovative direction for training Bachelors and Masters, which is currently being realized in more than ten leading universities of the country (both in the federal center and in the regions). Secondary analysis of statistical data involved the processing of the quantities regarding the demand for the offered profiles (or tracks) and the numbers of students enrolled. Chronological framework of the study: 2015–2020.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Architectonics of the media system and segmentation of media communications

The study of the works of the participants of the International Olympiad ‘Highest Hallmark’ in the field of ‘Journalism,’ held under the auspices of National Research University Higher School of Economics, shows that about 70 % of students in 9–11 grades — potential students of media training areas — do not differentiate such concepts, as ‘media,’ ‘mass media,’ ‘mass communication,’ often synonymizing them [Yefanov, 2019a]. A similar perception of the conceptual terminology often remains after graduation from specialized educational institutions.

In this regard, it seems necessary to carry out a methodological systematization and substantiate the existing conceptual terminology, offering its correct interpretation. So, referring to the ‘Law on Mass Media’ of 1991, one can recall that the mass media means “a periodical print publication, a network publication, a TV channel, a radio channel, a TV program, a radio program, a video program, a newsreel program, another form of periodic distribution of mass information under the permanent brand (name)” [Law of the Russian Federation No. 2124–1, 2018].

In turn, the term ‘media’ simultaneously incorporates two definitions:

a) “a set of technical means that surround a person, make life more comfortable and make it possible to build effective communication both with the ‘world’ and with a specific individual. This set is individualized and depends on many social factors (specific dependencies can be analyzed and built between economic, social, cultural, demographic, settlement and other determinants and the level, quality of the communication environment)” [Kolomiets, 2014, 155];

b) a high level of penetration of information and communication technologies into the life of an individual, as a result of which they began to represent a natural habitat [Yefanov, 2019b].

Thus, the media include different cluster groups, causing the segmentation of media communications [Dugin, 2019; Dzyaloshinsky, 2014; Urazova, 2015; Voytik, 2013]:

- ‘traditional’ media (periodicals, radio, television);
- ‘new media’ (online publications);
- ‘social media’ (social networks, instant messengers);
- ‘civic media’ (blogs, aggregators);
- ‘cultural media industry’ (digital publishing activities, film and music production, transmedia projects in the cultural space — museums, theaters, and so on);
- interactive resources (portals for the provision of online services, mobile applications, gaming platforms);
- virtual configurators of the urban environment (animated announcements, street signs, etc.);
- integrated communications (advertising, PR, communication agencies, SMM).

It should be noted that if advertising has never been included in the structure of the media [Chumikov, 2019]. On television and radio, on the pages of newspapers and magazines, such content must be necessarily marked (according to the ‘Law on Advertising,’ there is a particular proportion of the ratio of commercial materials and information, entertainment, cognitive products). Then, relating to the media, integrated communications are their inherent, institutionally grounded part.

In this context, also methodologically flawed is the use of terms such as ‘Internet media.’ On the one hand, it refers to the ‘traditional’ media, which should be used via the conservative channels as for the implied connotations [Tomin et al., 2020], on the other, it focuses on the network nature of the distribution. As V.P. Kolomiets rightly emphasizes, “the very combination of ‘Internet media’ evokes associations with an attempt to combine something new, boundless, little-controlled with a rigidly centralized, absolutely controlled, opposing individual” [Kolomiets, 2019, 3].

In other words, ‘Internet media’ can be viewed as an antagonistic term. Here, it would be methodologically correct to operate with the concepts of ‘network publication’ or ‘online publication,’ which are primarily consid-

ered synonymous. However, there is a clarification: if the 'online publication' is a colloquial analog [Bolutnov, 2017], then the 'network publication' is legally enshrined in normative acts and is used when registering media structures with Roskomnadzor.

As for the application of the 'mass communication' concept, then in modern communication realities, it seems less and less justified, remaining codified in regulatory documents (in particular, there are references to it in the 'Law on Mass Media,' 'Law on Advertising') and in the names of specialized departments (for example, the Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media, the Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology, and Mass Media (Roskomnadzor), the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications). Here it is also appropriate to refer to the concept by V. P. Kolomiets: "It is unlikely that the unidirectional impact of communication institutions on an individual can be called communication in the full sense of the word. Distribution, manipulation — anything but communication. Perhaps, with the development of the environment leading to the activity of the subject of the communication product consumption, it will be possible to talk about communication in the true sense of the word, but then it will not be mass" [Kolomiets, 2014, 122]. At a time when communication can often be either individual or group employing modern media technologies, the most relevant is the use of 'media' fixing this nature [Tomin et al., 2017].

The given methodological grounds are not devoid of polemics. However, they make it possible to systematize the existing theoretical notation of media communications, to single out generic and specific concepts. In the process of the dynamic development of the neo-informational society, this theoretical framework will undoubtedly expand and refine.

4.2. Media communications as an educational direction

At the same time, the very fact that in these realities, a new scientific and applied approach 'Media communications' has naturally begun to emerge is not ambiguous. Its main difference from the 'Journalism' is that the focus of attention is mainly not the fact and its documentary confirmation in text form, but fictional images, cases (as a product of the author's creative work) and the design of information and communication platforms (where the creative component is implemented to a greater extent at the technological level) [Smeyukha, Podobed & Sipko, 2017]. If we consider the current educational standards, most of the provisions of both directions (the general enlarged

group ‘Mass media and information and librarianship,’ lists of universal and general professional competencies, requirements for staffing, and conditions for the implementation of programs) are identical. The only difference is that in the FSES ‘Media communications,’ along with project, design and analytical, editorial, organizational and managerial, social and organizational and production and technological activities, advertising and information activities are also highlighted, which confirms the previously put forward thesis about the current trend towards media PR [Yefanov, 2018a]. Besides, in the FSES ‘Media communications’ there is a professional standard ‘Systems analyst’ focusing on technological and analytical aspects of the activity, which are of high demand now.

At National Research University Higher School of Economics, there is a Bachelor’s program of the same name, as well as six Master’s programs: ‘Transmedia production in digital industries,’ ‘Media management,’ ‘International news production’ (taught entirely in English), ‘Filmmaking in a multi-platform environment,’ ‘Critical media studies’ (taught entirely in English), ‘Media production and media analytics’ (in St. Petersburg campus of HSE University).

The curriculum for ‘Media communications’ undergraduate and graduate at National Research University Higher School includes several disciplines innovative for the Russian educational system (Table 1).

Table 1

**The list of innovative disciplines of ‘Media Communications’
of National Research University High School of Economics**

Undergraduate	Master’s degree
Media communications	Transmedia production in digital industries
Author’s documentary films: the basics of directing	Analysis of the audience of a cultural project
Introduction to video games as new media	Sound environments
Introduction to Game Design	Ideological and aesthetic codes of Western cinema
Looking through the prism of photography	Communication design

Continuation of Table 1

Undergraduate	Master's degree
Viral Marketing, or How to Create "Infectious" Content	The pragmatics of cinema
Urban space and media	Producing digital projects
Machine learning and neural networks	Designing a digital environment and producing multimedia content in museum activities
Media communications in public administration and politics	Transmedia storytelling
Media, culture, and criticism	Media Content Management in Creative Industries
Multimedia storytelling	Gamification (in English)
Online shaming	Internet Giants: The Law and Economics of Media Platforms (in English)
Basics of web analytics	Media, Culture and Critique (in English)
Music business fundamentals	Media management
Fundamentals of Computer Game Programming in C#	An introduction to neuroeconomics: how the brain makes decisions
Open data in a digital environment: search, processing, and visualization	Implementation of high-tech innovations in the media sphere
User interfaces for different platforms, terminals, audiences	Digital Producing and Social Media Project Management
Popular music and politics	News production in an international environment (taught entirely in English)
Producing audio content in digital media	Data Analysis and Visualization
Producing and creating native formats	Immersive Journalism (VR/AR)
Production of projects in virtual and augmented reality	Introduction to Alternative Media

Undergraduate	Master's degree
Script development for cinema, TV series, documentary theater, video games	Writing for Social Justice
Self-published media and community management	Media production and media analytics
Contemporary museum and digital technologies	Media Projects in the Sphere of Culture (in English)
Theater and media: opportunities, technologies, projects	
Game theory	
Transmedia Storytelling: Narrative Constructs, New Technologies, Global Audiences	
Transmedia technologies in content creation and promotion	
Art, Politics, and Ideology (in English)	
Python for retrieving and processing data	
Web visualization	

From the list presented, it is clear that such courses require specialized technological competencies. This principle is incorporated in the dialectic title of Master's degree programs (e.g., 'Transmedia production in digital industries,' 'Filmmaking in a multi-platform environment' et al.). In classes, the tasks are mainly implemented by students in a project form (media startups, long-reads, timelines, etc., which allows, on the one hand, to consolidate theoretical knowledge and practical skills, on the other hand, to clothe in a technological form, making the educational process both effective and uncommon).

In this regard, we can conclude that in modern communication realities, the stereotypical identification of media workers exclusively with the 'humanities type of mind' seems unproductive, since the creative and technological aspects of the profession appear proportional to each other [Yefanov & Tom-in, 2020]. These determinants imply a higher level of mastery of information technologies, which makes significant demands on educational organizations

in terms of material and technical equipment and competence of the teaching staff (including when teaching the basics of media education for non-media schoolchildren and students).

4.3. Profiling of media communications

The industrial determination of the media communications segmentation, alongside the demand for these educational programs at HSE University and the student enrollment increase there, incited to the introduction of profiles (mainly succeeding from the specialization system that existed before the transition of Russia to the Bologna system). So, within the framework of 'Media communications' Bachelor's program (the same direction) in 2020, four so-called profiles (or tracks) appeared:

- management and production;
- storytelling;
- media technologies;
- media studies.

If all students study basic disciplines (such as 'Theory of mass communications,' 'Legal and ethical regulation of media,' 'Fundamentals of drama,' etc.), then the tracks enable the future Bachelor to concentrate more on a specific subject field starting from the second year. An approximate list of core disciplines is presented in Table 2.

It may be noted that several subjects that have been previously studied at the general profile are now refined and put into separate tracks. Besides, most of the courses are narrowly focused, allowing the future Bachelor to form competencies for a specific profile. The approach of the educational program management, according to which the students retain the right to choose variable disciplines, which may not be directly correlated with the current training track, also seems productive. Mainly, this helps to expand the scope of their skills and abilities, since the second year students often cannot have a complete understanding of the educational and, at the same time, the industrial vector, within which they plan to develop in the future.

In general, track distribution is based on three components:

- the personal desire of the applicant;
- the individual rating of each student;
- additional tests (in the form of motivation letters, interviews).

The statistics of 2020 show that the most popular track was 'Management and production' — 60 %. Then follows the track 'Storytelling' with 30 %. The sets for the tracks 'Media technologies' and 'Media studies' made

**List of core disciplines of four tracks for 'Media Communications' Bachelor's degree
at National Research University Higher School of Economics**

Management and production	Storytelling	Media technologies	Media Studies
Psychology for a media manager	Rhetoric	Fundamentals of Statistics and Mathematical Analysis	Scientific culture
Online promotion of media products	Categories of culture in literature and visual arts	Introduction to open data	Media and social institutions
Media measurements	Narrative games	Data-driven storytelling	Media practices, media effects, and audience research
Media branding	Stories about people on digital platforms	Data art in media and generative art	Research of media content and symbolic forms
Management in distributed teams	Interactive and visual storytelling	Basics of data analysis	Theories and concepts of mediatization
Business communications and networking	Transmedia storytelling	Working with texts in natural language	Media capital, media structures, power relations, and critical media theory
Product owner/ Product management	Storytelling in the creative industries	Big data	
Editorial media management	The city as a storytelling platform	Using gaming platforms in media	
Innovative media management		Strategic communications in technology projects	
		Media automation	

up about 10 % of the total number of students. These regularities relate primarily to industrial determinants: the tracks 'Management and production' and 'Storytelling' is causally linked to the future type of activity of graduates of the educational program — creation, and promotion of media content. Track 'Media technology' aims to develop the technical competencies which are challenging to master for students who incline more to the socio-humanitarian disciplines rather than technical. As for the track 'Media studies,' the formation of research competencies is also a particularly difficult task for second-year undergraduate students who, at this stage, have a predominantly low level of academic reflection, and at the same time, critical perception of existing trends in the field of media. Also, many years of the authors' experience of participatory observation shows that self-identification of a student from the standpoint of a researcher often occurs at the final Bachelor's course. It is either at the stage of preparation and defense of the final qualifying work or during Master's studies, when the awareness of the need for admission to postgraduate study begins (the applicant often plans to connect their life with teaching (the use of research competencies for applied purposes) — yet, combining with work in the industry or full professional realization. Much fewer are the cases when a graduate of media training fields connects their future life exclusively with the academic environment — activities in specialized scientific centers, laboratories, etc.).

As for the Master's program in 'Transmedia production in digital industries,' it also provides two profiles:

- producer of transmedia projects in the field of culture and museums;
- producer of transmedia projects in the theater sector.

The main disciplines realized at both these profiles are presented in Table 1. The implementation of these profiles involves the participation of the leading museums and theaters of Moscow. A special grant from the co-organizer of the educational process V. Potanin Foundation confirmed the relevance of this program for solving technical problems.

4.4. Media communications as an industrial and educational trend

If we talk about borrowing from the progressive experience of National Research University Higher School of Economics, a number of the country's largest universities have already begun training Bachelors and Masters in the direction of 'Media communications.' Among these are Belgorod State University, Don State Technical University, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Ural Federal University, named after the first President of Rus-

sia B. N. Yeltsin, Tyumen State University. The differences are the very names of educational programs that focus on one or another area of application. Additionally, in some educational organizations, within the framework of the already traditional 'Journalism' or 'Advertising and PR,' educational programs are being implemented, the names of which bear the concept of 'media communications.'

In this context, we must point out the fact that some experts from the academic community declare about the need for the conversion of 'Journalism' into one of the profiles of 'Media communications.' A two-way process can explain the indicated thesis: on the one hand, discrediting (including self-discrediting against the background of propaganda, post-justification of the agenda, etc.) of the profession that causes deinstitutionalization [Serebryakova, 2017] and aggravating the 'crisis of confidence' in the media [Yefanov, 2018b] — on the other hand, blurring the boundaries between journalism and other related areas (advertising, PR, etc.), which in the classical theory of mass communication are considered mutually exclusive concepts.

Additionally, the successful implementation of the media education strategy in secondary school should also be based on the 'Media communications' curriculum. This includes many different areas (digital publishing, production of blogs, films, clips, games, organization of interactive exhibitions), relevant to the interests of the younger generation, which is often 'cut off' from the agenda of 'traditional' media (in particular, television, including due to its frequent engagement).

4.5. Media communications as a scientific direction

Regarding the theoretical paradigm, the modern nomenclature of scientific specialties also requires significant adjustments. Although, in domestic traditions, journalism originated in the depths of literary creativity (and because the phenomenon began to be studied first by literary scholars), the current specialty 10.01.10 — Journalism (philological sciences) today does not include the entire range of raised and discussed topics related with historical, sociological, philosophical, cultural, political and psychological aspects of media studies. Primarily, this specialty should consider mainly philological processes, in other words, the linguistic origins of the media (however, in the practice of defending candidate and doctoral dissertations, such a framework is not always adhered to).

As I. M. Dzyaloshinsky and A. V. Sharikov rightly point out, "in modern Russia, there is a dual existence of the sphere of communication sciences,

which is due to the insufficient level of institutionalization, if not to say more severely — its marginal scientific status. De jure, communication sciences are not recognized in Russia, since there are no candidate and doctoral dissertations defended. De facto they exist, quite a lot of research is being conducted on communication problems, but in the existing classification system, they are referred to other scientific areas” [Dzyaloshinsky & Sharikov, 2017, 4].

Thus, the defense of dissertations for the degree of candidate or doctor in the field of media communications (by analogy with the foreign model, where journalism is viewed exclusively as an applied field) seems to be the most correct. It will allow, on the one hand, to expand the theoretical framework, and on the other, to bring nomination (the name itself) and the passport of the scientific specialty in compliance with the world standards.

5. Conclusions

Based on the above, we can conclude that the industrial and educational determinants that stipulate for the segmentation and profiling of media communications, explicate the tendency of systemic institutionalization of media, aimed at the harmonious development of the media space and the effective building of connections between the subjects of the neo-information society within it. In the process of evolution and further institutionalization, the existing media system will undoubtedly undergo structural redefinition. However, the outlined trend as a whole appears to be a strategy for the planned and progressive development of the media system — the incorporation of its components into the everyday life of the subjects of the neo-information society.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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“New Journalism” as a Synthesis of Forms: Relationships With Literature, Fiction Publicistics and Screen Documentary

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Abstract. The phenomenon of “new journalism” is studied, which is a hybrid form of creativity that arose at the intersection of journalism and literature, and we consider it in connection with not only “literature of fact” in broad sense (non-fiction), but also separately with newspaper and magazine fiction publicistics and screen documentary, which includes documentary films and documentary and publicistic and sensational entertainment TV programs. Similarities, differences and effects of two types of media narrative — verbal and audiovisual — are established on the material of T. Capote’s novel “In Cold Blood”, domestic court essays, documentaries — “Supreme Court” of H. Franc and “Into the Abyss. A Tale of Death, a Tale of Life” of W. Herzog, as well as modern crime-law TV shows. The specified content is united by a specific genre of “true crime.”

Keywords: “new journalism”, non-fiction, true crime, fiction publicistics, essay, documentary filmmaking

1. Introduction

In the 60s of the last century, an original style trend emerged in the US newspaper practice, which soon became known as “new journalism”, the main genre of which was called non-fiction, and a characteristic feature — the joint use of techniques of fiction and journalism. Later on, this direction became a noticeable trend in the world cultural context and today has gained incredible popularity. In many countries, literature non-fiction is published in large circulation, book fairs are held, prizes are awarded.

At the same time, the American experience, which influenced the work of many writers in the world, can hardly be considered unique. It grew out of the gigantic world experience accumulated by mankind over several centuries. As for the research of the style direction “new journalism”, today we see a great interest in it from the science — both foreign and domestic. In the XXI century, many scientific works were published. Well known works of N. Sims and M. Kramer [Sims, Kramer, 1995], J. Hartsock [Hartsock, 2000], R. S. Boynton, [Boynton, 2000]. As Novoselova points out, the USA produces a large number of manuals with recommendations for writing non-fiction prose in the spirit of “new journalism” [Novoselova, 2017], such as the books by Lee Gutkind [Gutkind, 2012], M. Kramer, and V. Call [Kramer, Call, 2007], J. Hart [Hart, 2011]. We can also name authors in Russia as A. Gvozdev [2007], D. Kharitonov [2010], O. Nesmelova and J. Konovalova [2011], V. Khorolsky [2012], Kazakova [2016], Savelyeva [2018], D. Vorobyova [2019], and others.

The purpose of this article is to study domestic and foreign scientific literature on the phenomenon of “new journalism” in the USA, to consider the features of domestic experience of exploring the space “between”, “at the junction” or “within the synthesis” of literature and journalism. The issue is not fully clarified both in terms of terminology and practice. Some scholars suggest “to combine foreign and domestic approaches in interpreting these concepts and to define non-fiction literature as a hybrid, synthetic meta-genre of narrative story, “at the intersection” between literature and journalism” [Savel'eva, 2018, 90]. Others see this phenomenon both as a phenomenon of journalism and as a literary school. Still others understand this hybrid phenomenon lopsided, from one side or the other, without achieving a holistic understanding of the creative world of the work. They either apply literary analysis, mechanically listing journalistic techniques, or assess the publicistic significance of the text, identifying artistic techniques. That is,

some apply the genres of non-fiction exclusively to literature. Others — only to journalism. Fourth discover cinematic elements in non-fiction literature. Fifth carry out a comparative analysis of two types of media narrative — verbal and audiovisual — on the material of literary non-fiction and documentary films. Sixth propose to apply the interdisciplinary principle of study to balance the extremes. One way or another, “there is still no consensus on the genre affiliation of “hybrid” works, no mechanisms for analyzing such works have been developed... No time frame has been defined, nor the criteria for attributing certain works to this direction” [Nesmelova, Konovalova]. That’s why the topic of this article seems relevant to us.

2. Theory, methodology, practice

2.1. Basic concepts

“New journalism”, which emerged in the USA in the 60s of the last century is seen as a certain direction in literature, non-fiction is a genre group of works, and true crime is a thematic variety within a given group. The canon of the true crime genre included detailed portraits of real people, reconstruction of the crime scene, building a chronology of previous and subsequent events, analysis of police and court procedures, scientific interpretation of psychological motives of the criminal.

The concept of non-fiction itself, being a literature of fact rather than fiction, is sometimes interpreted too expansively as a form of documentary, non-fictional literature, to which narrative texts can also belong: literary adapted biographies, travelogues, popular scientific works, journalistic materials, and non-narrative: dictionaries, reference books, exploitation manuals, life textbooks, etc. Therefore, the term “narrative non-fiction” has been used more and more recently, which in our domestic version sounds like “narrative literature of fact” often replaced by numerous definitions: “fiction-documentary literature”, “documentary prose”, “prose without fiction”, “documentary literature”, “fiction documentary”. At the same time, the question of establishing kinship ties of “fiction and documentary literature (non-fiction) and so-called “fiction publicistics”, which has long existed in our national tradition, remains unclarified. Although, in our view, these ties are obvious. We agree with A. Pronin [Estetika zhurnalistiki, 2018, 94], believing that the English name “narrative non-fiction” is just right for the term “narrative publicistics” because it allows, while maintaining the integrity of understanding the creative world of the work, overcome the one-sidedness of either literary or journalistic analysis.

2.2. Research Methods

When writing the article, general scientific and special-scientific research methods were used: analysis, synthesis, analogy, comparison, which made it possible to clarify some theoretical provisions related to the topic being developed. And also an interdisciplinary approach was applied, which means combining the efforts of representatives of different sciences, “around a single object — a *publicistic narrative* as a special method and result of the subjective author’s construction of an integral story about non-fictional events according to the laws of artistic narration” [Estetika zhurnalistiki, 2018, 94]. A. Pronin writes about this method, mentioning literary criticism, linguistics, journalism. We suggest adding film and television theory to this collection.

2.3. Features and prerequisites of the emergence of “new journalism”

It is commonly known that the most prominent representatives of the “new journalism” in the USA were Truman Capote, Hunter Thompson, Norman Mailer, Tom Wolfe, two of whom were writers, and two were journalists. In 1973, Wolfe published the New Journalism manifesto, accompanying his text with an “Anthology of New Journalism”, which included 28 works by 23 American writers. In Russia it was translated only in 2008. The “Anthology” emphasized that this narrative form, with its characteristic style, did not originate in the form of “novels-reportage”, as Capote outlined its genre, but from the depths of newspaper practice. It was this fact that Wolfe viewed as something out of the ordinary, because he worked in the newspaper himself.

He noticed the emergence of a new style back in 1962 (earlier than the release of Capote’s novel “In Cold Blood”) in a text by “Times” reporter Gay Talese “Joe Louis — King in his prime”, published in “Esquire” magazine. Wolfe was struck by the unexpected discovery: it turns out “newspaper-magazine articles can be written so that... they can be read like a novel” [Novaya zhurnalistika i Antologiya, 2008]. The first magazine article by Wolfe himself, published in the Sunday supplement “New York” of the newspaper “Herald Tribune”, was also read as a story, despite the scenes and dialogues written off from life. The author joined the game by appearing in essays; he wrote about himself as an observer in the third person; looked from someone else’s point of view in his texts; immersed into the stream of consciousness of the characters; imitated their intonation; conveyed dialogues and internal monologues, allowing the reader to speak with the characters through the narrator; changed the angles of the image in the descriptions

of the places of action; not only truthfully described what was happening, but also showed the personal or spiritual life of the characters. To do this, Wolfe made extensive use of punctuation and printing. In the midst of all these events, the incredibly famous novel by Truman Capote “In Cold Blood” appeared, which is associated with the subgenre true crime. The author himself did not attribute it to journalism, calling it a “reportage novel” or a “non-fiction novel”. But according to Wolfe, “thanks to this, the new journalism, as it was soon called, received another strong impulse” [Novaya zhurnalistika i Antologiya, 2008]. Truman Capote’s book “In Cold Blood” was a vivid experiment that demonstrated the author’s ability to compose almost as spectacularly as life itself.

The late 1950s in the United States were noted, as Wolfe writes in his “Anthology”, by a disease common at that time. “Its main symptom is an irrepressible desire to plunge into the “real world” [Novaya zhurnalistika i Antologiya, 2008]. By the way, the same aspiration explains rise in our country (both in the early 1960s, at the height of the “years of the Thaw”, and at the end of the 1980s, at the beginning of the “perestroika”) of screen documentaries, every time became vivid visual reflection of the publicistic heat of everyday life. M. Novoselova points out the reasons for the emergence of “new journalism” in the verbal version of the media narrative: “among the factors that led to the convergence of journalism and literature in 1960–70s there are variability, catastrophism, fantasticity of life itself that outstrips imagination; the impact of scientific and technological revolution, precise methods of cognition; competition of literature with the media; desire to create a true picture of the world” [Novoselova, 2017, 46–47]. Thanks to their style, the authors of new forms managed to record the actual events that worried people at that time, and these forms reflected not only the epochal, but also the temporary, everyday: crimes, racial problems, subcultures, wars, finance. A hallmark of “new journalism” was subjectivism, which manifested itself in complicity and creating a presence effect. “New journalists” made it possible for different representatives of society to express their opinions, pushing back the “official point of view” [Novoselova, 2017, 47]. This, by the way, reminds us of our modernity, in which the so-called “citizen journalism”, which relies on real momentary observations of the events of a fast-moving life, often no less fascinatingly described than fictional ones, is widely developed. Another reason for the rise of “new journalism” in the 1960s was the degradation of the modern American novel, its departure

from the problems of modernity. Novelists got carried away with “myth” and “magic”. Journalists were inspired by the work of great realist writers of the past, including European, such as Balzac, and Russians like Gogol, able to immerse the reader in the material, emotionally captivate and capture him. In our country, a surge of non-fiction was observed at first “in the perestroika years, when lectures of historians gathered thousands of audience, and the publicitics had enormous circulation. In the 1990s non-fiction was “washed away” by a wave of Western fiction (including fantasy), which rushed to the Russian market” [Kazakova, 2016, 9]. In recent years non-fiction has returned to compensate for the fictionalization of modern life and to comprehend real events.

2.4. *“Non-fiction” and “fiction publicistics”*

Journalist Valeriy Agranovskiy, paying attention to the rise of interest in non-fiction in our country, also formulated the prerequisites of this phenomenon. First, since the reader became more educated, he could already understand many things himself, he needed only information. Secondly, the scientific and technological revolution contributed to the development of means of communication, which made it possible to accurately record events, which devalued fantasy. Thirdly, if the former realism was a “realism of similarity”, the current one acquired the features of genuine documentalism. Fourthly, “the reader to some extent “got hungry” for diaries and documentary testimonies about times and historical events that are little-known and once even hidden” [Agranovskij, 1978]. They wanted to know their past better.

It's commonly believed that the continuators of traditions of large forms of “new journalism” in our country were writers E. Limonov, A. Kabakov, Nobel Prize Winner S. Aleksievich, who, at the same time, relied on the canon of past times (Defo, Gogol, Dostoevsky), and on domestic samples (in particular, “Brest Fortress” by Sergei Smirnov, “Soldiers’ Memoirs” by K. Simonov), “The Siege Book” by Ales Adamovich and Daniil Granin), documentary chronicles based on the testimonies of participants in the events painstakingly collected and recorded by the authors Great Patriotic War — defenders of the Brest Fortress, soldiers of the Great Patriotic War, survivors of the Siege of Leningrad. Chronicles of S. Smirnov, by the way, existed not only in writing, but also on screen in the form of his cyclical author’s television program. And Svetlana Aleksievich created her “search” genre, which did not receive the final name — “novel of voices”, or “synthetic biography.” Other definitions

of her works, conveying the polyphonic character of the new genre, sound like “epical-choral prose, roman-oratorio, cathedral novel”, etc. [Desyukevich].

At the same time, the appearance of “novels-reports”, or “novels-interviews”, close to the traditions of “new journalism” in the USA, was preceded, as we believe, by our domestic practice of certain forms of verbal language related to the genre true crime (including the rich experience of the Soviet judicial essay) and the rapid development of screen documentaries from the 1960s-1990s. As for the essay, the literature about it in Russian science is extensive and diverse, although today it is very little in demand in both print and online publications. However, its contribution to the development of the true crime genre is obvious and worthy of study. The experience of the Soviet judicial essay differs clearly in the better way compared to the practice of domestic television related to programs on criminal topics.

In the Russian science of mass media, *forensic essay* is considered a genre of *publicistics*. And the concept of “publicistics” is usually defined as a type of activity, method of creativity and variety of works along with information journalism and analytical publicistics. We consider these three activities through the concept of “fact”, arguing that information journalism is based on a *single fact*, at the heart of analytical publicistics there is a *quantitative accumulation of facts* forming an *opinion*, and in the basis of fiction publicistics there is a *qualitative transformation of fact*, leading to the birth of an *artistic image*. It is natural to assume that *the essay* is a genre of *fiction publicistics*. And as we said above, referring to the opinion of A. Pronin, the term “narrative non-fiction” is more close to the term “narrative publicistics” than any other term, which is similar in content to “fiction publicistics”, which, as well as the method underlying the “narrative non-fiction”, allows constructing stories about real events through artistic imagery, moving away from the mechanical connection elements of journalism and literature as holistic structures. And this means that our traditional “fiction publicistics” as well as “narrative non-fiction” should be understood not as a hybrid of journalism and literature, existing as independent forms of creative activity, but as a combination within a single narrative structure of two equal components — the life foundation and artistic way of mastering reality.

One way or another, but it follows that the essay does not exist within the framework of literature or journalism, or both of them together (because these are *different* structures), but in the territory of quite *independent* type of creative activity, referred to as *fiction publicistics*. The essay combines only

separate features of these two activities. Without moving into the territory of either, it retells authentic (life) stories by artistic means. And the means traditionally used by our domestic essay genre (which are written about by our researchers) and American non-fiction in the framework of “new journalism” are largely the same. The kinship between the two is obvious. In the essay as an artistic and publicistic genre one can find many features of non-fiction.

Tom Wolfe defended the method of long-term observation inherent to “new journalism”, the need to immerse the author in the material and even in the stream of consciousness of his hero. The contemporary researchers observe the same trait in Russian fiction publicistics. Wolfe pointed out that his colleagues always sought to see everything with their own eyes. Krasnov writes about this feature of fiction publicistics as follows: “To the power of art and thought of the author the strength of the eyewitness, and even better — the direct participant of events is added” [Krasnov, 2006]. The same researcher states that life is always more diverse than any composition. It is interesting, this trait is observed in the most characteristic work of the genre non-fiction — Capote’s “In Cold Blood”. D. Bykov draws attention to this, recalling that the victim of the crime Clutter “on the day of his death he insured his life! — a detail that only life could invent, a strong author who is not afraid of bad taste” [Bykov, 2015]. As we remember, Capote deliberately violated the chronology of events. Krasnov discovers this trait in the practice of Russian publicistics. This researcher insists on presenting the essayist with the highest requirements to the degree of artistry of recreating reality, arguing with the well-known judgment of Zhurbina about the “sketchiness” of the essay writing.

It is important to note that in our domestic judicial essay the issue of professional responsibility of the writer and moral evaluation of the crime always stood first place. But Capote, as D. Bykov noted, “wrote not for the sake of sociological or moral... conclusion... He wrote, as always, for the sake of feeling, condition. And this state — a delight and horror of the hideousness and harmony of the world, the sorrow in a clear morning among the gold fields of Kansas and the red Indian grass — is generated again by a purely literary method, which not every reader is aware of: it is a contrast between monstrous material and perfect, neat, icy writing” [Bykov, 2015]. However, although Capote denied moralizing, he had a firm position: he opposed the death penalty as “legalized sadism”. Moral assessments were extremely important for the “new journalists”. Essentially “T. Wolfe has initiated a movement for honest journalism that combines journalism, science, lit-

erature and testimonies of ordinary citizens. Justice as an ideal was as if rediscovered and proclaimed in the publicistics of Western “new journalists”, and this gave the basis for critics to talk about neo-humanism in journalism” [Horol’skij, 2012, 148]. For the authors of our domestic judicial essays, the most important thing was not the course of the investigation and not the form of presentation of the material, but the moral and ethical assessment of situations and people. These are intellectually and emotionally rich essays by Olga Tchaikovskaya, Inna Rudenko, Igor Gamayunov, Anatoliy Rubinov, Arkadiy Vaksberg, Ilya Fonyakov.

2.5. TV version of the genre “true crime”

Another factor that influenced the development of literature and journalism (albeit from the opposite) was television in the early 60s of the last century, becoming their main opponent. According to audience surveys as early as 1963, it was recognized as the main mass media in the USA. Literature and journalism had to urgently look for ways to fight the young rival, whom M. McLuhan figuratively and, as always, paradoxically called a “shy giant.” It was the genre of non-fiction that became a response to the claims to success of the audience on the part of television, which was confused at that time. “New journalists” sought to make their texts entertaining: they used techniques of “aesthetic game”, irony, excited readers intellectually and emotionally. Being an “aesthete” from literature, Capote wrote his “In Cold Blood” with “metallic brilliance” and essentially created the genre of true crime. Moreover, Capote’s novel pointed out the path of development for the screen variants of the genre he opened. Incidentally, Konovalova found in his novel a combination of not only literary and journalistic traits, but also cinematic features such as: “widespread use of parallel and consistent installation, techniques of changing plans and panoramic shooting, free handling of artistic space and time, special role of visual and sound images” [Konovalova, 2013, 205]. The researcher drew attention to the brevity of the descriptions, which brought the book closer to the form of the film script; complexity of compositional construction; intentional violation of the chronology of the presentation of events; techniques of retrospective and, conversely, predictions of the future, etc.

In the future, television itself began to actively cultivate the genre of true crime, which fascinated viewers and raised ratings. At the beginning, it poorly distinguished the good cycles of criminal programs and low-quality crafts. However, in the new century, documentary TV series have flourished on

television screens in lush colors, they have already relied on strong drama, archetypical images, free construction, open finals. Since then, the stories of real crimes have become an integral part of the narrative tradition of both verbal and screen cultures.

As for television in Russia, it has been particularly active in the development of crime stories since the early 1990s. And unfortunately, it can't stop until now. Researchers point to the transformation of the true crime genre over time. Its origins are generally sought in judicial pamphlets, common in Europe as early as the dawn of the New Time, around the 16th century. Qualitative leap in criminal narrative occurred in the middle of the 20th century. A visual narrative was added to the verbal. The stories of real crimes, previously serving as primary sources for fiction movies based on real events, began to turn into subjects for documentary TV shows and films of different quality. Researchers see the severity of the problem in the fact that the works of this genre, combining reality and fiction, credibility and sensationality fall not only in the field of cultural science, but also in the field of ethics.

2.6. The genre of "true crime" in documentary filmmaking

It is important to note that in our domestic judicial essays of the second half of the last century moral and ethical problems were traditionally the main ones. The same is noted in the best samples of documentary filmmaking. For the author of the film "Supreme Court" (1987), Riga Soviet director Herz Frank it was necessary to immerse in the mysteries of the human soul. Here again, television played its special role (from the opposite). Researchers notice that with its rapid development in the early 60s of the last century, all previously popular documentary genres, such as journalism, chronicles, propaganda, have moved to home screens, while cinemas became interested in poetic, experimental developments. In these years problematic documentary films are made by real masters: Pavel Kogan, Mikhail Romm, Boris Galanter, Herz Frank, Igor Belyaev, Samariy Zelikin, Vladimir Rotenberg. Herewith the basis of their paintings becomes life itself. Many films of H. Frank grew out of newspaper reporting, as at one time he worked at the evening newspaper, writing and photographing, and his first films were listed as broadcasts for television. After receiving legal education and being a newspaper correspondent, he went to court sessions, filmed a criminal chronicle. He has always had a passion for collecting documents. Impressions accumulated, taking the form of newspaper essays, and over time — films. For

him, the luck of the documentary filmmaker was not only to make a certain harmony out of the scraps of life, but also to discover the philosophy inside.

However, the audience, unfortunately, still continues to consider documentary filmmaking as propaganda and journalism. And the real documentary filmmaking is either ignored or cannot be seen. The documentary film does not have a rental. It is present only at festivals. As well as the film of Herz Frank "Supreme Court", designated by him modestly "film materials", but representing, as they wrote, "confession before execution" or "physiognomic sketch of the murderer against a social-psychological background of a society life", having direct relation to genre of true crime, became famous, largely due to the fact that it received the Grand Prix of the first All-Union Festival of non-fiction cinema "Russia", which has been held in Ekaterinburg for over 30 years in the status of the main Russian festival of documentary cinema.

The film of H. Frank was about the murder of two people by a 24-year-old student on a domestic basis. The offender is in prison awaiting the death penalty, which is committed in the final. The same, incidentally, happens in the film by German director Werner Herzog "Into the Abyss: A Tale of Death, a Tale of Life" [2011].

Both directors come to the ward to the criminals, but not for the sake of detective investigation of the threads of the case. For them, in the first place is the study not so much of social corruption as the "corruption of the human soul," the soul of their hero. As H. Frank later said, "I was fascinated by the path to repentance... And the film is about this, not about the fact that 'a student killed a woman' because of a shortage of jeans..." [Frank, 2004]. Naturally, there is a parallel here with Dostoevsky's work (where in the center of everything that happens is the idea of repentance, and not just physical punishment), as was the case, for example, in T. Dreiser's novel "An American Tragedy".

As Neya Zorkaya wrote, "Frank spends hours and days with the killer, seeking to penetrate the truth of the soul" [Zorkaya, 1991, 36]. Let's remember: "new journalists" did the same, using methods of long observation and immersion, varying the scope of the image, rhythmic alternation of static and dynamic, common and close-ups. Moreover, both of them did this not to savor the bloody scenes, which is typical for tabloid publications and entertainment films. Wolfe also noted this about "new journalists." Herz Frank's film is also complex of expertly constructed narrative, of masterfully compared facts, with a minimum of author's comment and no didactics.

Close to this method is the German director Werner Herzog, who, in his aforementioned documentary film, like Frank, also revealed to the viewer the entire process of execution of the young murderer sentenced to death. Both directors capture the terrible details of what is happening. In Frank's film, we see the preparation of a criminal for execution: "he is dressed in special clothes of a suicide assassin, shaved off his hair, mustache..." [Zorkaya, 1991, 36], depriving him of his individual human appearance. Herzog demonstrates on screen the murder weapon, the place where the sentenced person is given lethal injection. The details are shocking, but it is more important for directors to show the steps of "spiritual cleansing" that a man condemned to death passes before us. As H. Frank himself said, his film was composed step by step, intuitively. He did not excuse his hero, "but certainly sympathized with his suffering and gave him the opportunity to speak out before his death" [Frank, 2004]. Herzog did the same. The difference from the literary narrative consisted in the visibility of documentary filmmaking. In this regard, Frank asserted: "... you should not spy through the keyhole — you have to look. Watch and see! Through eyes and heart" [Frank, 2004].

At the same time, it seemed to the master that he "exposed someone else's soul too much." Let us recall the same desire of the "new journalists" to show the personal or spiritual life of the characters. Wolfe admitted at the same time: "I and my friends were even accused of 'intruding into the inner world of a person'" [Novaya Zhurnalistsika i Antologiya, 2008]. Significantly, both Herzog and Frank reflected on the wrongfulness and moral cost of the death penalty. Herz Frank's film even gave impetus to the discourse about abolishing the institute of capital punishment in the USSR. In doing so, the director avoids political relevance in the bad sense of the word, "he makes films about what is relevant yesterday, today and for many years tomorrow" [Frank, 2004], as he used to say himself. Wolfe at one time also wrote about the "timeless nature of the theme" of Capote's novel. As we can see, here too, we find the closeness of the artistic directions we consider, united by the term non-fiction.

N. Zorkaya reflected on the imperfection of the definition of "documentary film", pointing to the affiliation of the film "Supreme Court" to the category of "high screen publicity", which, turns out, today is quite capable of rivaling the artistic narrative. Ultimately, Herz Frank himself did not see the border between image and information content in documentary films.

He concluded: “The documentary filmmaker has the view of an artist who should not distort this reality, but must see in his own way” [Frank, 2004].

3. Results and Discussion

Summing up, one should, first of all, emphasize the significantly increased public interest in the genre of non-fiction in recent years and, as a result, interest in this phenomenon on the part of scientific communities in Russia and abroad. Hence our attention to this topic, due also to the fact that many features of the direction of “new journalism” appeared in the USA in the early 60’s of last century, presented by the names of Truman Capote, Hunter Thompson, Norman Mailer, Tom Wolfe and others, and associated with them the genre of non-fiction, are found in the tradition of domestic court essays as a genre of fiction publicistics, and in the brightest examples of our documentary. The nature of the non-fiction genre is still not clear. There are discrepancies in the understanding of both the term and the mechanisms of formation of the phenomenon behind it as a hybrid, synthetic meta genre; there are difficulties in determining the ways of combining the figurative and life principles in it; there are disputes about the recognition and non-recognition of fiction and speculation within it; the methods of its analysis and criteria for assigning different works to it have not been developed. Through an interdisciplinary approach and a close study of the scientific literature on the topic, we have found a diversity of perspectives on the subject of our research from representatives of different sciences, such as: literature, linguistics, journalism, screen art theory and media, including film and television. Different scientists treat non-fiction differently, without achieving a holistic understanding of the creative world of the work.

Taking the genre of “narrative non-fiction”, close in content to “narrative publicistics”, or “fiction publicistics”, which allow us to construct stories about real events with the help of artistic imagery, we offered our own perspective on things, moving away from the mechanical connection of journalism and literature as holistic structures. This led us to understand the traditional for the Russian practice of “narrative non-fiction” not as a hybrid of journalism and literature, existing as independent forms of creative activity, but as a combination within a single narrative structure of two equal components — the life foundation and artistic way of mastering reality.

Further, we addressed the problem not only in relation to the verbal but also to the audiovisual narrative. Namely: in relation to our domestic practice

of certain forms of verbal language carried out in the genre of true crime (real crime). This refers to the richest experience of the Soviet judicial essay, on the one hand, and screen documentary, on the other. At the same time, it was shown that this experience clearly differs for the better from the practice of domestic television related to programs on criminal topics.

Research on these areas should certainly be pursued both theoretically and in terms of empirical observation and analysis. In the future it would be interesting to get acquainted with the newest foreign scientific literature concerning both traditions of “new journalism” and world practice of non-fiction in the genre of true crime.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Interaction “Journalist — Robot Journalist”: Communicative Advantages and Social Responsibility

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Abstract. The relevance of the study is based on the statement of the problem of “replacing” journalists with robots and the prospects for the disappearance of the profession. The purpose of the work is to analyze the communication advantages and assess the menace of using robotic journalism based on examples of Russian and foreign media during the period 2016–2020. In the work, such concepts are used to avoid an extended interpretation of the notion “artificial intelligence” in journalism; the problem of social responsibility of journalists is raised when creating content using artificial intelligence technologies.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, media communication, mass media, robotic journalism

1. Introduction

Analysts at Yandex in July 2020 conducted a study that included an analysis of headlines about artificial intelligence (AI) news from 2010 to 2020, and found that the number of such news has doubled [Russians still consider AI

to be a miracle, the study showed, 2020]. AI actively writes music and draws, predicts the results of sports competitions, diagnoses diseases — in general, does everything to surpass a person and deprive him of his future work.

If we start looking for information about the future of a specific profession, — a journalist, then we will inevitably come to publications about the “replacement” of journalists with robots, to a discussion of the terms of the disappearance of the profession in connection with this “replacement” [Robot journalists write no worse than people, 2016; Krendelev, 2019]. After all, the machine already knows how to quickly translate, compose texts of a certain genre and on a certain topic, has the copyright for the content being created. Such a precedent occurred in a Chinese court, which stated that articles created by the automated Dreamwriter software for the Tencent Securities website have “a certain originality” [Artificial Intelligence for Writing in Media and Literature, 2020] and met the legal requirements for works of the form of presentation and of the stages of text creation (selection, analysis and processing of information), and, therefore, the created text was under the law on copyright protection.

Since 2016, Forbes magazine has been using a specialized writing platform created by Narrative Science. The co-founder of this company, Christian Hammond, believes that this area has serious prospects and in 15 years 90 % of all texts in the world will be written by artificial intelligence [Wakefield, 2015]. Vladimir Sungorkin, General Director of Komsomolskaya Pravda, agrees with this opinion, noting the competitiveness of robotic journalists in the labor market, which have a number of advantages: a clearly structured algorithm for writing text can be implemented into a robot, which will allow an increase in the readability of news notes [Golitsyna, 2015].

On the opposite side is the opinion of Yuri Pogorely, Executive Director of the Financial and Economic Information Service of Interfax, who is convinced of the inability to replace human intelligence with artificial intelligence: “Robots are not able to feel an interesting story — they are only able to answer the questions posed” [Ivanov, 2016] By the way, Christian Hammond later commented on his famous phrase about 90 % of all texts in the world written by AI: “This does not mean that 90 % of journalist jobs will disappear. This means that journalists can expand their areas of activity. The world of news will expand. Journalists will not create stories based on data. These unambiguous and inaccessible for interpretation materials will be executed by machines” [Wakefield, 2015].

1.1. Resources

The relevance of the study is based on the statement of the problem of “replacing” journalists with robots and the prospects for the disappearing of the profession. According to the research group of the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov under the leadership of Tatyana Frolova, 45 % of media workers are afraid of losing their jobs due to the robotization of journalists’ activities [Research: Journalists are afraid of losing their jobs due to robotization, 2019]. Several groups demonstrated a “cautious distrust” of news generated by robotic journalists for fear of program interruptions. However, the same audience recognized the objective benefits of robots, which are faster and more accurate than human staff, and also save resources and time for true journalistic creativity.

Many practicing journalists believe that the very formulation of the issue is incorrect: it is not about a confrontation between human journalists and robots, but “a confrontation between people who believe or do not believe in the symbiosis of a machine and a person” [Ivanov, 2015, 33–34]. This is how the general director of Meduza, Galina Timchenko, sees the situation: “I really think that 90 % of the rough work on preparing texts can be given by a machine, but 10 % — the most important part — will still be done by a journalist or editor. Do not confuse media service and mass media”.

The purpose of this study is to analyze communication advantages and assess the menaces of using robot journalists studying examples of Russian and foreign media for the period 2016–2020.

1.2. Methodology

In order to study the experience of using robotic journalist in Russian and foreign media, it is necessary to define notions and terms of the study issue. The head of the Yandex machine learning laboratory, Alexander Krainov, complains that when the media writes a lot about AI, it always tries to make headlines as attractive as possible, which leads to a misunderstanding of what artificial intelligence is” [Russians still consider AI a miracle, the study showed, 2020].

Journalism researchers note the fact of too extended or incorrect interpretation of the term “artificial intelligence” by journalists, which creates the illusion that artificial intelligence already exists. Scholars [Shesterina and Shesterin, 2020] define the main difference between machine learning and neural networks from artificial intelligence as the ability to find extraordinary solutions for problems outside the existing ideas about the reality. It turns

out that machine learning, which is based on neural networks, is a process that is described in many works on journalism as artificial intelligence itself. There is an objective need to introduce concepts that can distinguish above-mentioned equal notions from the point of view of an “inexperienced reader”, but fundamentally different ones from the scientific point of view. Scientists of the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University considers automated solutions related to natural language as part of artificial intelligence technologies, but not as a phenomenon itself. The scholars use in their research such a category as “robotic journalism”, meaning by it the algorithms created both for processing media texts by robots in order to identify connections between its structures, and for the automated generation of the texts themselves [Zamkov, Krasheninnikova, Lukina and Tsynareva, 2017].

Thus, it is possible to reveal the fact of substituting a process of machine learning based on neural networks for the notion of “artificial intelligence”. During this research we will distinguish a process, which is only one of the aspects of the functioning of artificial intelligence, and artificial intelligence itself, and we will study precisely robotic journalism connected with the implementation of machine learning based on neural networks into the process of journalistic work.

2. Study description

2.1. Communication advantages: what can a robot journalist do?

1. Create content. The first application of neural networks in journalism is content generation. If there is a newsbreak, then a neural network writes the text due to a natural language processing algorithm. There are publications that use it for routine newsbreaks — stock exchange reports, or financial performance of companies.

For example, *Worldsmith* platform creates notes, news, articles, reviews and other types of content, generating up to 2,000 notes per second [Ivanov, 2015, 37]. Many well-known companies — Yandex, Yahoo, Allstate — are already using the neural network. The advantage of the platform is that you do not need to look for a copywriter to write a note about an event — *Worldsmith* will generate the news in a few seconds.

Associated Press uses automatic content generation for financial news that has little analytics but lots of numbers and evidence. Before the invention of such programs, *Associated Press* reporters reviewed the earnings reports of US public companies every quarter, processed financial data and

published them. This long hectic work ended up with the agency releasing 300 articles per quarter, while modern content generation platforms allows generating 4,400 articles per quarter. The materials have a high reliability, quality and explanation that this material was written by a robot [Boldyreva, 2019]. Such software is made by *Narrative Science, Automated Insights*. If you go to their sites, you can see a lot of real cases — examples of publications written by robots. All of these articles are based on data facts.

An example of robotic journalism is *The Washington post* experiment on automated news writing using the intelligent software of Heliograf [Underwood, 2019]. The bot debuted in summer 2016 at the Olympic Games in Rio, generating news by analyzing game data as it emerged and adding relevant phrases to the data in templates. Also, this program creates about a third of its content using an intelligent system that produces articles on the company's financial statements.

Thus, this works great for factual information, but for more serious newsbreaks, the content generated by the neural network needs to be transformed into a more meaningful text.

1. Machine learning is used to classify and find hidden logics in data. For example, editors have a set of newsbreaks or publications that is needed to be classified, that is, automatically assign certain tags to them. Or there are texts with a large number of words that need to be divided into classes, interests, moods, etc. The machine is shown as many already marked up texts with a large number of classes as possible, after which a new text is given, and the machine itself classifies it into the area to which it belongs. Thus, the machine was trained by showing a larger number of texts already marked by class, and when a new newsbreak appears — from the Internet, social networks, news agencies — the machine understands where it belongs, what its subject matter is, what mood it conveys and for which audience it can be applied.

The popularity or rating of the newsbreaks is predicted in a similar way: the assessment of the popularity of the content is calculated by the number of links or mentions of a given page on other resources. The result is a kind of rating, in which, however, it is worth considering not only the quantity, but also the quality of resources. After all, it is one thing when a publication is referenced by five unknown pages, and quite another when the links are provided by major news agencies. Such accounting for quality allows you to build a hierarchy of ratings, which is an effective method for automated assessment

of the significance of information. If you count not only mentions, but also their significance, you can automatically sort all newsbreaks for specific target audiences. Therefore, recommendations are mainly used for such targeting. For example, the VKontakte neural network “Prometey” is able to view user profiles and find authors with unique content. Active communities with interesting posts receive a fire badge, additional coverage, and tips for promoting the community. The incentive is given for seven days. In the first six months, Prometey found and noted more than four thousand authors [Paranko, 2018].

The neural network classifies texts, and now more and more such materials are published in the media.

2. Evaluate perception or conduct A / B testing. The neural network is able to write and validate several forms of publications for different target groups. This process can be fully automated and the robot can be taught to write the same content for different channels and target audiences. For example, there are several forms of publication, and you need to test how they will be reflected in different target groups. Using this kind of method, this process can be fully automated, which will especially appeal to those who need to write the same content for different channels, resources or target audiences. To publish an article that has already been published in another edition, you cannot just copy-paste. To adapt it, you can either involve a copywriter, or use a neural network. For a computer, this is even easier than machine translation: the text does not need to be converted into another language, syntax, and so on.

3. Using machine learning to personalize content. Machine learning news feeds are a personalized feed of posts aggregated from other resources that are selected based on machine learning, taking into account a user’s specific preferences (explicitly expressed through previous actions or hypothesis). This process is based on data of a user’s views, likes and comments, in this case, “contextual journalism” functions: thanks to artificial intelligence, he reads a selection of texts that he likes. This is similar to the principle used by social networks: *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Vkontakte*, *Twitter* analyze the interests of audiences based on their users’ actions and offer personalized content.

Many foreign online magazines use the same principle, applying machine learning for personal mailings and for moderating readers’ comments: an application programming tool called *Perspective*, developed by *Jigsaw* and *Google* [Underwood, 2019], filters comments with obscene language or defiant behavior so that moderators can see them immediately and react to them in real time.

Twitter users can sort the displayed content by popularity or by time of publication. These options are possible due to application of machine learning. Artificial intelligence analyzes each tweet in real time and evaluates it according to several indicators. The algorithm first of all shows those posts that are more likely to be liked by the user. In this case, the choice is based on his personal preferences.

The social network *Facebook* uses a neural network to analyze the photos uploaded by users. Artificial intelligence detects if a photo or video contains certain body parts, and does not allow pictures that do not comply with *Facebook* policy.

In an international study by *Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers* (KPCB) carried out in 2017 [Meeker, 2018], the trend of news consumption through viewing feeds that gather the most interesting posts based on machine learning was highlighted as one of the main ones nowadays and considered using the example of Chinese media market. It is used by the giants of the Chinese market *Toutiao*, *Baidu*, *Weibo*, *Tencent*. Chinese news apps such as *Jinri Toutiao*, *Qutoutiao* and *Kuaibao* are world leaders in using machine learning to create personalized news from a range of media. *Toutiao* has about 120 million users with an average time to be present on the site of more than an hour every day [Delyukin, 2018]. These apps are now spreading across Asia thanks to *Newsdog*, one of the most popular aggregators in India. The owners of *Toutiao* and *Bytedance* are investing in similar apps in Indonesia.

On the media market in Russia, among the news feeds that select the most interesting posts based on machine learning are *Dzen* from *Yandex*, *Stat'i dlya vas* from Google, *MyWidget* from Mail.Ru Group. *Yandex.Dzen* is the leader in the audience of all the feeds mentioned above [Perschina, 2019]. This service automatically creates a feed of interesting news based on the personal preferences of each of its users. The post selection algorithm is based on neural networks. Among the specialists involved in filling such feeds with the content of their projects, the use of the term “dzen” has already become widespread in relation to all such feeds. Why do companies need such feeds? Driving Usage + Advertising Growth [Meeker, 2018]. In 2017, at the *Yandex YAC* conference, Viktor Lamburt, the head of the *Yandex.Dzen* service, announced that traffic to sites from his project surpasses traffic from any of the social networks represented in Russia [Lamburt, Trabun, Solomentsev and Bakunov, 2017]. Based on these data, market experts believe that *Yandex.Dzen* has become one of the largest content and advertising platforms on the Runet.

Thus, among the main communication advantages of robot journalists there are the following:

1. Processing a large amount of data. If the editors' office has a large number of sources, then the machine will be able to automatically classify the information received from them, choosing the most adequate.

2. High speed of writing texts and video processing. If you need to process newsbreaks, then a robot journalist is a great tool. *YLE* company, with the help of the *Voitto* program [the first of its kind in the world, 2018], generates about 100 sports news and 250 illustrations every week. News agencies are also improving their content thanks to the Finnish news agency *STT*, which automatically translates news into English and Swedish [Newman, 2019].

3. Reducing the time a journalist spends on routine work. Robots allow you to focus on the content, and not on the process of adapting it to different forms. *Forbes* created a robot Bertie [Martin, 2019], whose "duties" include recommending the topic of an article for a specific author based on his previous publications, writing a draft article, which the author can simply improve, and not to write a full text from scratch. *Reuters agency* has created a program that can suggest article ideas. The program is able to write a part of an article for a journalist, but not replace a person.

4. Checking fake news, content verification, accuracy of facts, fact-checking. The speed and high quantity of news force journalists to use special algorithms that help to search for news and verify its authenticity in real time. *DataMinr* used a neural network to check millions of tweets. Its algorithms distinguish extraordinary tweets that helps newsmaker to stay updated [Krendeleva, 2019]. *Associated Press* has developed a tool to help journalists to check multimedia content in real time; *The Reuters News Tracer* is a social monitoring tool that can identify fake news on Twitter by analyzing millions of tweets with nearly 80 percent accuracy [Underwood, 2019]. Trend analysis and predictions are mainly practiced in business and sports journalism. So *Associated Press* plans to release 40,000 automated materials, mainly containing business and sports news.

5. Determination of audience preferences and user personalization is based on the account of views, likes and comments. Thanks to machine learning, the user reads selected texts that he likes, that is a personalized content. *Financial Times* has launched an algorithm that analyzes how many articles on a given topic have been read by the user and, based on this data,

displays the most relevant for the reader, and also shows the level of awareness in a particular topic. This was called the scoring algorithm [Boldyreva, 2019].

2.2. *Robotic journalism: an intellectual stimulation of live communication?*

Robot journalists are successfully used not only in creating texts, but also in scoring news. Virtual news programs already exist: China's state news agency *Xinhua* has unveiled a robotic news feed that simulates voices, lip movements and expressions of real speakers. A digital news speaker with artificial intelligence is almost indistinguishable from the live one. *Xinhua* does not reveal the details of how the digital speaker was created [Baraniuk, 2018], but considering the image, it is a combination of computer graphics and videos with a real host. If you don't look closely at details, it is difficult to identify a substitution.

Likewise, Japan's national public broadcaster *NHK* has produced anime news programs. The program was developed by one of the leading manga artists and looks like a young female reporter *Yomiko* [Public broadcaster's AI newsreader to make senryu poetry debut, 2019]. She appears in the main *NHK* news stream and also reads news through *Amazon Alexa* and *Google Home*.

The first virtual TV speaker in Russia was created to lead broadcasts of Sberbank TV. TV reporter Elena adjusts facial expressions to the meaning of the information message.

Thus, robot speakers are sometimes even a "twin" of a human speaker and are often much more convenient than a living one: they can work around the clock, do not make mistakes and do not require payment for their work. Initially, it arouses interest in the audience, but in the end the audience does not like the demonstration of the lack of human warmth and the lack of a sense of humor, but experts believe that in the future it will be possible to program all of this.

3. Results and discussions

The following menaces of usage of robotic journalism can be defined:

1. Menaces for professional journalists. The problem of job places disappearing and minimizing the demand for journalists in the future is only a light threat. A far greater evil is the consequences of the ease with which robot journalists create basic publications. There will be more automatically generated content than human-written ones. In the US and Germany, studies were conducted in which groups of journalists were shown a large number of articles, half of which were written by humans and half by machines [Heinrichs, 2018]. On average, people couldn't tell them apart. Moreover,

when the group was asked to classify texts according to reliability and interest, it turned out that they found machine-written texts more reliable. Thus, the generated content is perceived by the audience as more reliable and readable, which makes it possible to form a tool for manipulating consciousness.

2. Creation of echo chambers. The content is personalized based on the similarity of consumer interests, taking into account the consumption of the user and people similar to him, which creates a closed information field. Personalization can lead to the fact that human values will be ignored, do not enter the user's personal echo chamber.

3. Easy creation of information bubbles and fake news. By creating consciously a "desired" event or news, robot journalists instantly write many different versions of publications to imitate their authenticity. Fake information is broadcast to huge audiences through various sites and media platforms.

4. Blurring the boundaries of professional journalist ethics. A robot journalist does not sign codes of ethics and has no obligations in front of readers, although there are already suggestions to include a case of use of AI in codes of journalist ethics [Chadwick, 2018]. Trust and personal data, interference in private life and discrimination of all kinds are obvious ethical issues that the robojournalist does not take into account. We always talk about data and trust, which in this case are linked. How much we collect and how we use the data is another matter. Obviously, the data cannot be collected (legally) without the user's permission, but you can offer the user something in return, and now he already agrees to give his personal data (for example, 40 % of Germans did not see a particular problem in case they were allowed use of the services for free [Heinrichs, 2018]).

5. Popularity-based algorithms encourage clickbait, virus videos and other sensational material. Because of this, the Chinese government has suspended a number of applications, including *Toutiao*.

Publishers want to invest more in developing the potential of machine learning. In the report conducted by the *Reuters* Institute for the Study of Journalism, Nick Newman gives an example of a survey according to which media executives are more likely to invest in journalism training [Newman, 2019]. Editors say that machines still cannot replace humans, although more than 70 % of publishers are implementing machine learning for the following purposes: to personalize content and improve audience recommendations; to automate a great number of stories and videos; to help and support journalists in information overload.

4. Conclusions

One of the main questions that the development of artificial intelligence poses to humanity is how to adapt ethics to new realities, who is responsible — a person or a machine?

The question for editors is how to responsibly use the algorithms on their websites and applications, and how to tell users what is going on. The Finnish TV company *YLE* spent a lot of time solving these problems, and as a result they developed the intelligent assistant *Voitto* [The first of its kind in the world, 2018]. It collects feedback on content recommendations right on the lock screen. *Voitto* is designed to build a constant dialogue with users in order to understand what kind of content they are choosing. This smart assistant does not take into account clicks rating as a primary measure of success, but shows how many people are using *Voitto* and whether they are happy with the number and type of recommendations the program provides.

Charlie Beckett, head of the *Polis* project at London School of Economics, is studying the challenges of educating robot journalists for newsrooms. The project is supported by *Google* and aims to investigate the responsibility of journalists when creating content using artificial intelligence technologies. Commenting on his involvement with the project, Beckett said: “There are many editorial and ethical issues related to transparency (or lack of it) and systematic deviation of algorithms and programs. The last thing that journalism needs now is to further weaken the credibility of its work” [Krendeleva, 2019].

Behind each robot there is a person who programs it and sets the vector of behavior, but in addition to the given intentions, the intellectual system can also adopt the prejudices of its “creator”. This implies the idea of responsibility not only of programmers, but also of journalists themselves, because the ideal process of creating content using machine learning involves a “man-machine” interaction. A person is not excluded from the content preparation process, and robots can be considered as additional tools that speed up and simplify the process and remove routine tasks.

Intelligent algorithms are designed for the instant calculation of complex operations, surpass a person with their excellent memory and never feel tired. Psycholinguist Tatiana Chernigovskaya believes that “the brain is not just a high-power computing machine. Inside the human brain, we observe at least two phenomena that move humanity forward. The first is intuition. The second phenomenon is imagination. It is more important

than knowledge, because, unlike knowledge, imagination has no boundaries” [Bzegezhev, 2020]. Thanks to intuition and imagination, a person is able to go beyond the boundaries of the known, which is not available to AI. Let’s hope that the future is not for robots, but for a professional who can use them productively. As the head of *Google* China, Kai-fu Lee wisely stated in his book *The Superpowers of Artificial Intelligence*, “if the alliance of man and machine is built on the ability of AI to think and the ability of people to love, then it can ensure our development without threatening our humanity” [cit. from: Delyukin, 2018].

It seems that robot journalism can become a blessing for the journalistic craft, provided that the media staff will learn to apply new technologies responsibly for the purpose of opening up new opportunities in journalism.

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Subcultures of the “Analogue” and the “Digital”: Prospects of Intergenerational Communication

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Abstract. One of the signs of the post-literacy era is the emergence of a communication gap between people with a limited set of forms of literacy, which often complicates intercultural and intergenerational dialogue. This allows us to single out holistic media generations, the distinctive features of which are not only different generational media practices, often in mismatched media environments, but also different thematic vectors of interests, which generally characterize generational media subcultures.

Based on the author's sociocultural concept of media generations and the use of the Sketch Engine, a modern cloud tool for studying large text collections, arrays of frequency vocabulary of text media corpora were formed, thematic repertoires of media intentions focused on the typically “analogue” and typically “digital” media generations are revealed. The comparative analysis made it possible to identify the dominant vocabulary groups that we identify as markers of generations that complement the characteristics of generational media subcultures. The markers of the typically “analogue” media generation are the topics of family, person in work, state and power, history of the country, and the typically “digital” one is the topics of business, labor, state and public order, family, entertainment.

Keywords: communication gap, digital divide, “analogue” and “digital” media generations, media subcultures, generational communication

1. Introduction

The modern “cultural and civilizational technological dialogue” (according to M. Y. Gudova) is implemented in the era of post-literacy, which by being a phenomenon of “modern culture and civilization, has divided society technologically and, as a result, generationally...” [Gudova, 2014,

p.30]. Technological digital innovations have led to the emergence of the so-called “digital” divide [Dewan, Riggins, 2005], which in Russia manifests itself both at the level of digital inequality of regions and at the level of digital competencies as a “set of internalized abilities” of a person [Gladkova, Vartanova & Ragnedda, 2020, 3]. Access to ICT and digital competencies, according to researchers, form the so-called digital capital of a media user [Ragnedda, Ruii & Addeo, 2020; Vartanova & Gladkova, 2020]. “At the same time, the lack of computer literacy among the majority of older people leads to their informational and technological dependence on those around them” [Gudova, 2014, 30], and, accordingly, to a decrease in opportunities of the formation of digital capital.

The generational communication gap, caused by different levels of digital capital of users, leads, on the one hand, to “the difference in social benefits that users receive when using technology and Internet access” [Ragnedda, 2018, 2370], and on the other hand, the development of multiculturalism and the formation of sustainable media generational subcultures. O. V. Yazovskaya interprets the phenomenon of multiculturalism “as cultural diversity and the clash of different cultures in situations of intercultural interaction” [Yazovskaya, 2018, 253], which “sets, in particular, the characteristics of various subcultural formations” [Ibid, 254].

Thus, the contradiction between the need to adapt the human community to the “digital information civilization”, the need / ability of a person to master digital media practices and overcome the communication generation gap mediated by media technologies, the development of intercultural interaction, actualizes the study of emerging subcultures of media generations, including significant generational thematic dominants in media texts.

2. Depth of Scientific Research

Widespread digitalization contributed to the onset of the post-literacy era, which, according to M. Y. Gudova’s position, represents “the subject-subjective property of modern culture, which arose under the pressure of a set of socio-cultural factors: the emergence and mass distribution of gadgets and mobile Internet; the complication of socio-cultural ties and relationships due to the emergence of a virtual network culture, communities and individuals; accelerated updating of the technical-technological and semiotic external environment of human life” [Gudova, 2018, 3]. L. Manovich, the author of manuscripts on the theory of digital culture, believes that in the era of

“pervasive computerization, information interaction between a man and the digital environment, with the help of new technologies, invisible layers of modern culture become visible, cultural objects are born” [Manovich, 2017, 73]. When we use such word as “new” layers of culture, we refer to the emerging subcultures of media generations that have arisen as a result of the digital and, as a result, communication gap.

The paper authors’ socio-cultural concept of media generations allowed us to distinguish several generations of media users, among which are typically “analogue” and typically “digital” [Sumskaya, Sverdlov, 2019].

By the generation of media audience, we understand the groups of people whose socialization period coincided with the growth of popularization of one or another type of media — press, radio, television or Internet media and formed the corresponding priorities in media consumption and media behaviour.

From the perspective of the significance of the events that defined the differences in media generations, perhaps one of the most critical developments in the context of our study is the transition from analogue to digital methods of production and broadcasting.

The digital signal has led to the civilizational changes that we see today — the multiplicity of digital mass media, the mediatization of modern life, the digitalization of many everyday practices, including communicative ones. Analogue media includes all those that are transmitted by the analogue signal. Primarily analogue media are those that emerged from the use of the analogue transmission of information but later became digital.

Initially, we refer to the digital media as those that initially used the digital transmission of data and the Internet to access the content. This gives a basis for the identification of at least two main auditorium clusters: “analogue” and “digital”, which give priority to the consumption of original analogue and print or digital media. The audience that is more accustomed to using primarily analogue media is called the “analogue” generation, and the audience that prefers digital media is called the “digital” generation. Data summaries based on generation theories allowed identifying not only “analogue” and “digital” generations but also transitional, so-called “echo-generation”.

Thus, it is possible to identify the age groups of media generations. According to the researchers’ concepts, the “analogue” generation today includes the audience of mass media, who are about 50 years old and older. “Echo-generation” consists of the age range of the media audience between

the ages of 37–50 years. Accordingly, the “digital” generation of the audience is under 36 years old. Each generation has its core audience. It includes the average audience, which seems to have the most typical characteristics. For example, the typical “analogue” generation is 65 years old and older, the typical “echo-generation” is 40–47 years old, and the typical “digital” generation is under 25 years old [Sumskaya, Lozovskaya, 2019].

It is necessary to take into account the statement that the change of generation cycles is connected with urbanization: in provincial cities and rural areas the change of generations is slower due to the stability of the way of life; the influence of information technologies is delayed, not so transforming. In urban communities with populations of more than 20,000 people, however, the application of generational theory has been equally successful. The results of sociological research confirm that the Russian “digital” generation mainly lives in towns with a population of millions and thousands of people, while the analogue generation lives in small cities and rural areas [Gladkova, Vartanova & Ragnedda, 2020, 22]. Urbanization is directly related to the increased use of information technologies in everyday life practices and the mediatization of the life of society.

Thus, the second parameter, which is vital for correlating the audience with a particular media generation, is the idea of S. G. Korkonosenko about the development of the media city as a “peculiar civilization formation”, created by media communication and lacking spatial certainty, in which the “common person” is active in the media behaviour.

“Media life” in this media city “proceeds according to its laws and rules...” [Korkonosenko, 2013, 16]. In this regard, we believe that a significant competence of the modern media audience is “digital competency” (according to M. Ragnedda). Developing the ideas of S. G. Korkonosenko, it is possible to identify the generations of mass media, which are distinguished not only by the intervals of history, but also by their “digital competency”, and media practices in the digital environment. In this regard, the analogue generation is defined as a multi-aged audience of mass media, the territorial localization of which does not matter. This generation prefers primarily analogue mass media, since they do not have a high level of digital competency and only use technologies discretely in everyday practices.

In its turn, the “digital” generation is identified as a media audience that is proficient in information technology at a high level, using, above all,

digital media and social media based on mobile devices, preferring short forms of communication, perceiving information non-linearly and discretely.

Thus, two generations with stable characteristics of “analogue” and “digital” are defined; two transitional generations, the reference to which is based on the level of “information competency”, and the echo-generation, which is an intermediate between “digital” and “analogue”.

These generations form their subcultures of media communication, which are manifested in various thematic preferences, various symbolic (intangible value) capital, audiovisual technologies and formats for representing reality [Sumskaya, 2020; Sumskaya, Solomeina, 2019]. This work is focused on identifying thematic markers of the subcultures of the “analogue” and “digital” media generations of Russians through the use of lexical and statistical analysis of media texts.

A detailed study of speech behavior and generalization of the sociolinguistic characteristics of users in VKontakte social media resource based on MyStem and MS Access tools, and as a result, the identification of sociocultural priorities of different generations and the specifics of intergenerational communication is described in the works of M. Y. Mukhin, A. I. Lozovskaya [Mukhin, Lozovskaya, 2019].

Purpose of the study: to identify thematic markers of the media generation subculture based on a comparative analysis of the frequency vocabulary of the media.

Objectives of the study:

1. To form the arrays of the frequency vocabulary of the mass media text corpora, focused on the typically “analogue” and typically “digital” media generation.
2. To conduct morphological analysis within each subcorpus.
3. To analyze the frequency of the received lexemes.
4. To combine the frequency vocabulary according to denotative spheres on the basis of lexicostatistical, contextological analysis in each generational subcorpus.
5. To interpret the data obtained by identifying large semantic categories in media texts targeted at different generations (“analogue” and / or “digital”) that characterize generational subcultures.

3. Methodology and Research Methods

The research is based on methods such as morphological, lexicostatistical, comparative. We selected storytellings (short and long stories) published in 2018–2019 in the media, the core of the target audience of which is typically “analogue” or typically “digital” media generation. In total, texts from 14 media were used in the study. Sources such as “It’s My City”, “The Village”, “ETV”, “BUMAGA”, “MEDUZA” are focused mainly on the “digital” media generation, and “Nyazepetrovskie Vesti”, “Uralsky Rabochy”, “Vecherny Chelyabinsk”, “Course Dela”, “Obl-TV”, “Yuzhnouralskaya panorama”, “Izvestia”, “AiF”, “Mediazavod” — mainly for the “analogue” generation. The empirical base of the research includes 381 texts, over 551,000 words. In the process of manual checking of the 2000 most frequent words, an array of words most frequently encountered in different generational corpora of generations was identified.

First and foremost, this work analyzes frequent nouns in the subcorpus of texts of “analogue” and “digital” media generations. The analysis of the frequency vocabulary is made on the basis of the ideographic classification of Russian vocabulary developed by the Ural Semantic School (Ural Federal University) and generalized in the universal ideographic dictionary of Russian language, including inter-speech denotative ideographic groups [Universal ideographic dictionary, 2015]. The chosen course of the research, which presupposes not primarily inter-speech, but a sequential analysis of the significant and service parts of speech, is in our opinion, due to the tasks and logic of the study, which involves identifying markers of media generation subcultures in media texts. Therefore, at first, in generational media texts, we analyzed the frequency vocabulary of nouns, since they indicate objects of reality that are significant for this analysis. All received data are combined according to denotative spheres. The frequency of use of lemmas is ranked based on the SKETCH ENGINE IPM service. We believe, all mentioned above will make it possible to judge the processes that can serve as markers of the subcultures of media generations.

4. Study description

With the use of Sketch Engine, a modern cloud tool for researching large text collections, the following analytical model for analyzing the received data has been implemented.

Firstly, two linguistic subcorpus were created in accordance with the analyzed generations.

Secondly, lists of lexical sets of nouns were formed from media texts oriented towards a typically “analogue” or typically “digital” media generation.

Thirdly, in the process of manual checking of the frequency of lexical sets (1940 words), thematic areas were identified in accordance with denotative spheres and an attempt was made to analyze their absolute frequency and lexical variability.

Fourth, as a result of the comparison, series of lexemes were obtained that are frequency and thematically defined in each subcorpus, an attempt was made to interpret the data obtained, which is presented below.

5. Results and discussions

5.1. Analysis of the lexical set of nouns in media texts focused on the typically “analogue” generation

In the analyzed media texts focused on a typically “digital generation”, we single out the 50 most common **nouns**: year, person, time, work, child, life, day, business, place, home, country, Moscow, family, school, district, everything, history, question, Russia, city, word, Ivan, war, attitude, Stalin, USSR, case, peace, situation, beginning, part, moment, end, number, problem, project, death, chief, side, Sergei, building, resident, group, hand, woman, decision, area, team, society, class.

The thematic sets of nouns demonstrate a significant volume, therefore, within the framework of this study, we have identified two criteria for the analysis (“frequency” and “variability”) and 3 levels of representation (higher, middle and lower).

Ideographic analysis shows that according to the criterion of “lexical variability”, the denotative group (lexical & semantic set) “**Public-state sphere**” is represented on a large scale.

In the group, not only is the subgroup “state, power and public order” seemed to be highlighted, but also in it, in turn, one more subtopic is clearly drawn, which we are inclined to single out and call nothing other than “History of the country”. If we turn to the Universal Ideographic Dictionary, we shall see that this subgroup includes a set of words from the subtopics of “military operations, measures, their features and results”; “A person in the public and state sphere”; “Man in the field of art.” However, within the framework of this study, we single out this subtopic as an independent

block because the topic of the historical past is very important for Russians, significant for the organization of intergenerational communication. And because at the present time of global transformations of information wars, the historical past of Russia is nonetheless, among other things, the subject of political international discussions. Summaries are given in Table 1.

Table 1

**Larger groups of vocabulary in media texts targeted
at the typically “analogue” generation (nouns)**

Public and state sphere			
State, power and public order	Frequency of use SE (IPM)	State, power and public order / Country, state / Country history)	Frequency of use SE(IPM)
country	996.1	history	794.1
Russia	739.0	war	633.5
headman	500.3	USSR	624.3
society	445.2	Stalin	624.3
power	408.5	army	302.9
government	321.3	Zhukov	280.0
governance	298.3	CC	270.8
Kremlin	270.8	Lenin	266.2
control	247.8	victory	266.2
citizen	234.1	Kutuzov	224.9
duty	215.7	revolution	220.3
chief	211.1	Stalhanov	220.3
people	201.9	Mausoleum	206.5
Administration	201.9	front	201.9
President	179.0	Chekhov	201.9
Ministers	174.4	enemy	188.2
motherland	160.6	Gorbachev	179.0

This is confirmed by the contexts, we will present only some of them.:
 — “The light-engine Cessna-172 aircraft, piloted by 18-year-old German Matthias Rust, had a huge impact on the *history of the Soviet Union*”;

Table 2

Medium vocabulary groups in media texts targeted at the typically “analogue” generation (nouns)

Perception of the surrounding world / Time	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)	Person as a living being / The process of human existence	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)	Public sphere / Education	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)	Locality	Frequency of use SE (IPM)	Family Relations / Family and Mem- bers	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)
Year	7,152.2 /	person	3,236.4	school	849.2	home	1,014.5	child	1,592.9 /
time	2,226.4 /	woman	468.2	teacher	449.8	Moscow	899.7	family	858.4 /
day	1,377.1 /	lady	413.1	pupil	335.1	district	817.1	Father/ dad	523.3 /
month	426.9 /	man	293.8	education	298.3	city	720.7	parent	422.3
August	348.8 /	fellows	284.6	pedagogue	247.8	citizen	486.6	Mum/ mother	537.1
hour	325.9 /	adolescent	197.3/	secondary school	188.2	country- side	335.1	brother	385.6
Time (it's about time)	293.8 /	boy	133.1/	student	183.6	street	325.9	son	325.9
century	280.0 /	girl	179.0	lesson	179.0	Chely- abinsk	197.3	daughter	284.6
week	211.1 /	identity	169.8	university	119.3	township	179.0	wife	252.4
night	211.1 /	adult	68.8	lecturer	119.3	Village	142.3	husband	229.5

— “Next year, our *country* will celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War. It’s time to think about the grandfathers and great-grandfathers who defended our *Motherland*”;

— “I believe that the absence of such storytellers is one of the main dramas of modern Russian *society*”;

— “You should know, comrades, that the personality cult of Comrade *Stalin* has taken painful forms and dimensions in the daily practice of *governance*”;

— “This category of *citizens* has always been at risk. Partly due to the fact that same-sex intercourse in our *country* is a shameful thing”

— “I do not doubt for a second that the *people* of Russia are striving for a different state of the *country*, for a different quality of life. Now I’m not even talking about the desire to have a lot”;

— “Why was this road of *victory* overshadowed by public interest??”

— “As a result, the heavily fortified *enemy* defenses were broken through”.

The absolute frequency of historical figures mentioned in this sample, significant for the history of the country: Stalin (136), Zhukov (61), Lenin (58), Kutuzov (49), Stakhanov (48), Chekhov (44), Gorbachev (39), Beria (34), Eisenstein (32), Koganovich (30), Shekhtel (27), Gorky (27), Gagarin (16).

Smaller groups in terms of lexical variability, but significant in frequency nouns can be attributed to the following denotative-ideographic spheres:

1. Perception of the surrounding world (“Time” subgroup).

2. Man, as a living being (“The process of human existence” subgroup).

3. Public and state sphere (“Education” subgroup).

4. Locality.

5. Family relations (“Family and its members, people in relation to the family” subgroup).

Summaries are presented in Table 2.

Analysis shows that, for example, the “woman” lemma is almost twice as frequent as the “man” lemma. Lemmas related to school are many times more frequent than words related to university. The words “father / dad” are more frequent than “mum / mother”. The lemma “wife” is more common than “husband”.

Selective contextological analysis of texts to clarify the actual meanings of words allows us to give the following examples:

— “During this *time*, son Ivan has grown up”;

- “It was hard going to the garage every *day*, but the result was worth it. In two *months* the boats were ready. By that *time*, it was already *August*”;
- “In 2005, Sergei Ivanovich decided: “It’s *about time* to return!””;
- “They took the violent visitor out into the street, where a few minutes later he was attacked by a passer-by, whose *identity* was established by the police”;
- “citizen M. supported the arguments of the complaint, confirmed the fact of hitting his *son* with a belt, explaining that he raised his son in this way so that he would not lie to his father, would not offend the youngest *child*, and would grow up to be a good *person*”;
- “Concerned mother of the fifth grader remembered the dismissal of the *teacher* for a photo in a swimsuit for a reason”;
- “He always had dogs and cats at *home*, whom he cared for and cherished, and they loved him back”;
- “They are talking about this both in the *district* administration and in JSC Chelyaboblkommunenergo”;
- My *wife* cooks very well.”

At the third level, in terms of the number of words of a certain topic and frequency, there are 3 thematic groups that can be attributed to the following denotative ideographic spheres:

1. **Public and state sphere** (“Education” subgroup). In addition, within this area, we have identified a “Culture and Art” subgroup.

2. Language and speech.

Summaries are presented in Table 3.

The analysis shows that the lemmas “laborer” and “worker” are several times more frequent than the lemma “businessman”. Writing is a significant communication tool. “Film” and “theater” are the most frequent in the thematic group of “Culture and Art”.

Selective contextological analysis of texts allows us to give the following examples:

- “The acting of Minister of Construction and Infrastructure V. A. Tupikin assured that construction and installation *work* will be completed by August 15”;
- “And another partner of our *project* from Ekaterinburg — the center for the development of children “Republic Polosatov” — can offer very interesting programs”;

**Smaller vocabulary groups in media texts
targeting the typically “analogue” generation (nouns)**

Social sphere of human life / Man at work	Fre- quency of use SE(IPM)	Language and speech	Fre- quency of use SE(IPM)	Public and State Sphere / Culture and Art	Frequen- cy of use SE/HЧC (IPM)
Job	1,625.1	question	752.9	film	408.6
project	509.6	word	674.8	theater	408.6
employee	362.7	letter	321.3	Exhibition	280.0
specialist	335.1	speech	275.4	art	220.4
work	293.8	information	234.1	picture	206.6
laborer	174.4	opinion	224.9	Chekhov	201.9
worker	169.8	fact	201.9	director	192.8
peasant	68.8	answer	183.6	culture	183.6
businessman	64.3	communi- cation	110.2	movie	165.3
official	55.1	message	96.4	Eisenstein	146.9

- “They submitted to the Duma a *project* charter of the Society of City Rows in Moscow”;
- “A team of four *workers* works at the construction site every day except Sunday”;
- “*Employees* of the Hermitage told Eisenstein that the storming men could not run down the front staircase of the Jordan”;
- “A machine operator is a *specialist* who makes parts for different mechanisms”;
- “The young *official* is doing excellently with the new position”;
- “You are known for writing a *letter* to Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev. Is there a result?”;
- “Now with a local historian, she collects *information* that it was in their area that the great fabulist Krylov was born”;
- “Also, according to the *answers* of eyewitnesses, the area between Bashmachnaya and Chernaya Guba is filled with military equipment, which, most likely, participated in the tests”;

— “He can neither write nor read, he cannot really bind *words* into sentences”.

In addition, as a result of the analysis of nouns in the media texts, focused on the typically “analogue” generation, smaller, but significant groups of vocabulary associated with the public-state sphere are distinguished. These are subtopics: Man in the field of production by occupation, *Law, Agriculture, Technology, Sports, Service industry, Manufacturing, Banknotes, Religion*.

Finally, there are groups of words that reflect the sphere of “**Universal ideas, meanings and relationships**” — life (305 / 1,400.1 *), world (129 / 592.1), death (110 / 504.9), fate (56 / 257.0), era (52 / 238.7). The word “life” (305) is used more often than “death” (110). The words “death” (110 / 504.9) and “disease” (54 / 247.8) are used 4 times more often than “health” (38 / 174.4). In addition, all lemmas related to religion are used more often than “health”.

It is curious that the word “hero” (69 / 316.7) occurs almost 3 times more often than the word “winner” (29 / 133.1). The words “Motherland” and “thought” occur the same number of times (35 / 160.6). The lemmas “sex”, “honor” and “knowledge” have the same frequency in this sample of texts (22 / 100.9).

**These examples provide absolute frequency and frequency per million data.*

Finally, one more observation is the absolute priority of male names. Of the 15 most frequently used, only 2 female names are: Maria (43) and Lyubov (43). The following is the list of 10 male names in descending order: Ivan (142), Sergey (106), Alexander (87), Alexey (82), Vladimir (78), Nikolay (74), Dmitry (63), Oleg (62), Andrey (57), Mikhail (49) *.

** In this case, absolute frequency data are given.*

5.2. Analysis of the lexical set of nouns in media texts targeted at the typically “digital” generation

Let us single out the 50 most frequent nouns in media texts focused on a typically “digital” generation: *year, person, time, work, city, Russia, child, business, day, Ekaterinburg, life, thousand, ruble, place, occasion, house, project, Moscow, word, history, St-Petersburg, company, month, country, problem, woman, family, power, group, girl, center, shop, part, question, street, moment, money, peace, employee, mother, case, apartment, district, situation, prima, end, school, President*.

The analysis shows that the most large-scale according to the criteria of lexical variability and frequency of vocabulary are 5 spheres:

1. **Perception of the surrounding world** (“Time” subgroup).
2. **Locality**.
3. **Social sphere of human life** (“Labor activity, its individual types, spheres and aspects” subgroup).
4. **Language and speech**.
5. **Public and state sphere** (“State, power and public order” and “Culture and art” subgroups).

Summaries by topic and frequency are presented in Table 4.

These results are illustrated by contexts. Here are some examples:

- “According to the *words* of Ekaterina Murzina, about 10 dogs have been accommodated in Ekaterinburg at the *moment*”;
- “One of the most picturesque *places* on Elmash is the front square of the Machine Builders”;
- “Ural is a *place* where you want to live!”;
- “Of course, this stele is located on the *territory* of the Sima-land shopping center”;
- “According to Algiyan, today doctors-nephrologists everyday *deal* with patients dependent on furosemide, sometimes in an extremely serious condition”;
- “We have big *plans* and ambitions. We want to change the outlook of people for the better”;
- “The *chief* of the department of exhibition activities of the Yeltsin Center, Ilya Shipilovskikh, told IMC about the new project”;
- “But I never offer my *opinion*”;
- “I say: “ Let’s get out of here ”- as an *answer* they began to berate”.

Groups of nouns, which can be thematically designated as follows, are smaller in terms of the criterion of “lexical variability”, but significant in frequency.

1. **Man as a living being** (“The process of human existence” subgroup).
2. **Public and state sphere** (“Economy” / “Finance and financial activity” subgroup).
3. **Family relations** (“Family and its members” subgroup).

Summaries are presented in Table 5.

The illustrations of contexts are presented below:

- “If a *child* has a sense of community with his parents, any controversial moments of growing up are experienced easier”;

Larger groups of vocabulary in media texts targeted at the typically “digital” generation (nouns)

Perception of the surrounding world		Locality		Social sphere of human life		Language and speech		Public and state sphere			
Time	Frequency of use SE/IPM	Locality	Frequency of use SE/IPM	Labor activity, its certain types, spheres and aspects	Frequency of use SE/IPM	Language and speech	Frequency of use SE/IPM	State, power and public order	Frequency of use SE/IPM	Culture and art	Frequency of use SE/IPM
year	5,910.3	city	1,477.5	Job	1,499.1	word	875.7	Russia	1,395.6	theater	273.9
time	1,896.0	Russia	1,395.6	deal	1,210.1	question	565.1	country	733.3	concert	237.2
day	1,201.4	Ekaterinburg	1,119.5	project	893.0	language	284.7	power	642.8	excursion	224.3
month	744.1	place	990.0	company	798.1	conversation	245.9	president	407.6	festival	220.0
moment	554.3	house	951.2	employee	481.0	opinion	228.6	deputy	351.5	culture	174.7
hour	358.0	Moscow	875.7	team	332.1	information	222.1	rally	276.1	art	159.6
period	342.9	Petersburg	836.9	plan	248.0	post	198.4	protest	261.0	architecture	153.1
week	293.3	outside	558.6	chief	226.4	answer	179.0	activist	241.5	TV series	153.1

Perception of the surrounding world		Locality		Social sphere of human life		Language and speech		Public and state sphere			
Time	Frequency of use SE/IPM	Locality		Labor activity, its certain types, spheres and aspects		Frequency of use SE/IPM		State, power order		Frequency of use SE/IPM	
						Language and speech	Frequency of use SE/IPM			Culture and art	Frequency of use SE/IPM
night	235.1	district	446.5	fund	209.2	video	166.0	society	220.0	film	146.6
summer	209.2	citizen	399.0	leader	187.6	speech	166.0	state	213.5	museum	140.2
evening	194.1	building	373.1	specialist	172.5	photo	129.4	control	183.3	A play	127.2
morning	189.8	territory	278.2	colleague	159.6	news	127.2	administration	181.1	song	118.6
minute	181.1	premises	243.7	businessman	155.3	fact	127.2	Putin	179.0	musician	114.3
century	170.4	yard	189.8	firm	140.2	comment	116.4	Svetov	168.2	scene	114.3
May	159.6	village	176.8	position	107.8	text	114.3	official	163.9	Exhibition	107.8
September	159.6	subway	150.9	career	103.5	communication	110.0	FBI	155.3	artist	105.6
August	150.9	park	133.7	work	97.0	message	60.3	Beglov	60.3	painter	103.5

- “It is important that in the future my *children* recognize the right of any person to choose a partner of any gender”;
- “Why then do some *adults* say something about storks and cabbage?”;
- “They sell *virginity* via the Internet and in Russia, but for much smaller amounts (from 20 thousand rubles) and often because of difficult life situations”;
- “Today the 59-year-old *businessman* owns more than 170 enterprises in different parts of the country”;
- “I sold a thousand copies over the summer for 110 *dollars* each”;
- “When my *mother* gave birth to me, my half-dead father was lying at our house with some mistress, who then left in my mother’s tracksuit”.

Analysis shows that the “woman” lemma is more frequent than the “man” lemma. The word “girl” is used more often than the word “boy”. The lemma “mum” is used more often than “father” and “dad”. The word “son” is almost 2 times more frequent than “daughter”. The word “ruble” is used more often than “dollar”, and “euro”.

Table 5

**Medium vocabulary groups in media texts targeted
at the typically “digital” generation (nouns)**

Man as a living being / The process of human existence	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)	Public and State sphere / Economy / Finance and fi- nancial activities	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)	Family Re- lationships / Family and its Members	Fre- quency of use SE (IPM)
person	4,262.3	thousand	1,059.1	a family	660.0
child	1,231.6	ruble	992.2	mum / mother	606
woman	703.1	money	841.2	parent	401.2
lady	593.1	business	368.8	father	271.7
man	394.7	price	230.8	son	250.2
girl	295.5	dollar	194.1	husband	237.2
guy	163.9	bank	163.9	wife	220.0
virginity	157.4	salary	153.1	brother	181.1
boy	129.4	income	120.7	relative	161.7
adult	58.2	businessman	118.6	daughter	114.3

At the third level, according to the number of words of a certain topic and frequency there are 3 thematic groups of “**Public and State**” sphere:

1. “Product and its properties, signs” subtopic.
2. “Education” subtopic.
3. “Entertainment and rest” subtopic.

Summaries for these groups are presented in Table 6.

Here are some contexts:

- “I also know in which stores certain *products* are cheaper”;
- “Briefly: Retelling of Golunov’s investigation about the owners of cemeteries in Moscow — How FBI generals helped to seize the funeral *market*”;
- “Some apartment *buyers* have never heard of constructivism before”;
- “When I paid for repairs, the *purchase* of a car, household appliances, furniture, financed trips abroad to visit my relatives, our relations were warm”;
- “After *school* I entered the Moscow Plekhanov Institute as a commodity expert-economist”;
- “*Students* receive beggarly scholarships”;

Table 6

**Smaller vocabulary groups in media texts targeting
the typically “digital” generation (nouns)**

Public and state sphere					
Product and its properties, its signs	Frequency of use SE (IPM)	Public sphere / Education SE (IPM)	Frequency of use SE (IPM)	Public sector / Entertainment and recreation SE (IPM)	Frequency of use SE (IPM)
shop	571.6	school	416.3	bar	196.2
market	394.7	student	222.1	music	194.1
stock	386.1	university	213.5	restaurant	187.6
sale	299.8	lecture	170.4	food	181.1
buyer	122.9	education	163.9	club	172.5
rent	114.3	institute	140.2	game	150.9
product	112.1	Higher school	118.6	song	118.6
purchase	105.6	teacher	81.9	tour (journey)	133.7

- “Kiev history *teacher* Vasily Goloborodko in a wife-beateris going to work in school in the morning”;
- “The modern owners of the *bar* at the entrance to these gloomy rooms say that they ransacked only part of the dungeons”;
- “This *music* will be performed by the Ural Philharmonic Orchestra with Dmitry Liss”.

There are smaller, but significant groups of vocabulary associated with the public-state sphere (Law, Technology, “Man in the sphere of production by occupation, Religion) and Nations.

The word “life” (510 / 1,100.0 *) is used more often than “death” (149 / 321.4) more than 3 times. The word “health” is not frequent. However, for example, the word “disease” (55 / 118.6) is less common than words associated with the deliberate use of physical force or power / violence (86 / 185.5), victim (63 / 135.8). Quite frequent is the word “client” (115 / 248.0). All lemmas related to religion are used more often than “health”.

*These examples are absolute and frequency per million data.

The words “sex” and “career” appear the same number of times — 48 each (ipm103.5). Also, as in the case of the “analogue” generation, male names are in absolute priority. The most frequently used female names are Anastasia (98) and Ekaterina (58). The list of frequency male names in descending order: Sergey (161), Alexander (146), Alexey (128), Vladimir (107), Dmitry (106), Andrey (95), Evgeniy (82), Mikhail (76), Vadim (67), Yuri (64).

* In this case, the data are absolute frequency.

Thus, on the basis of a comparative analysis of nouns in media texts focused on the “analogue” and “digital” generations, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. In the media oriented towards the typically “digital” generation, more topics are articulated than in the media of the “analogue” generation. The number of the most frequent topics of the “digital” generation is 2 times greater than that of the “analogue” one.

2. Equally high level of frequency of vocabulary in the texts of “analogue” and “digital” generations on the subject of time (perceived differently — how an individual life span correlates with the life of a generation, fate (integrity, certainty, reliance on stable stereotypes within a generation) and how variable segments of individual life (freedom)) and family are. The topic of education is more frequent in the vocabulary of the media oriented towards the “analogue” generation, and the topic of labor and business professional

activity is more frequent in the media oriented towards the typically “digital” generation.

3. The frequency of topics related to the state and society is the only area that has an equally similar level.

4. A wide range of significance for generations was shown by the topics related to the sphere of “Language and Speech”. And not simply because in the texts of the “analogue” generation it is defined more as “information, means of communication”, but the texts of the “digital” one are on a more advanced level and the topics are identified as “information, communication”. And not because in the texts of the “analogue” generation the topic of language and communication is of higher in frequency than in the “digital” one.

These results are probably, on the one hand, an indicator of the importance of social communication in the modern digital world, the modern digital divide, leading to the problems of intergenerational communication in the digital environment.

On the other hand, it is a challenge for the “analogue” generation, interested in intergenerational communication in the modern information society, but historically oriented, to a greater extent, to one-way communication than to both sided communication and interaction.

5. The topic of the country’s history is found only in the media of the “analogue” generation, and topics related to money, finance and leisure are found in the media of the “digital” media generation.

6. Lexical markers of the “analogue” generation are the words: Stalin, USSR, Lenin, war, etc. Markers of the “digital” media generation: shop, business, office, drug, rally, protest, violence, feminism, virginity, dollar, bar, etc.

7. Albeit on the periphery, but still in the texts of “analogue” and “digital” media generations, the following themes are indicated: crime and punishment (colony, punishment, murder, sentence, court, prison), professions (teacher, architect, director, doctor, journalist, psychologist), religion (temple, church, cathedral).

8. The “analogue” generation is more interested in the topics of economy and local production, and the “digital” one — in the events of the international agenda (Ukraine, Europe, USA).

9. In the texts of the “analogue” generation, “death” and “disease” are used several times more often than the word “health”. In “digital” texts, the word “disease” is not frequent, unlike the words “violence”, “victim”.

10. In the texts of the “analogue” generation, the word “school” is mentioned more often than vocabulary related to higher education. In the “digital” texts, only two levels of education are identified — school and university.

6. Conclusions

The comparative analysis made it possible to identify the dominant vocabulary groups that we identify as markers of the subculture of generations:

1. The most pronounced thematic markers of the “analogue” generation: family, work, public and state sphere, history of the country, language and speech (communication).
2. The most frequent topics of the “digital” generation: economy (business), labor, state and public order, family.
3. The only thematic area of close significance for both generations is “state, power and public order”.

The results obtained indicate different generational thematic and semantic ensembles and only partially intersecting life worlds. Nevertheless, if we trust the conclusions of O. V Yazovskaya, who claims that “within the framework of the established era of post-literacy, the phenomenon of multiculturalism is formed as a sort of interaction and acceptance of the Other within the framework of intercultural dialogue” [Yazovskaya, 2018, 257], then we can assume further development of intergenerational dialogue of “analogue” and “digital” media generations, at least based on the identified thematic dominants.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Creative Environment as a Factor of Professional Culture Formation of Journalists in the Digital Era

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Abstract. The article provides a systematic analysis of the creative environment formation of the leading actors in modern media societies using the example of a specific macro-region. According to the research, in the era of post-literacy and widespread digitalisation, systemic flaws in the organisation of dialogue between the authorities and the wider Russian population have become visible. By updating the tasks of improving media education and “accumulation” of digital capital, the authors offer the essential elements of a model for developing the creative environment for regional journalism.

Keywords: creativity, mass media, professional culture, digital capital, multimedia, model

1. Introduction

Creativity is most often seen as a general principle, an approach to solving problems that a person may face. In other words, as a personality trait and general ability to create. In this context, it is defined in correlation with the intellectual abilities of individuals (Frank Barron), the ability to find new ways of solving problems (Carl Ransom Rogers), to get rid of stereotypes (Joy Paul Guilford), to develop the creative personality as a whole permanently (Ellis Paul Torrance). Todd Lubart concludes: “Creativity is the property that sets us apart from other living things most, the ability that is the basis of human culture”. [Lubart, 2009, 9]. Teresa M. Amabile, whose contribution to the field of creativity is considered innovative, has developed a three-component model that combines most of the characteristics and variables that lead to creativity described above. As a dominant component, she included an environment that can both encourage and hinder the development of these qualities in an individual or society. The practical implementation of this model, in her view, involves a case-by-case correlation between external and

internal, where certain internal and external factors encourage an individual or, for example, individuals in the professional community, “to act at high levels of creative behaviour” [Amabile, 2012, 6].

It was this aspect that predetermined the authors’ research into the creative environment of the leading actors in today’s media community *in an organisational context*, which is not always in the focus of attention among philologists and culture specialists. At the same time, a grant from the Russian Science Foundation “Digitalization of communicative-cultural memory and problems of its intergenerational transmission” set out the main task of highlighting the factors contributing to the formation of a professional culture of journalists in the digital age. In general, the work aimed to define the vector of system development of regional mass media in the conditions of permanent social and technological transformations based on a model approach to this process, as well as to find solutions for the organisation of genuine dialogue relationships with the mass audience, contributing, among other things, to overcoming the digital generation gap as one of the most pressing problems of the present time [Gladkova, 2020].

2. Research material

2.1. Study of the professional culture of journalists

The structure of the professional culture of journalists as part of the general information culture of society traditionally has two dominant features that define the essence and main individual traits of its bearers: instrumental, differently — praxeological (professional skills and abilities) and mental (world outlook). “Praxeological side characterises how an entity of professional culture interacts with tools, instruments and objects of work, as well as the degree to which they are ready for a specific type of activity. The mental side is an integral characteristic of the collective and individual consciousness and self-consciousness of the subject of professional culture, and of the moral, philosophical and aesthetic prerequisites of activity” [Oleshko, 2020, 88]. In the digital age, unlike a period when only traditional media — periodicals, radio and television — prevailed, the professional culture of journalists “is seen in the context of uninterrupted processes of powerful media transformations with diverse and sometimes unpredictable consequences” [Professional culture of a journalist in the context of media transformations, 2020, 3].

2.2. Process efficiency

The latest practice shows that an ever-increasing number of media resources and actors in information activities (primarily bloggers and instagramers) are increasingly contributing to the development of communication strategies and tactics resulting from the attitude of turning various types of texts into only a well-selling product and meeting any, sometimes even asocial, needs of a mass audience. In turn, this provokes a devaluation of many social values or creates a kind of information consumerism, a purely consumerist ideology. In this context, as current sociological studies have shown [Vartanova, 2020], only professional journalists are capable of creating and systematically broadcasting texts of humanistic content, of forming the digital capital of society as a whole, and of ensuring “the existence of meaning in the contexts of the ‘storage and distribution’ of memory and its ‘living meaning’ and communication” [Piskoppel, 2020].

2.3. Creative environment for the professional culture of journalists

The dominance of digital media is now changing not only the global culture of the world community that has evolved over the decades but also social behaviour and everyday habits. The personal agenda is increasingly shaped by the individual through active interaction with an array of data, in either direct or hidden form, offered by both the media and a vast number of alternative sources. As the latest practice shows, in a competitive information environment, journalists’ texts are not always a priority for audience representatives. Sometimes this is due to the low professional level of these authors and the noncreative approach to their work. It predetermines changes in the forms and methods of university education and the development of the system of professional development. However, in most cases, this is still because in the post-literacy era, defined as “the opportunity to develop socially and economically at the end of a formally organised educational process” [Communication trends in the post-literacy era: polylinguism and multiculturalism, 2017, 10], systemic flaws in the organisation of dialogue between the authorities and the wider Russian population have become evident, as demonstrated by the repeated rebirth of protest actions into asocial actions [Latov, 2017]. Traditional mass media, as the main information channel, according to the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, lose an audience annually [The era of digital media: paper vs screen, 2020]. Although new technologies now allow people not only to be involved in social networks in real-time, which is typical for young people but also to be involved in vari-

ous social and cultural communities through the websites of the vast majority of the media. It also makes it possible to overcome generational inequality in general and to be integrated into the emerging digital culture, which allows a person not to become the object of manipulation and the consumer of fake information. However, all this is possible only if an individual has mastered at least the basics of media education [Sapunov, 2019] and media science [Astafyeva, 2013]. Civil society institutions, which are also called upon to activate this type of activity, are often sidelined. It is connected with their lack of coordination with each other and with authorities, with media and business. The role of the latter in the organisation of these processes became particularly visible during the Coronavirus Pandemic in 2020 when there was an urgent need for financial resources to organise widespread online information through the mass media, remote organisation of work and assistance in communicating with representatives of various societies.

Therefore, the creative environment of the professional culture of digital era journalists is not only a kind of media “thing-in-itself” (according to Immanuel Kant), including only the sphere of creating and broadcasting information products. With the help of the subjects of modern digital media culture, and the content they create, the state’s current communication and information policy is determined in the current environment. It includes those aimed at “supporting offline and online activities of cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups” [Vartanova, 2020, 132], as well as all those that affect their intercultural communication and the processes of self-identification of individuals in the conditions of globalisation and permanent social and technological transformation of Russian society.

2.4. The methodology of research

The theoretical and methodological basis for the construction of our conception was provided by general and private scientific methods of theoretical and empirical levels of scientific knowledge. The systematic-cultural approach has predetermined the understanding of culture as a systematic whole that affects the functioning and evolutionary development of its specific subsystems and individual elements. In our case, the information culture, professional culture of journalists and mass media have been defined as the main broadcasters of current discursive practices in Russian society. Considering the multi-faceted nature of the creating problem and developing a creative environment, the authors were also based on an interdisciplinary and system-integrated approach that synthesises the ideas of philology, the theory of communication

and cultural studies. In 2013–2019, 261 respondents from among journalists, top managers and media owners were interviewed by the method of interviews with the guide, and the content of 8 media in the Big Ural macro-region was monitored. Such an interdisciplinary vision of the declared problems and use of results of sociological research carried out by authors have allowed to reveal and describe the communicative and functional aspect of the given environment as creative in a set of various features contained in it.

The theoretical basis of the article was formed by the works mentioned above of scientists of Moscow State and Ural Federal Universities and actual works of foreign researchers. The trend is not only an increase in the number of works devoted to creativity, but also a change in their subject matter, highlighting the tendency to shift from descriptive to applied research [Williams, 2016] and, as regards mass media, from applied to predictive research [Dzyaloshinsky, 2017]. The evidence of the fact that cognitive factors associated with combining ideas from different cultures, including those broadcast through media texts, contribute to the development of liberal thinking [Cheng, 2012] has largely determined the importance of research into the role of new media in online discourse [Karasik, 2018]. Besides, in line with the tasks outlined in the latest research, we consider creativity with an emphasis on its human modality [Panizzon, 2019] and prove that the necessary changes should include increasing the technical accessibility of texts created by professional journalists, distributing media education programmes, and presenting more dialogue-oriented content in the digital environment. However, it is also necessary to take into account the fact that the current global trend is to increase the role of the state and public institutions in promoting these changes and thus helping to bridge the digital gap between generations [Digital Inequalities in the Global South, 2020].

3. Results and discussions

3.1. Description of the study

The interaction of professional culture and professional consciousness in the process of personal professionalisation is a two-way process. On the one hand, the professional culture of journalism emerges and develops based on the professional consciousness that is systematically formed by the social institution of journalism; on the other hand, it is itself a means of developing professional consciousness. Therefore, professional culture

in this context can be seen as a kind of hierarchy of conscious meaning entities that make up the professional self-concept and ensure its self-regulation.

In the context of the development of a creative media environment, the main criterion for evaluating a journalist's professional culture are, obviously, the abilities, skills and ability of a person to use the whole range of resources of his or her consciousness, i.e. to attract knowledge, social experience, ideas, creative intuition for the prompt and creative solution of professional tasks.

Nevertheless, the development of the institute of journalism in the digital age has predetermined the formation of the consciousness of many of its subjects as "virtually oriented". Thus, it always included in the process of receiving information through new technologies or only from the global network. It is processing at various levels, its possible use or even its transmission after being rewritten as its own. While traditionally the professional consciousness of a person has been characterised in terms of readiness to solve urgent tasks of a psychological, gnoseological, axiological, emotional-voluntary, professional-creative nature, the factor of need for dialogue with its audience as pragmatically or economically conditioned by the format of modern mass media was most often formulated by our respondents as "professionally unconditional" (42 %) or even "vital" (22 %). Therefore, the implementation of the conceptual model of effective transmission of texts to the "digital" generation at various levels of media activity, which is the most relevant for practice today, should certainly involve both the formulation of forecast expectations for the technological development of these processes and the systematisation of the intentions of creative content and social coordination itself. This is what we have tried to achieve in our research.

3.2. The creative approach of the mass media to activities in the context of digital transformation

The latest research today increasingly uses foresight as a tool to communicate people about their future as one of the most effective methods used to set priorities in social relations, economics, science and information technology. The defining factor, in this case, is the convention, where one does not just predict activities, defining the key players — science, business, universities, society, the state, but "using forecasting methods you agree on what future you want to build together" [Volokhina, 2019]. However, it is also essential to take into account the point of view of Manuel Castells, who emphasises in this approach that "the different technologies and business models

supported by regulatory policies are causing different transformational trends in each of the communication system components” [Castells, 2017, 195].

Based on all the sociological material we have received and using the methodology described above as well, we have tried to develop, as we usually say today, a roadmap for implementing a strategy for the creative approach of the media to operating in a permanent digital environment. Its development highlights both the need for professional discourse on the boundaries of professionalism in modern journalism and the apparent contradictions in the development of the mass media under conditions of low demand for traditional media products by the “digital generation”.

Multimedia, as the representation of different information formats in a single media source, has significantly transformed the typical and genre-forming features of media texts. Furthermore, while the operational information activities of the mass media under the new conditions have been studied quite systematically [Serdobinceva, 2019], the trends of the transformation of other genres require clarification. For example, not only traditional genres of journalism, but also new genres that emerge, quickly become outdated, become familiar and, for objective and subjective reasons, “concede” to others.

For example, longreads are almost entirely outdated due to the frequent mismatch between the time, creativity and material resources of journalists and the expected results. At the same time, storytellings are becoming increasingly popular today as a technique for dramatic and fascinating narration. This was due not only to its excellent correspondence with the thinking mechanisms of individuals who fully “use” the opportunities of the digital age, but also, to a large extent, to the desire to separate texts with a bright, creative solution from the information stream. The desire for dialogue with authors can also be explained by a large amount of audiovisual content, in particular podcasts, presented on the websites of modern mass media of various typological groups. The possibility of delayed (or “simultaneous” with other activities) listening/viewing illustrates this trend of media consumption which is gaining popularity with the audience. Collaboration with the author’s reflection on facts, events or revealed phenomena, as well as the possibility of forming a “virtual and physical community around the editorial office” (Vasily Gatov’s term) makes it possible to classify the genres and ways of media content broadcast based on these technologies, which have emerged recently, among the most popular in 2019–2020. This

was particularly evident during the coronavirus pandemic (see, for example, <https://www.proekt.media/article/podcast-vrachi-v-epitsentre-epidemii/>).

The text monitoring also showed that during the period under review, one of the most popular genres for the audience was online reporting at the scene, which was broadcast directly on the media website. Two more modifications of this traditional genre were very popular with young people — a selfie-reportage of participants in real events and a reportage in the VR format (with the help of which a person becomes a subject in the system of mass communication, thanks to such techniques as 3D glasses, VR glasses, panoramic cameras shooting 360-degree video).

Creative solutions in the format of multimedia content always have two undeniable advantages over traditional texts — the effect of being present and the minimal time-consuming perception of it. Information products whose forms of existence are based on the natural character of perception (watching TV and video content, listening to audio) always have an advantage over those that require indirectness (searching, material and intellectual costs, comparing the views of different authors, highlighting the meaning). Recent practice shows, however, that each semiotic system, due to its structural characteristics, always imposes certain limitations on the values that it can convey, because when using only imaginative resources, for example, not everything that could be conveyed by the language through verbalised texts is read. This is particularly true in the process of journalists' creative work. Therefore, since in current conditions, it can be more correlated with the work of journalists, the issues of the professional culture of these subjects of information activities are becoming more relevant. Over the years of its existence and development, the social institution of journalism has developed a unique way not only to comprehend the world but also to implement productive, intentional practices as an essential instrument of direct democracy and civil society formation.

Thus, in modern science, the object of scientists' research paradigms is increasingly the contradiction between the need to adapt the human community to the "changing need of being" and the ability of a particular individual to master digital media practices [Sumskaya, 2019]. In other words, this problem actualises the study not only of the typological characteristics of the media audience but also of the information behaviour of individuals, which is reflected both in their desire to expand the number of forms and ways of organising their access to information sources and broadcasting channels and in the improvement of technologies for selecting texts, processing

the information received and its further use, including for communicating with other people. At the same time, the creative environment of the professional culture of digital age journalists as mediators of these processes is the most important determinant of the meanings designed and broadcast by the media. This implies identifying its components for system analysis.

3.3. Basis elements for the formation of a creative environment

Any model is known to be a multi-factor formation, through which the development of the system's essential characteristics is predicted and, according to M. Vartofsky, "actions aimed at the future" are performed [Vartofsky, 2012, 64]. At the same time, we prove that the practical implementation of the conceptual model (in our case — not only the effective translation of texts at various levels of media activity in the Big Ural macro-region but also, in general, the formation of a creative environment), in addition to the creative itself, must include a social and administrative component.

Indeed, representatives of the media business occupy a central place in it, determining not only the vectors of development of specific media typologies but also their technological equipment. The whole complex of subjects included in the region's media community is also not just a dynamic, but also a rather crucial professional education distinguished by the diversity of types and directions of creative activity, as well as a social group that directly or indirectly determines the forms, nature and efficiency of management decisions in the sphere of economics, politics, culture and other areas of state construction and current life activities.

However, as recent research [Professional culture of a journalist in the context of media transformations. collective monograph, 2020] shows, the daily practice of the media in the region is most often identified with forms of mass public impact. Individual administrative or creative activities are hardly reflective of the authorities or the media business and are not identified with their professional culture. Furthermore, if this is the case, it is only due to acute conflict or crises, when public opinion associates the activities of a media outlet with its specific representatives or criminal acts against them (e. g., <http://ura.ru/news/1052284754>; and <https://www.ural.kp.ru/daily/27104.7/4177496>).

The regional specifics of the Big Ural macro-region and its adjacent territories are as follows: self-organisation of representatives of creative media professions and specialisations are either characterised by activities within creative unions — regional organisations of the Union of Journalists of the Russian

Federation and the Media Union, or they are small in number as the guilds of economic observers, sports journalists, television reporters. The central cells of creative alliances organised in conjunction with the media are, as we have found, very amorphous in their activities. Formation and development of the professional culture of journalists in these conditions may well be a construction uniting various areas of activity in this area of mass media owners and employees, local organisations and organisational structures of regional creative unions, as well as government bodies interested in productive cooperation.

There is also a high demand for the implementation of social management initiatives through not only the practice of representing individual groups in social networks but also through a professional social or communication network specially created for this purpose. A prototype of this kind of self-governing social system in a region can be the Public Press Complaints Boards, which work in close cooperation with the regional boards of the Journalists' Union and the Media Audience Chambers. A system of cooperation agreements with the regional government, regional unions of industrialists and entrepreneurs, regional courts and several other organisations are seen as promising in this sense. However, as we have found out, interest in this type of cooperation is primarily shown by administrative staff, who thus solve pressing problems of financing the activities of journalists' organisations or purely image issues of public authorities.

Since the effective functioning of a state governed by the rule of law is to a large extent facilitated by citizen journalists, the development of professional culture among journalists in the area of systemic contacts with these subjects of information activity, and possibly the organisation of their training in the basics of systemic information activity, is also seen as one of the most promising areas. The contradictions that often arise today between professionals and the growing blogging community are often due to the latter's ignorance of the ethics of mass information relations or their elementary desire to collect as many "likes" as possible by any means. This is to a certain extent facilitated by competition for advertising revenue, in particular, the system of payment by commercial organisations and political-technological structures, which is gaining momentum in Russia, to the most successful subjects of information activity for placing contextual or hidden advertising on their pages in social networks.

On the whole, our analysis shows that weak signs of systematicity currently characterise the process of forming a professional culture of rep-

representatives of the media community in the Big Ural macro-region. This is primarily due to corporate closeness and, as we noted, a low degree of reflexivity. And not just for creative employees, but also for most representatives of the authorities and media business, who are also active in this creative environment. Thus, only self-organisation based on both the formation and functioning of specific structures and solidarity, traditions, universal but voluntarily accepted by the majority of the group of moral and ethical principles, as the approach, is mostly intended to characterise the options for creating fundamentally new forms of regulating relations in an increasingly globalised world and the emerging information society. At the same time, we are convinced that the system of higher education and training of media personnel of the new formation should also be an essential indicator of the effectiveness of this type of self-organisation.

Since the practical implementation of social and administrative planning in the implementation of the model approach in media activity is the least studied in media communications theory, as it is related to the development and introduction of several social technologies, at this stage of work we have so far only recorded as the basis for the model being developed the main elements of forming a creative environment for regional journalism of the digital era (Table 1).

4. Conclusions of the study

4.1. As the first systematic conclusion of the study, it can be stated that creativity in today's environment must be seen not only as a principle for solving the tasks that a person may face and the general ability to create but also as one of the factors forming the culture of society at one stage or another of its development. The connection between certain internal and external factors that encourage individuals or individuals in professional communities to "act at high levels of creative behaviour" therefore requires study and systematic analysis. This need was particularly evident in the context of globalisation, the permanent technological and social transformations that characterised the first decades of the 21st century when virtually all civil society institutions were tasked with intensifying the organisation of dialogue between authorities, business and the general public in the legal states.

4.2. At the same time, the issues of forming and developing the creative environment of the leading actors of new media communities in the organisational context are not always in the focus of attention among philologists and

Basis elements of forming a creative environment for regional journalism of the digital age in the context of professional culture

Organisational resources	Implementation mechanism	Expected results
Self-organisation of the region's media community, creation of an independent public structure for coordinating activities	Creation of public opinion through public events, publications in the media and social networks	Implementation of the principles of information culture by all media entities as a social norm
Mobilising and activating the resources of the public authorities, representatives of the media business and public organisations in the region to fully support the principles of the professional culture of journalists, which is implemented in the daily practice of media entities	Synthesis of best media practices, organisation of independent public hearings based on the results of publications that have attracted full public attention and holding of competitive events based on the principles of public recognition of the relevance and effectiveness of media texts	Formation and development of the information space in the region based on the principles of social responsibility of media subjects and their dialogue with the authorities, representatives of the media business, colleagues in the profession, implementation of projects together with the audience
Organisational structures and material assets of regional organisations of the Union of Journalists of Russia and the Media Union	Public control through the global network and bloggers of performance criticism of the region's authorities	Systemic improvement of professionalism, the formation of a personnel reserve for local and remote areas of the region
Faculties and departments of journalism at universities in the region and media education structures and organisations	The organisation of training based on the principles of project activities, a definite system of media subjects' professional development	Increasing the prestige of media professions and their specific representatives in the territories, as well as public trust in the media in general

culture specialists. The latest practice shows that the ever-growing number of media resources and actors in information activities increasingly contributes to the development of communication strategies and tactics resulting from commercialisation attitudes and the satisfaction of any, sometimes even asocial, needs of the mass audience. Under these conditions, only professional journalists are most often able to create and systematically broadcast texts of humanistic content and, in general, to create digital capital in society.

4.3. In the era of post-literacy, systemic flaws in the organisation of dialogue between authorities and the wider Russian population became evident, as evidenced by the fact that protest actions have been repeatedly reborn into asocial actions not only in Russia but also abroad. This is mainly due to the contradictions that characterise the digital generation divide and the loss of audiences to traditional mass media as the main channels of information and education. At the same time, new technologies and a creative approach to the genre transformation of content today give people not only the opportunity to be included in real-time in the information agenda but also the involvement of the vast majority of the media in various social and cultural communities through websites. In general, this makes it possible to overcome generational inequality and to be integrated into the digital culture that is being shaped, allowing a person not to be manipulated and not to be a consumer of fairy information. However, all this is possible only if an individual learns at least the basics of media education and mediaology.

4.4. The analysis carried out by the authors has shown that weak signs of consistency characterise the process of forming the professional culture of representatives of the media community of the Big Ural macro-region. As the survey of respondents has proved, this is primarily due to corporate closeness and low degree of reflexivity. It is not only right for creative employees in the media, but also for the majority of government representatives and the media business, who actively influence this environment, which by default should be creative. The formation of fundamentally new ways of regulating relations in the emerging information society predetermines the development and implementation of social and managerial planning within the framework of a model approach to the organisation of media activities. Since this is connected, with the development and implementation of several social technologies, the authors at this stage of the study have fixed the main elements of forming a creative environment for regional journalism in the digital age as the basis for the model being developed. It includes

organisational resources, implementation mechanisms and expected results, which are detailed and presented in the form of a table.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Media Globalisation and Desacralisation of a Journalist’s Image

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Abstract. The media is becoming the main source of information about the surrounding reality in the digital environment. In fact, they shape the reality. They become a powerful instrument of influencing mass consciousness through symbols and values. The media industry, information consumption practices as well as the role of a journalist are changing in the context of new media. The results of the survey (n=750) have shown that the younger generation trusts information posted on social networks and does not distinguish the professional work of a journalist from the activities of bloggers and citizen

journalists. In addition, the boundaries of social and psychological roles between an author and a user are vanishing, the differences between statuses are faded, and professional values of journalism are undergoing changes.

Keywords: globalization, desacralization, image, journalist, media

1. Introduction

Globalisation increasingly shapes and frames modern society, and the media plays the leading role in this process. According to Toffler, globalisation endows the media with great power that permeates the entire planet [Toffler, 1990].

We are witnessing deep penetration of the media into everyday life [Schultz, 2004, 87–101], which suggests the status of modern society as mediated. According to Krotz, mediatisation is the main principle by which people construct the social and cultural world [Krotz, 2009]. The media are able to expand the natural boundaries of one's communication capacity. They also replace those activities and processes that previously could only be carried out by direct communication [Schultz, 2004, 87–101].

The media is becoming the main source of information about the surrounding reality in the digital environment. In fact, they shape the reality and redefine social and cultural norms. They become a powerful instrument of influencing mass consciousness through symbols and values.

If we consider the media as a driving force of globalisation, then it is worth talking about media globalisation, which could be defined as 'a set of integrative processes in the media aimed at expanding the communication space around the world, at achieving the effects of totality, and unification of information services on an international scale' [Markina, 2014, 99]. Another interpretation of media globalisation sounds like 'unhindered round-the-clock movement of information flows in which media content, regardless of the nationality of its creators, circulates' [Glebova, 2018, 166].

In the process of media globalisation, the media set the agenda and construct a new reality that could be called 'media reality'. In media reality, a person is considered as a 'person of media consciousness' or 'media person' [Vartanova, 2009], whose being is determined and formed by the content of the media. Back in the early 90s of the last century, an English sociologist Thompson suggested that the role of the media as a new institute is to convey not only information but also cultural patterns [Thompson, 1995].

The media and journalists convey values into the society. The younger generation is more influenced by the media. This could be explained by the fact that young people most often choose the internet as a source of news and trust online media more than other channels [FOM, 2020]. In addition, there is a tendency to increase involvement of the younger generation in interaction with the media. Thus, the media act as a tool for re-shaping the social and cultural values and attitudes of young people [Karpova, 2019].

At the same time, journalism itself as a social institution and professional activity undergoes essential transformation that has come with the advent of new media. The technologies of content creation are changing, the image of a journalist is being transformed, and the range of tasks and functions of the profession is expanding.

New media reality actualises the issues of transformation of journalist's professional principles and values. The key characteristics of the new media environment are interactivity, multimedia and hypertextuality. Deuze argues that journalism ceases to be text-centered since news is broadcast through various platforms: internet venues, mobile media, radio, and television [Deuze, 2004, 140]. The presentation of information seeks to maximise visualisation using videos, photos, and infographics. At the same time, the world is faced with an oversupply of information, information noise, and even 'information garbage'. In response to the increased amount of information, the clip thinking occurs which could be described as a perception of the world as a set of fragmentary images.

Journalism is diversifying to meet consumer preferences and demands. Content needs to be presented in a way that captures and retains the audience's attention. At the same time, in connection with the spread of fake news, such information qualities as reliability, accuracy of presentation, and verification are being paid more attention to. Moreover, it is argued that the word 'consumer' no longer sounds entirely appropriate, since, in the digital environment, the user, to some extent, also becomes a co-author and a co-editor of a text.

An important role is also played by such a distinctive feature of network communications as decentralisation, which leads to a redefinition of the relationship between journalists and the audience. Users publicly express their attitude to media texts in comments, assess the author's professionalism, criticise, and ask questions. Editors and journalists, in turn, respond to users in order to keep in touch with their audience. As a result, the distance

between authors and users is shrinking. On the one hand, this strengthens credibility of the media, enables a journalist to constantly improve his skills and be as transparent as possible. On the other hand, the boundaries of social and psychological roles between an author and a user are vanishing, and the differences between statuses are fading. An increasing number of the audience who have basic content creation skills leads to desacralisation of journalism. A journalist is losing his monopoly on spreading information and shaping the agenda.

That is also exacerbated by the growing competition in the new media space between journalists and other content creators. We are talking about struggle for the audience's attention, since advertisers are interested in its size. In addition to citizen journalists, bloggers, whose content is sometimes more entertaining than that of professional journalists, grab the attention of an online audience. Comparing journalists and bloggers are hardly possible to achieve. A blogger has arguably no explicit goal of informing the audience as he interprets the already available information and expresses his own opinion. Therefore, he tends to be subjective and emotional and does not adhere to 'blogging' principles. The challenge is that an average user is not always able to distinguish a professional journalist from a blogger.

As a result of decentralisation of network communications, desacralisation of the profession and influence of the blogosphere, the image of a journalist is blurred. All this leads to a necessity to study the image of a journalist perceived by the young audience. Therefore, the main purpose of the study was to analyse the opinions of young people about the role of professional journalism and a professional journalist in modern society. To achieve this goal, we formulated the three following research tasks: to study the factors of credibility in the internet media, to study the perceptions of journalists' independence, and to study the opinions on the influence of journalists on the daily life of people.

2. Materials and Methods

During the first stage, original data was collected using an online survey of students and working youth from 18 to 30 years old. The survey was conducted in the city of Ekaterinburg in the fall of 2019. The key theme of the survey was the role of professional journalism. The survey gathered responses from 750 people (46.7 % students and 53.3 % employed, 40 % males and 60 % females). An average time to complete the questionnaire

was 15 minutes. The authors created a standardised survey guide consisting of 12 questions. The respondents were given an opportunity to express their own opinion by answering open-ended and semi-closed questions. The data obtained was processed using the SPSS 20.

At the second stage, a series of in-depth interviews was conducted with 10 students (5 males and 5 females), who were among the survey respondents. The key theme of the discussion was the role of a journalist in modern society. The interview consisted of 10 questions. The interviews lasted about 20 minutes each. The interview responses were transcribed and coded. The coding made it possible to identify the commonalities and differences between the respondents' opinions, which facilitated the interpretation of the data.

3. Results and discussions

The growing audience of social networks, as well as the rapid expansion of the mobile internet, give users an opportunity to 'read' news on the internet in a variety of ways. The young audience of internet media actively grabs such an opportunity: easy access to news practically anywhere and anytime becomes one of the main advantages of new media.

Credibility in modern society is a router of attention and a key component of social capital [Putnam, 1993]. According to the survey, the most respondents trust internet portals (71.8 %), social networks (49.3 %), and news aggregators (30.2 %). However, young workers, in contrast to students, tend to trust Telegram channels (30.5 %) rather than news aggregators. YouTube bloggers are trusted by only one fifth of those surveyed. The results corroborated the studies by the Levada Center [Levada Center, 2019] and the Public Opinion Foundation [FOM, 2019]. Young people do trust internet publications and social networks, as they rarely use other channels of information.

An important issue is the question of defining the factors of credibility in modern internet sources. This issue was raised during interviews with young generation — active internet users. Almost all respondents indicated reputation of an internet resource as the basis of credibility. One of the foundations of credibility is predictability [McKnight, Chervany, 1996] which was defined as confidence that expectations will coincide with reality. Reputation acts as a relatively reliable guarantor that expectations will be met. The correlation is constructed as follows: the better reputation, the higher the degree of predictability and, accordingly, credibility:

I follow only those resources that have a high reputation, for example, RosBiznesConsulting. They are more trusted than some one-day websites. (a female respondent)

Thus, reputation reflects social expectations and influences the choice of certain users. This is why we can view a positive reputation as a powerful argument for credibility.

Another credibility factor is the extent to which a particular news website is known. Recognition is the first step to gaining credibility:

Well-known internet portals and networks, for example, Typical Ekaterinburg, are more credible. (a male respondent)

Recognition of digital resources is important today. At the same time, recognition as a whole is a fairly universal tool that works equally effectively in various fields of life.

Freedom of expression is a factor of credibility for a third of those interviewed, who note the need to provide an opportunity for the audience to express their own opinions. In this case, we are talking about the activity of users who act not only as a consumer of content, but also as its creator, who has an opportunity to make comments, supplement or refute the information:

Sometimes, I post comments when the topic is really catchy. (a female respondent)

At the same time, the audience is expected to have an even more careful and critical attitude to content, and the ability to distinguish between journalism of facts and journalism of opinions.

A significant factor of credibility is the absence of precedents of publishing inaccurate information:

I trust only time-tested websites, those in which I have no doubt. (a male respondent)

There is an obvious connection between this factor and reputation, since by posting false or biased information the editors of any internet media risk discrediting themselves in the eyes of the audience and not meeting their expectations as a quality informant. We would note that this factor of credibility does not require a high level of criticality or any activity from the audience; we would emphasise that credibility is 'given by default' and is valid as long as the internet resource does not discredit itself.

Other factor of credibility is identity or association: a consumer trusts such sources of information that are within his comfort zone. Preservation

of one's own worldview and confirmation of one's own beliefs and views, but not questions of reliability and objectivity of information, define preferences:

My grandmother and mother are watching Vesti 24 and reading news on the E1 website. As far as I understand, they feel comfortable as they share the position of the source. But it is clear that those who are in opposition to the existing government will look at other resources. It's clearer and more comfortable to live knowing that there are people who share your opinion. (a male respondent)

The results of in-depth interviews demonstrated the following phenomenon: none of the participants identified the authors of the materials (in our case, journalists) as a source and factor of credibility in the internet resource. This indicates that authorship is becoming a grey area which is relatively insignificant for the young audience. A journalist as a representative of professional community ceases to be a significant recognisable figure in the internet space:

I think that the world is accelerating, and authorship no longer plays such a significant role as before. Copywriters and rewriters are everywhere, the primary source cannot be found, and today nobody is looking for it. (a female respondent)

The study paid particular attention to the attitudes towards bloggers and citizen journalists. During the interview, the respondents expressed a positive assessment of the bloggers' activities:

I believe we need bloggers. Maybe, they are not journalists in the full sense, but the audience is interested in their views. Many people listen to their opinion. I think the future of the internet belongs to bloggers. (a male respondent)

At the same time, during the survey, we tried to determine the role of professional journalism in the modern social system. According to the participants, the role of journalism is, first of all, to inform the society (66.4 %), and, secondly, to shape opinions, views and values of the audience (61.4 %). A third of the respondents believe that journalists provide an assessment and explanation of the facts. 22.9 % of the respondents believe that the task of journalism is to raise public awareness, and 12.3 % believe that a journalist's role is to scrutinise the government.

In general, these findings corroborate the results of a recent study conducted by the Mediastandard Foundation. However, the differences are evident in the perception of such roles as the forming opinions (in the Mediastandard Foundation survey it was chosen by a smaller part of the respon-

dents (11 %), and scrutinising the government (which was highly regarded by a third of their study's respondents) [Mediastandard, 2018, 21].

These differences might be explained by the fact that young people are either apolitical, or because they do not see examples of the influence of the media on the government, and, therefore, do not consider the role of scrutinising the government as obvious. As for the journalist's task to shape opinions, views and values of different social communities, young people, unlike other age groups, do not associate this role of journalism with ideology or propaganda, as was the case in the Soviet period. In addition, among large flows of information presented on the internet and social networks, those materials that have a pronounced position of the author and emotional colouring attract a young user. This is the information that, as a rule, draws public attention and a large number of varying opinions of readers in the comments.

The survey also attempted to evaluate the activities of professional journalists from three perspectives — positive, neutral, and negative — by asking the respondents to select the appropriate statements. Most young people adhere to a neutral position and agree with the statement 'modern journalists are dependent on their superiors and act according to their instructions' (68.6 %). The second most frequent statement was 'modern journalists distort the facts and introduce chaos and disorder' (19.2 %). Finally, the least popular among young people statement was 'modern journalists try to improve life in Russia by providing objective information' (12.2 %).

A similar question was asked in the aforementioned study by the Mediastandard Foundation. More than half of their respondents (60 %) agreed that 'journalists, as a rule, are dependent people who act in the interests of their superiors. At the same time, half of the respondents agree that many journalists 'sincerely strive to improve life in Russia' (55 %). Finally, only a third of the respondents (36 %) chose the negative statement 'journalists often bring discord into the society' [Mediastandard, 2018].

These differences in terms of negative and positive assessments between young people and the older population are most likely related to a trend reported by the researchers of the Mediastandard Foundation. They argued for a shift in the responses of the youth group towards a more negative perception of journalists.

An additional challenge for professional journalists is the development of citizen journalism. Today anyone can post text, photo, and video of various content on the internet. As one of the respondents noted:

This makes professional journalists stay ahead all the time. (a female respondent)

Accordingly, the issue of competition between representatives of the journalist community and individuals claiming to be citizen journalists is becoming more acute. This leads to eroding of the boundaries of professional journalism and an institutional crisis of journalism in general. The role of the profession of a journalist is being questioned:

I don't know how the media in general will develop, but it is already clear that the internet will become the main source of news, and there will be bloggers, citizen journalists, and professional journalists. The one who publish the information faster will win. (a female respondent)

Conclusions

The research draws the following conclusions. First, the results of the survey indicate diversified public requirements for modern journalism and a variety of expected social roles of a journalist. The perceptions of young people about modern Russian journalists differ from the perceptions of the whole population. This is primarily attributed to the fact that young people trust such sources of information as internet websites and social networks.

Second, in the modern media reality, the issue of deformation of a journalist's image has become more acute. Its emergence was influenced by several factors such as the digital revolution and changes within the profession. Deformation of the image of a journalist is expressed in the contradiction between what is expected and what is given and between the perceptions of various authors about the mission and tasks of the profession. In addition, professional journalists compete with bloggers and citizen journalists, which reduces the importance of professional journalism and leads to the erosion of the image of a journalist as a whole.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Reflection of University Students' Interethnic Tolerance in Russian Media Education: Past and Present

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the analysis of the issue of students' interethnic tolerance in Russian scientific research. The aim is to identify the main periods of the development of interethnic tolerance issue in the post-Soviet times. Analyzing social and cultural, theoretical and methodological aspects of the research in the context of media education is strategically important for defining the main approaches to the further development of media education.

Keywords: Interethnic tolerance, media education, periods of development, post-Soviet times

1. Introduction

The aggravation of interethnic relations among younger generation in the contemporary social and cultural conditions make it relevant to analyze

this issue for searching for solutions. One of the important factors that have a significant impact on all spheres of life of youth today is media education (a part of pedagogy that teaches students in schools and at universities to understand the logic of mass communication). The analysis of the main statements that make up the social and cultural and theoretical-methodological basis of the research of interethnic tolerance issue allows us to define a number of concepts that are related to the issue. Here is the list of them: the culture of interethnic communication, multicultural education, ethnic identity, national identity, interethnic peace and harmony, basic national values, etc.

2. History of problem

Background research of the theoretical and methodological fundamentals in the study of the interethnic tolerance issue in Russia can be found in the works of M. M. Bakhtin, N. A. Berdyaev, V. S. Bibler, V. S. Soloviev, P. A. Sorokin, L. N. Tolstoy, N. K. Roerich, etc.

After the events in October 1917 the religious and philosophical views of Russian scholars about tolerance and non-resistance to evil were replaced by new priorities, among which the class struggle was at the forefront. In the years 20s — 30s of the twentieth century after having experienced a revolution, a civil war, devastation, mass resettlement, interethnic problems were solved quite cardinally in Russia. The basic principles of neighborhood and national unity in the Soviet education system were implemented into international education, which, along with labor, patriotic, moral, physical, and other types of educations, was an important factor in the formation of a comprehensively developed personality of future communism builders. Interethnic conflicts (Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Bak, etc.) aggravated, in the second half of the 1980s, the state policy restructuring, and later the collapse of the USSR, and led to the dismissal of the concept of international education in the previous ideological key.

A number of research studies of the post-Soviet period covered the interethnic tolerance issue and the analysis of works of the 1990s [Bachmair, 1997] has shown that at that time the research was concentrated on a general range of issues concerning theoretical and methodological fundamentals of the study of interethnic relations, the ethnic pedagogical culture of a democratic society, the development of multicultural education and the upbringing-

ing of a younger generation in Russia according to new conditions such as the restructuring of the entire social system.

During that period of time a number of important documents of the world community was adopted with the aim to solve the problems of interethnic tolerance. UNESCO documents played an important role in the development of the issue of tolerance in scientific circles. Thus, on the 16th of November 1995 at the General Conference of UNESCO Declaration of Principles on Tolerance was adopted, proclaiming tolerance as the most important principle and “a necessity for peace and for the economic and social advancement of all peoples [UNESCO Declaration, 1995]”. It emphasized the importance of tolerance in the era of globalization: “It is an age marked by the globalization of the economy and by rapidly increasing mobility, communication, integration and interdependence, large-scale migrations and displacement of populations, urbanization and changing social patterns. Since every part of the world is characterized by diversity, escalating intolerance and strife potentially menaces every region. It is not confined to any country, but is a global threat [UNESCO Declaration, 1995]”.

The analysis of a range of problems covered by research of the first decade of the 21st century, we can state a wider range of issues related to the of interethnic tolerance problem. Russian scholars studied problems of multicultural education and interethnic communication, the culture of interethnic communication in multinational schools, organization of ethnic regional educational systems, social and psychological basics of interethnic interaction, etc. The first research on system analysis of interethnic tolerance issue was presented. The analysis of foreign works of the last years of the twentieth century has shown that in many English-speaking countries with a high proportion of migrants, attention is paid to the interethnic tolerance building from an early age. Issues of preventing interethnic intolerance and fostering a tolerant attitude towards representatives of other ethnic cultures were also important in English-language research.

Since the year 2000, issues of interethnic tolerance, national harmony, harmonization of interfaith and interethnic relations, the culture of interethnic communication started to develop in a new direction and began to be associated with the rapid development of the media sphere both in Russian society and in English-speaking countries. A number of Russian works in the field of psychology, pedagogy, sociology and philology were devoted to tolerance building issue in the context of the developing media culture

and possible media education for students: V. A. Vinichenko, E. Yu. Zhmyrova, L. A. Ivanova, E. D. Pavlova, O. V. Pechinkina, A. V. Fedorova, N. F. Khilko, N. Yu. Khlyzova, I. V. Chelysheva, M. N. Cherkasova, T. I. Chechet, etc. During these years works of English-speaking researchers also partially covered the interethnic tolerance issue among the younger generation in the media educational context: L. Masterman, B. Bachmeier, D. Buckingham, J. Bryant and S. Thompson, D. Rushkoff, N. Andersen, J. Panjente and O. Malley et al.

3. Results

Russian and foreign (English-speaking) studies indicate that using the experience of foreign media pedagogy for the development of interethnic tolerance among the student youth can contribute to the development of an independent, conscious position of respect, trust and a peaceful attitude towards other peoples, based on constructive dialogues, non-violent interaction and opportunities for intercultural exchange.

Having studied various approaches to the interethnic tolerance issue, which in Russian and foreign (English-speaking) scientific research has many definitions and characteristics, we can make a list of the main substantive components of interethnic tolerance, among them there are mutual understanding, constructive dialogue, mutual respect and cooperation of representatives of different nationalities and ethnic groups, mutual acceptance of traditions and cultural values in the context of cultural diversity. The analysis shows that interethnic tolerance can be defined as a positive active type of relations between representatives of different ethnic groups and in a multicultural society this means equal positions and a positive attitude towards other nations based on deep respect for representatives of their own nationality.

Based on the research on interethnic tolerance as a complex phenomenon, the main structural components of the latter are cognitive, value emotional and activity-related ones. The cognitive component includes “knowledge about the ethnic identity of people at the level of ideas, concepts (freedom, equality, responsibility for maintaining this ethnic diversity demonstrated in respect for one’s own and other ethnic groups), at the level of judgments (sympathy, empathy, interaction), at the level of ideas tolerance performs an informative and systematizing function” [Paina, 2004, 8]. The value-emotional component defines the attitude towards representatives

of other ethnic groups, cultures; the activity related component determines a self-realization of the personality and its level of willingness to be involved and active in the process of interaction with representatives of other nations.

4. Conclusion

Research of the genesis and development of the interethnic tolerance issue made it possible to distinguish two main periods in the reflection of this problem in the Russian and English-language media education of the post-Soviet time (1992–2020).

The first period (1992–2000): in Russia this period is associated with the development of a theoretical and methodological database in the study of the issues concerning interethnic relations, the ethnic pedagogical culture of a democratic society, the development of multicultural education and the upbringing of a younger generation in Russia according to new conditions. During that period, the topic of media education's role in the development of interethnic tolerance among the younger generation was absent in Russian studies. For Western (English-speaking countries), this period is characterized by active development of multicultural approaches to education, creation of programs for students of various national groups. These problems in the media educational context were partially covered in works of L. Masterman [Masterman, 1997], B. Bachmeier [Andersen, 1999], N. Andersen [Andersen, 1999], J. Panjente and O. Malley [Pungente, 1999] and others. English-language studies of that period mainly emphasized the development of critical thinking, implementation of media education in secondary schools, elaboration of methodological tools for media education process, historical development of media culture and media education, etc.

The second period (2001–2020) is characterized by a wider range of issues related to the interethnic tolerance problem and covered in Russian and English-language scientific research. So, in the forefront there were issues of multicultural education, interethnic communication; the culture of interethnic communication in a multinational school; organization of ethnic regional educational systems; elaboration of social and psychological fundamentals of interethnic interaction. The first Russian and foreign studies on a system analysis of the interethnic tolerance issues appeared. Development of a new sector of Russian and foreign research that was studying the possibilities of media culture and media education for the development of interethnic tolerance among younger generation: methodological principles of the me-

dia education process; analysis of the mechanisms of media influence on the audience; the impact of screen media texts on children and the youth and the development of media culture among a younger generation; practical aspects of the development of media education and the development of media literacy, etc. During that period Russian researchers also began to take an active part in development of the interethnic tolerance issue together with the study of media and media education including the following issues: the use of media education's potential in the development of personal tolerance; the possibilities of cinematography as a means of fostering tolerance; development of the national information culture among a younger generation by means of media education; media linguistic and media critical aspects in representing media events and media images using a language of hate; an integrated approach to personal problems of the development of critical thinking and tolerance in teaching foreign languages using materials of mass media; multicultural aspects of the media education process in the context of learning foreign languages, etc.

The analysis of the historical development of the interethnic tolerance issue in Russia and in English-speaking countries in 1992–2020 justified the fact that interethnic tolerance issues among a younger generation are strategically important for the world community. Documents of the international community, adopted normative legal acts, and scientific research of recent decades are the evidence.

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2.3. NEW ARTS, MEDIA AND MEDIATORS AS A WORLD OF MEANINGS IN NEW MEDIA

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The Mass Media Communicative Situation and the Text Semantics

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Abstract. The article dwells on the notion of a standard communicative situation from the perspective of modern Media communication. The study concludes that the language of Mass Media is highly influenced by nonlinguistic factors (author's and readers' personalities and activities, communication conditions and some others). The attempt to analyze the components of a prototypic communicative situation of printed Mass Media and their interaction is made on the basis of the works of different researchers.

Keywords: communicative situation, linguistic semantics factors, mass media, media communication, nonlinguistic semantic factors

1. Introduction

Modern linguistic researches do not limit themselves to the sphere of the internal linguistics as it has been done by Ferdinand de Saussure. Today linguists go beyond the bounds of understanding a language as a closed system of symbols and consider it in conjunction with the process of human thinking, culture and society in the whole. Modern anthropocentric paradigm puts a human being to the centre of scientific researches, offering a scientist to analyze interrelations of human beings and languages from different points of view. Due to this fact the deepest understanding of the political constituent of the Mass Media texts is possible only when the components of the communicative situation, such as the context of communication, its participants, their implicit motives and some other elements are taken into account, or

in other words, it becomes possible by means of using a system-structural model of speech activity [Bernatskaya, 2018, 69].

The subject-matter of the article is a communicative situation from the perspective of modern Media communication.

The aim is to formulate the structure and components of the communicative situation realized by the modern Mass Media and to trace their influence upon the linguistic features of the text by conducting an exploratory case study.

2. Materials and Methods

The study of communicative situations is one of the most important areas of research in the domestic and foreign science. Despite a large number of scientific papers by leading scholars such as M. Bakhtin, R. Blakar, H. Clark, T. A. van Dijk, R. Jakobson, R. Lakoff, N. Leonov, G. N. Leech, E. Sidorov and many others devoted to the problems of communicative situations and acts functioning, there are still quite a lot of issues that require special study.

Due to the modern interdisciplinary and anthropocentric approach to scientific researches the article is based on the interpretation and combination of linguistic and non-linguistic information.

3. Historical remarks of a communicative situation structure studies

The structure of a communicative situation has been of great interest of scientists for a long period of time. Aristotle while dwelling on ancient rhetoric distinguished its 3 main elements: the speaker, the listener and the subject of the discussion [Aristotel, 1978, 24].

One of the most well-known schemes of a communicative situation belongs to R. Jacobson. According to the famous Russian linguist, a standard communicative situation consists of six components, such as:

1. addresser;
2. addressee;
3. contact (the process of interpersonal interaction between communicants, the peculiarities of its flow);
4. message;
5. context (message or context provide certain information that is transmitted from one subject to another, that is, they perform a purely informative function);

6. code (provides a specific language (or speech variety), through which a statement is made that facilitates the design of the judgment into a frame or script) [Jakobson, 1980, 81].

In the psycholinguistic researches that specialize on the aspects of the theory of speech acts, it is noted that a communicative situation includes such components as: the participants (addresser and addressee), the statement, the circumstances of the communication process, the purpose and the result of the interaction. The American psycholinguist S. Ervin-Tripp expended the scheme offering the following structure of the act of speech communication:

1. Local situation.
2. Communicators (the speaker and the listener), their personal qualities and characteristics.
3. Theme, that is the content of the speech act.
4. Functional aspects, or the effect on the sender of his own actions.
5. The form of communication, which consists of four components:
 - Communication channel (oral or written);
 - Code, that is, a set of speech signals;
 - Socially predetermined speech variants within a particular code;
 - Non-verbal signals [Ervin-Tripp, 1976].

Another scientist, I. Susov, noted that in each communicative act the speaker creates a kind of communicative-pragmatic space that includes:

- the speaker,
- his addressee,
- the statement,
- the subject of the statement,
- the time, place and environment of the act of interaction [Susov, 2007].

The theory of speech acts by J.L. Austin and J.R. Searle was the first offering to include the fragment of human activity as one of the determining elements of the structure of a communicative situation [Searle, Austin, 1968, 409].

Taking into account the peculiarities of the organization of cognitive activity, B. Gorodetsky offered the following scheme of a communicative situation:

- communicants (the speaker and the listener);
- a communicative text;
- the processes of verbalization and understanding;

- the circumstances of this communicative act;
- practical and communicative goals of the interlocutors [Gorodetsky, 1990, 42].

According to T. A. van Dijk, social communication as a part of social situations should be analyzed basing on the following categories:

1. participants of the process of socialization and their characteristics;
2. social structures (such as status and social role);
3. elements of interaction (such as friendliness, detachment, prejudice);
4. objects worth of attention at the exact communicative situation;
5. environment of the communication that includes its time and space boundaries and other physical attributes;
6. rules and traditions, limiting the actions that can be or should be performed in such a situation [Dijk, 1989, 84–85].

The characteristics of a communicative situation as a linguistic phenomenon given above allow us to conclude that speech activity of the communicants is directly connected to the extralinguistic factors and under their influence gets certain qualities and specific features. That is why the extralinguistic conditions of interlocutors' activities must be considered as systematic elements of communicative situations.

In the whole the extralinguistic components of a communication process can be divided into 4 groups: physical, social, psychological and informational. Physical components are time, space, information channel, physical text carrier, paralanguage, etc. Social elements are determined by the social sphere of the interlocutors (gender, age, social status, etc.). Psychological factors include emotional, personal and mental characteristics of communicators, their motives and aims, as well as their ideas about the communication partner and communication conditions. The informational components are characterized by the complex of verbal and non-verbal information [Yudanova, 2003, 71–72].

4. To the importance of the non-linguistic factors of a communicative situation

Today a communicative situation is considered to help linguists to understand the “real extent” of a discourse, because it is a speech activity in-process within the determinate social context that is directly connected to real life and time and fixed in oral or written texts [Nevinskaya, 2006, 12].

Communication is realized by means of a number of repeating communicative situations. And though each of them has some distinctive features, as we have seen before, they reproduce some permanent elements, forming its basis. G. P. Neshchimenko represented them as microsituations of communication that serve as a sort of filter allowing to fix characteristic situations of verbal communication that differ by the relationships of the communicants, theme, and extralinguistic circumstances [Neschimenko, 2003, 39].

A communicative situation is not a chaotic formation, but an entirety forming interaction of persons. All its elements are interdependent and mutually conditioned, that is why texts should not be analyzed without correlation to the non-linguistic reality. Speaking about a communicative situation we understand not a situation in a broad sense, but a situation that due to certain objective and subjective factors (including speech) engages a person into speech communication and determines his or her verbal behavior as an addresser as well as addressee within one communicative act [Skalkin, 1991, 174].

Basing on our research we suppose that the most significant elements of a communicative situation are:

1. The initiator of the communication;
2. The addresser (sometimes it corresponds with the initiator), taken into account within his verbal and non-verbal activity — the author of the text;
3. The physical circumstances of communication (time, place, etc.);
4. The referential situation — the object of discussion;
5. The channel of transferring of the information;
6. The imagery addressee — a set of presupposed characteristics of the real recipient of the message;
7. The text — a set of symbols that represents a model of verbal activity that is explicitly or implicitly offered the addressee by the author;
8. The addressee (recipient), taken into account within his verbal and non-verbal activity.

Despite the sophisticated system of a communicative situation it is perceived as a whole in the process of interaction, changing of only one structural element may cause formation of an absolutely new communicative situation. For example, the communicative situations of representation of news by means of television and printed mass media differ significantly though most of their elements are the same. So, both situations are characterized by probably the same participants of the communication process (the initia-

tor, the addresser (represented by a single journalist or an editorial board) and the mass addressee). There can be discussed the same referential situation, but the verbal component of the texts is likely to differ due to the informational channel.

E.g. *This photo of them became a symbolic image during the election and the three women drew record crowds to their rallies.* [BBC, URL]

The presence of audio and visual information allows the author of the text to use the demonstrative pronouns with wide semantic range of meanings and at the same time be sure that the addressee is to understand the idea of the utterance the right way.

According to modern theories of pragmatic analysis of texts, verbal and non-verbal activities of the interlocutors are interdependent. A situation arises only in context of some human activity and the purpose of the activity is to a great extent guided by the situation. So the speech activity within a certain communicative situation is always determined by the character of some non-speech activity. When the non-speech activities performed by the interlocutors got into contact with each other there emerges the necessity of verbal activity as a way to coordinate them. In this case, a communication situation represents a coherence of interactions performed by some language means between an addresser and his audience. The text content is predominated by the exact activities, communicators' language skills, cognitive and emotive bases, aims and motives of the interaction.

The theme of the communicative situation is always imposed by the current state of the everyday, professional and social aims of the interlocutors (e.g. discussing a document, solving some kind of problem, etc.). Considering the category of interlocutors' activities is crucial for the correct understanding of the semantic relations as they never function beyond activities. Semantics of a text is always a result of synthesis of factors that do not exist without non-verbal activities [Sidorov, 2012, 89].

Each interlocutor performing primary (coding) and secondary (decoding) speech activity becomes a kind of a "node of decoding of the verbal information" [Sharafan, 2008, 81] that designates the interpersonal character of communication. The final decision on the composition and structure of the statement is made by the addresser within his or her verbal activity that is performed in coordination with the verbal and non-verbal activities of the addressee. Herewith, by "verbal activity" we understand a kind of mental activity of speech production that is induced by a necessity and

viability, is correlated to reality and performed by a number of actions and operations with resources of the language system which are oriented toward the communicative abilities and communicative experience of the addressee [Sidorov, 2012, 89].

The idea that should be exteriorized by means of an utterance is formed under the influence of the motive. Due to the interactive character of a motive, the utterance is an idea of the addresser that is used to arouse the same idea in the addressee's mind.

To handle accurately in the future communication situation the author of the text should form and keep in his or her mind a kind of "a perfect image of the addressee" [Sidorov, 2010, 38] to which average and stereotyped features of the future recipient are ascribed. M. M. Bahtin insisted: "When speaking, I always take into account the appreciative background of my speech understanding by the listener: whether he is competent in the theme of discussion, or has some special knowledge about the cultural peculiarities of the communication situation, his opinions and beliefs, prejudications (from our point of view), his sympathies and antipathies — all these things would specify his understanding of my utterance. These factors will designate the genre of the utterance as well as the choice of compositional devices and, finally, the language means" [Bahtin, 2010, 291].

The journalists or the editorial board being the addresser within the Mass Media communicative situation form a text that is supposed to be read by the certain audience of the periodical. In other words they mentally construct a "perfect image of the potential addressees" that is a semantic and pragmatic category including the possible characteristics of the information recipients (e. g. age, social status, political preferences, religion, etc.) that determines the use of linguistic means.

The potential addressee is supposed to be the central figure of the communication that is why the semantics of the text has not egocentric, but interactive basis. To be sure the individual will understand the discussed reality correctly and completely, the speaker always has to prognosticate all the possible interpretations of the text [Frank, 1999, 253].

The texts of prototypical communicative situations form a certain kind of discourse (e. g. political, mass media, economical, etc.). V. I. Karasik in his definition of a "discourse" makes an accent on its suggestive character, understanding it as a sort of manipulative practice or interactive activity of the interlocutors that includes establishing and maintaining of contact,

emotional and informational interchange, eliciting effect on each other, a set of changing communicative strategies and their verbal and non-verbal realizations in the process of communication [Karasik, 2000, 5]. That is why we can state that primary communicative activity of the author is always aimed at changing of non-verbal activity of the addressee by means of his or her secondary communicative activity. Successful manipulative influence, besides the linguistic component, considerably depends on the extralinguistic factors or “situation” within which goes on the communication and due to which linguistic components are chosen [Kozhina, 2003, 624].

Communication procedures have always been used not only for human cooperation and information interchange, but also as a tool of social control. According to E. Sidorov in the modern researches of speech communication the communicative relationships of interlocutors are understood as a necessity of the addresser to control the activity of the addressee by language means to his or her own advantage that makes it of great importance to take into account different characteristics of the potential addressee [Sidorov, 2008, 59–60].

Thus, the motive of the communicative activity of the addresser is to meet the necessity of linguistic manipulation by the addressee's non-verbal activity. And the real coordination of human activities is possible only by means of linguistic manipulation. The motive of the verbal activity of the addressee, according to E. V. Sidorov, is to meet the necessity of getting through the communication channel some knowledge that he or she needs to understand the world around him [Sidorov, 2008, 79]. In other words the language manipulation is based on the communicative and cognitive motives of the recipient. And the communication in the whole is an integral unit of manipulating-cooperating relationships of the communicative situation components.

In these circumstances the text becomes a special kind of realization of manipulative intentions of the author, his or her axiological beliefs [Sidorova, 2020, 122], attitudes to the communication partner and the conditions of communication that are represented by language means referring to the communication situation and generating in the recipient's mind a certain system of representations (meanings). For the addresser the text represents a “sign-oriented product-model” of communication activity, and for addressee it is a “sign-oriented program of its realization” [Sidorov, 2010, 84].

The most important task of the text addressee is to decode the given symbol system. Correct understanding of meanings offered by the author

of the text is possible only in coordination with the subject-matter and conditions of communication. The success of the addresser's intentions directly depends on the correct understanding of the message by the addressee, on the way he or she interprets the linguistic and extralinguistic codes, and as a result whether the recipient wants and can change his or her non-verbal activity due to the linguistic model of actions given by the author. That is why the addressee of the communicative situation is an active participant of the interaction who as well can produce some responding signals (verbal or non-verbal) influencing this way the further development of the communication process.

It always should be taken into account that the secondary communicative activity of the recipient is always creative and subjective process specified by his or her personal characteristics and non-verbal activity. That is why we can say that non-verbal activity of the communicative situation participants is an important characteristic of the communication process and helps to understand the correct way the structure and functioning of interaction of the addresser and addressee.

5. Semantics

Pragmatic factors of the communicative situation understanding play significant role in cognitive and practical activity of the interlocutors. Any extralinguistic task makes a communicator while apprehending a text to be guided by a certain objective. That is why the principles of semantic choice of language means and semantic discourse construction imply notgnoseological accuracy of the chosen meaning, but interactive-pragmatic accuracy. If someone says something, it means that someone is offered a kind of a verbalized program of actions (behavior) [Sidorov, Arutyunova, 2011, 113].

The analysis of semantics of the Mass Media texts that does not take into account cognitive and pragmatic factors cannot explain the real mechanisms determining the organization of the discourse in the whole, because the semantic and pragmatic structures function within the discourse as an open non-linear system that permanently interacts with the external environment (interlocutors' consciousness and the communicative situation).

The decoded information undergoes some additional mental processing — interpretation of the text, that helps the addressee to understand what exactly the addresser wanted to say by the used implicit forms.

As the caseload continues to rise exponentially in the U.S. and other parts of the world, scientists are racing to find antiviral drugs that are effective in alleviating the worst ravages of the disease, a devastating pneumonia that affects an alarmingly high number of patients. The goal is to give doctors a broader range of weapons in the weeks and months ahead, and save lives [Newsweek, 2020, 18].

In this example, basing on the components of the communicative situation (the referential situation — the coronavirus, the audience — the Americans, the channel of information — printed and the Internet versions of the periodical), the author successfully realized the extended metaphor, comparing the epidemic with a war. The literary technique becomes evident by the words that are commonly used in the description of wars (e.g. *racing (of arms), devastating, alarm, range of weapons*).

When a person perceives the idea of an utterance he or she starts a cognitive process of decoding the information and forming the subjective representation of the described piece of reality, or, in other words, the addressee analyses and converts the offered text into his or her own idea [Sidorov, Smerchinskaya, 2016, 164].

In this case the non-verbal contextual information can be considered as the “clues” that make up an overall situation in which the interlocutors choose the correct meaning of the language means of the text. Relying on the “clues” of the everyday life helps the participants of communication to act according to certain situations without giving it some conscientious understanding. Such a practice helps the interlocutors to vary the semantics of the verbal means according to their motives. The semantic resources of the verbal activity of the speaker and the presupposed semantic resources of the verbal activity of the possible addressee that are realized as a combined structure determine a binary-associated constructive character of the semantic nature of an utterance within a discourse. This character is based on a certain constructive decision of realization of the precise meaning of the lexical unit on the implicit and explicit level of the utterance [Sidorov, 2013, 140].

6. Results and discussions

The results of the article demonstrate us that the notion of a “communicative situation” is of great importance for further linguistic researches which due to the modern scientific paradigms demand going beyond studying language as an isolated system. Speaking about the Mass Media texts the ex-

tralinguistic context of communication facilitates the deepest understanding of the political constituent of the message and that is crucial in the conditions of the modern geopolitical situation.

In this work we did not only enumerated the most important components of a communicative situation, but as well demonstrated their influence upon the semantics of the text.

7. Conclusions

A communicative situation turns out to be not a chaotic formation, but an entirety forming interaction of persons. All its elements are interdependent and mutually conditioned, that is why the analysis of texts should be performed in correlation with the non-linguistic reality.

Despite the sophisticated system of a communicative situation it is perceived as a whole in the process of interaction, changing of only one structural element may cause formation of an absolutely new communicative situation.

Extralinguistic factors of the communicative situation understanding play significant role in cognitive and practical activity of the interlocutors.

The further research of prototypical communicative situations and ways of their functioning and identification is very important. Although many theories of their structure exist in linguistics and philosophy of language, we still lack a reliable practical toolset necessary for further research in this field.

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Modern Trends in the Development of Audiovisual Media as Translators of Cultural Values

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Abstract. The relevance of the study is determined by the processes of active transformation of the audiovisual media sector and the transition to new forms of interaction with the audience. These changes affect, first of all, the sphere of translation of value cultural codes. The article analyzes both traditional and modern approaches to the work of media in the cultural and educational aspect. The author identifies constant components of audiovisual works (metaprograms, archetypal plots, traditional formats) which provide constant distribution of information about basic values. Modern trends in the development of the audiovisual media sector and their role in the process of broadcasting cultural values are analyzed.

Keywords: audiovisual media, broadcasting, cultural values, media communication, TV content

1. Introduction

The active mediatization of the social and cultural sphere becomes more and more evident along with the development of a technological component of the media system and the global digitalization of the society. Audio-visual production technologies, which were in many ways inaccessible to an ordinary person, are now becoming generally available, and almost every one of us can become a creator of video content and, therefore, a translator of collective and individual cultural codes. That is why today it is especially important to study the processes taking place in the system of audiovisual media and outline the key trends in their development.

The problem of fixing and spreading cultural values through audiovisual communication channels has been considered by researchers for a long time. So, even at the dawn of the formation of cinematography, scientists tried to outline the circle of those cultural codes that it conveyed. Even then it became clear that in this area there can be both the highest achievements and

falls (for example, already in the middle of the twentieth century, researchers started talking about the threats associated with the broadcast of aggression and scenes of violence in films).

Such an ambiguous, positive-negative effect of audiovisual media related to the sphere of culture persisted later, when researchers were able to analyze the work of TV channels [Ilchenko and Okner, 2005; Bovshik, 2018]. It was noticed that along with programs promoting the spread of high cultural values, the media sector was actively developing, contributing to the so-called “down selection” [Dondurei, 2007].

The stratification in the audiovisual sphere is even more noticeable in relation to the newest media. Video blogging initially positioned itself as something different from TV. It detached itself from traditional formats, violating the canons of genres and norms of journalistic ethics. Its opposition was demonstrated in everything — from form up to content. Such scientists as E. L. Vartanova [Vartanova, 2018], A. G. Kachkaeva, S. A. Shomova [Kachkaeva, Shomova, 2017], D. A. Kirillov, T. A. Zaitseva [Kirillov, Zaitseva, 2017], S. V. Pobudey [Pobudey, 2017] and others studied the peculiarities of cultural values reflection in this sphere.

Despite the long history of understanding the potential of audiovisual media as translators of cultural codes, we have to admit the fact that there are still no trends that are constantly demonstrated in video production, and changing formats that meet the needs of a particular period in the development of society. In our study, we will try to fill this gap.

1.1. Resource materials

The research material consists of the most popular television programs and video blogs, which we will consider both in retrospect and from the standpoint of our own time. The empirical base of the study consists of broadcasting on Channel 1, the channel Rossiia, NTV, as well as the most popular video blogs in the network. The object of our research is, first of all, video content on cultural issues. The chronological period of the study is 2018–2020. However, to study the issue in retrospect, we will turn to earlier examples of audiovisual media.

1.2. Methodology and study methods

The goal is to identify constant forms of representation of cultural codes that are demonstrated at all stages of the development of audiovisual media, and modern trends in recent years. The analysis of texts has to accomplish two key tasks — the identification of constant features and the establishment

of modern trends from the point of spreading cultural values. Comparative typological, historical and functional, textual methods and method of content analysis were used.

2. Study description

During the analysis of audiovisual content, we considered it important to grab attention to the constants we identified in order to determine which components of traditional and modern media ensure constant transition of social cultural codes from generation to generation. We concretized the active functioning in the visual media sector of such important components as metaprograms, archetypal stories and traditional formats, and examined them from the standpoint of participation in the process of disseminating basic values in the cultural sphere.

In our research, metaprograms mean certain angles of perception and description of an event, situation, process or problem that belong to a person (author or viewer). Researchers tend to identify several main metaprograms: people, values, process, past, achievement. If the author has a dominance of any metaprogram, he will describe the subject of his material in a certain way. Thus, one and the same event can be described through its participants' characteristics, feelings, experiences (metaprogram of "people"), through the sequence of actions that are taking place (metaprogram of "process"), through losses and gains, norms and their violations (metaprogram of "values"), through the causes and background of what is happening (metaprogram of "past"), through the results or consequences (metaprogram of "achievement"). The audience, perceiving a particular media text, can also highlight certain aspects in it, focusing on its dominant metaprograms. This forms the topical and genre preferences of the audience. Thus, a person whose perception is dominated by the metaprogram of "people" prefers personified forms of presenting information (conversation, commentary, essay, etc.). The viewer with the dominant metaprogram of "process" will choose dynamic forms (reportage, stream, game, etc.). It is important to note that metaprograms have kept their meaning in both traditional and new media over a fairly long period of time and each of them serves to broadcast those moral and cultural values that are transferred from generation to generation.

The archetypal plot means the principles of plot construction, collected from human experience and reflecting fundamental ideas about the world, universally reproduced in different cultures and eras. This interpretation,

of course, is based on the concept of archetypes by K. G. Jung [Jung, 2019], as well as the theory of archetypal, universal plots by V. Ya. Proppa [Proppa, 1969], H. L. Borges [Borges, 1992], K. Booker [Booker, 2008], J. Polty [Polty, 1924]. From our point of view, archetypal plots are interesting because, regardless of technological breakthroughs, the emergence of new formats and even types of media, they continue to play the role of the basis of the narrative and broadcast cultural values, linking generations with common topics, problems and issues. It is archetypal plots that make it possible to actualize basic human values (life, health, warm social contacts) and basic human illusions (immortality, eternal love and friendship, faith in justice).

As for the interpretation of traditional formats, in this part of the study we relied on such a category as a frame, understood by us as a kind of structural basis for transmission, independent of its content.

The analysis of modern trends in the development of the audiovisual sector was carried out based on ideas about the peculiarities of the information behavior of the modern audience. Among its features, researchers name:

- replacing the user archetype by the creator archetype. The desire of the audience to actively interact with the video content (use of editing work to change the source material, commenting on the video or commenting with the help of video, etc.);
- scanning perception, leading to a reduction in video consumption time (using scrolling, accelerated, fragmentary or background viewing);
- parallel perception, work with several windows at the same time. This type of perception dictates the need to constantly hold the audience's attention;
- active appeal to amateur, non-professional recordings (the latter are often included in the structure of professional video;
- infantilism demonstrated by a tendency to watch game formats, hyperemotionality, instant emotionality, uncritical perception;
- voyeurism, a tendency to peep, which is realized by using a reportage camera, a hidden camera [Kachkaeva, Shomova, 2017].

Taking into account the peculiarities of the information behavior of the modern audience, we analyzed audiovisual media and identified basic, constant forms and modern trends in the development of this media sector and determined the nature of their participation in the broadcast of cultural codes.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Constant components of audiovisual media

After analyzing metaprograms as a significant component of the structure of the media text, we came to the conclusion that in matters of preserving and developing culture, the metaprogram of “values” plays a dominant role, transmitting values of both the spiritual and material plan. It is widely demonstrated in video works of cultural and educational topics. These are documentaries (“Frida na fone Fridy” [Frida at the background of Frida]), documentary series (“Krasuysya grad Petrov!” [Flaunt the city of Petrov!]), documentary TV shows (“Most nad bezdnoy” [The Bridge over the abyss]). In the material and everyday aspects, the metaprogram of “values” broadcasts certain norms to the audience or offers recipes (“Modnyy prigovor” [Fashion sentence], “Shkola remonta” [School of repair], “Chas suda” [Hour of the court]). We see this metaprogram at work in the latest audiovisual media as well. So, in the video blogging system, it is often used in such genres as guide, review, life hack, life style and others (for example, our author’s blog “Konfliktologiya” [Conflict studies], broadcasting information about the value of open sincere communication).

The same can be said for the rest of the metaprograms. All of them, regardless of the changes taking place in society, continue to return the viewer to the essential issues by means of both traditional and the latest media. Thus, the metaprogram of “process” appears on television in reportage and dynamic game forms (“Neputevyye zametki” [Unlucky notes] or “Fort Boyard”) and on the Internet in genres such as taste, prank, stream or story. It snatches out the current symbolic facts of reality and, from the totality of all broadcast phenomena, forms current trends in various spheres of people’s lives (for example, it can determine fashion in the area of clothes, leisure time, moral standards, choice of profession, etc.). The metaprogram of “past” has an aim to keep information about the most significant achievements of mankind in the field of culture. Many cultural and educational programs on television are devoted to the same aim (“Moy serebryanyy shar” [My silver ball], “Kumiry” [Idols]) and in the Internet these are professional video blogs (the blog “OP-POP-ART” by Natalia Postrigai). The metaprogram of “achievements” transmits the peak forms of the human spirit. In traditional media, these are stories about someone’s victories, about scientific discoveries, inventions (“Ochevidnoye-neveroyatnoye” [Obvious-Incredible]), and in the video blogging system, these are numerous tops and hates on the opposite, built,

for example, on exposing pseudo-scientific information or on criticism of cultural experiments of low quality. Both traditional and modern media activate the metaprogram of “achievements” in stories about contests, festivals, games (“Golos” [The Voice], broadcasting of the Oscars, etc.).

The metaprogram of “people” deserves special attention and has recently become noticeably active in various types of media. We correlate this fact with an increase in the flow of information and the complication of the process of selecting relevant information. It is easier for the viewer to trust a specific person and receive information from him than to search for information of interest in various sources. People and not channels become the transmitters of values. That is why personal projects (“Pozner” or “The fate of a man with Boris Korchevnikov” etc.) are particular popular both on television and in the network media.

It is important, however, to emphasize that the dominance of a particular metaprogram is not a necessary factor in the success of a video work. On the contrary, the most successful video formats are those in which all or many of the metaprograms are activated (for example, “Genius Places” by Peter Weill). In this case, each viewer will find something of their own in the program or blog. An approach based on a combination of different metaprograms allows the author to expand his audience and appeal to everyone, broadcasting certain cultural values. The repetition of metaprograms from year to year, from era to era can be considered a constant sign of media development, preserving the key frames of information presentation.

The same can be said about archetypal subjects. Whatever changes take place in society, these stories are repeated from century to century in all areas of art and media forms. Let’s consider the role of key archetypal subjects in the broadcast of cultural values.

One of the private plots of this kind is the “Feat of Prometheus”, built on the hero’s struggle for justice against an enemy superior in strength (this is why the plot has another name — “The fight against the titan”). The enemy can be a specific person, a group of people (for example, a political party), a dominant ideology. The hero of such works is a fighter who defends certain life principles. It conveys to the audience the belief in justice, the importance of fighting for what you think is right, adherence to principles. This is a person who asserts norms and principles for evaluating events. On the TV screen, we find such a plot in stories about heroes’ feats (for example, in stories about the Great Patriotic War), in reports aimed at combating injustice (“Spetsial’nyy

korrespondent” [Special Correspondent], “Svoya Pravda” [Personal Truth]). And on the Internet — this is the basis of revelations (for example — the blogs of Alexey Navalny, Alexander Nevzorov, the EVG channel) or an attempt to restore the historical truth (a number of headings “Parthenon” by Leonid Parfenov). It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this plot for the Internet. Video blogging was initially perceived by the authors as a platform for free and even oppositional speech. What could not be expressed on the screen, bloggers expressed on network platforms. The harsh tone of video blogs, the use of obscene vocabulary, and an amateur filming format are excused by this fact. The authors of the video blogs seemed to emphasize: “We broadcast different values, we are not like the hosts of traditional programs.”

Another common archetypal plot on the web is the “Cinderella archetype.” The essence of the plot is that a person deserving of reward and justice finally gets them with outside help. An example of the implementation of such a plot on TV is the “Chas suda” [Hour of the court] program, reporting on the solution of social and everyday problems (often in the housing sector). In a network platforms, we often find examples of the embodiment of such a plot in the lifestyle genre (blogs by Katya Klep or Sasha Spielberg, etc.) or in professional blogs where authors help the viewer to solve any problems (for example, the psychological blogs by Sasha Ivanov or Andrey Kurpatov).

Another important archetypal plot in the context of our research is “the systematization of philosophical categories”. Its purpose is actualization and rethinking of deep questions for a person. On the TV screen, the programs “Gordon” and “Shkola zlosloviya” [School of Scandal] were a vivid demonstration of such a plot. It has been included in genres such as essays and comments. Moreover, this process is noticeable both in traditional and in the latest media. For instance, on the Internet, a similar story serves as the basis for many educational blogs (Arthur Sharifov’s blog, MentalTV, SnailKick, Riddle, Mediapsikhologiya [Mediapsychology]). This type of plot allows you to discover something new in already known things, to return to topics that are repeatedly discussed by society at different stages of its development.

The broadcast of cultural values also takes place with the help of other archetypal plots — “rock”, “cheating”, “adventure”, “sleeping beauty”, “sudden disaster”. These plots are experiencing some modification, but inevitably form the basis of both traditional and network video formats. The archetypal nature of the plots allows the audience to build associative links with already known realities, update background knowledge, and consolidate the learned values.

A similar role is played by traditional television formats or frames for providing news, broadcasting information. The main reproduced frames include interviews, studio conversations, news stories, talk shows or commentary. They overlap with the main genres of journalism, are reproduced in both traditional and modern media, and can be filled with any content. So, a news story can include in various combinations such elements as synchronization, life, voiceover with video, stand-up. Other elements may also be present. Their combination may differ from plot to plot, and yet there will be few options for combinations, they will be repeatable. The audience, who perceives the stories every day, due to their repetition, can begin to trust the frame itself, regardless of the information included. Therefore, there is a risk in using traditional formats associated with the implementation of fake elements into the narrative (for example, the mocumentari genre, imitating the documentary frame well known to the audience).

In general, the problem of exploitation of traditional formats, archetypal subjects and metaprograms is urgent. By virtue of their repetition, recognition, familiarity, they can cause excessive trust in the audience and uncritical perception and lead to the grasping of inaccurate information. Authors of fake news rely on such mechanisms. It is no coincidence that most researchers define fake news as false reports imitating the authentic or as messages with reduced or absent informational value for the audience imitating valuable ones. This is a kind of imitation of reality which forms a media reality that is far from the first reality. And it is the established forms of information transmission that make their existence possible.

This is probably one of the reasons that dispose the authors of media works to search for new forms of communication with the audience.

3.2. Modern trends in the development of audiovisual media

First of all, it is necessary to note the quantitative growth of video content — not only on traditional platforms (such as Youtube, Yandex video or TikTok), but also on platforms that were previously focused on text or static illustrative information (Facebook, VKontakte). So, already in 2018, the director of ecology of the social network Vkontakte Sergey Paranko, in his speech at the annual scientific and practical conference “Journalism-2017”, emphasized that it is video consumption that is the dominant form of information behavior in the social network. He also said that the stories captured by the users themselves are of the greatest interest to the audience.

Large volumes of video can cause concern due to the fact that high-quality content broadcasting cultural value constants may be lost in the stream of low-quality video that conveys information of a dubious nature. It is no coincidence that researchers now record the presence of a significant number of fake markers in modern audiovisual media. Among the most common are:

- the use of video frames that are not related to the described event (the frames were filmed in a different place, the frames were filmed at a different time);
- the inclusion of video frames shot from a certain angle, which changes the assessment of an ongoing event (for example, a small event can be shown without general plans, which will create the illusion of a large number of people);
- videos with incredibly successful stunts, dangerous actions of characters or extremely painful blows (as a rule, they are filmed using sophisticated technologies, but they form the feeling of reportage and reliable information);
- changing the sequence of questions and answers in the interview, which leads to a change in meaning;
- use of announcements in the news release that distort the essence of the plot;
- whipping up emotions in credits, etc.

All these markers of fakes allow us to say that cultural values in such materials are broadcast in a distorted form and, if a fake video is discovered, trust can be undermined not only to the video itself, but also to the subject of display.

It is important, however, to note that a number of fakes have no negative basis. Moreover, in terms of broadcasting cultural values, they can be useful, since they appeal to such qualities of the audience as infantilism and a tendency to gamble. Attention in this sense deserves the use of deepfake technology. This is a technology that allows you to replace some parts of the video image with others without losing a sense of the reality of what is happening. For example, one person's face can be replaced by another person's face. In this case, the facial expressions of the new character will exactly duplicate the facial expressions of the real hero. Thus, it is possible to show any person doing stuff that he did not actually do. This image synthesis technique is based on the use of artificial intelligence and gives a very realistic result. Today it is mostly harmless and used in entertainment, but it can also be used for disinformation purposes. For example, deepfake technology was used at the Salvador Dali Museum in Florida where a special exhibition, Dali

Lives was organized to celebrate the artist's 115th birthday. The exhibition used a prototype of the artist generated by artificial intelligence, who communicated with visitors of the museum, shared stories of his paintings with them, and also took selfies and sent photos to visitors' mails.

Another example is a video in which Elon Musk sings the song "Trava u doma" [Grass by the House]. During the video editing, the face of Elon Musk was put over the face of the guitarist of the Zemlyane group Igor Romanov. The video appeared on the Internet on May 31, 2020 on the day of the first launch of SpaceX spacecraft.

The use of deepfake technology is just one example of the development of such a trend as information gamification. The game format for presenting information is becoming more and more popular today and is included in the structure of television broadcasts of the information, analytical and documentary-artistic type. It has long been talked about its implementation in the format of infotainment (playing out news). One of the striking examples of the use of information on Russian television is in the films of Leonid Parfenov, in which the author plays up facts, presents them through the prism of theatre, imitation and even kitsch (for example, the film "Ptitsa Gogol" [Bird Gogol] made for the anniversary of the writer Nikolai Gogol). Today, infotainment is also used in TV programs ("Tsentral'noye televideniye" [Central Television]).

Elements of gamification are present in almost all genres of video blogging. They are more frequent in the sketch show ("This is horosho"), pranks and navels. They are present in a significant amount in other genres too. The activation of game elements supports another trend — the strengthening of the means of activating attention. This trend is associated with the multichannel and the possibility of simultaneous perception of information in several windows. First of all, it should be noted here more active work with submodalities — those are such parameters of the text that provokes a viewer's attention involuntarily when they suddenly change.

In the audiovisual sector, media submodalities can be divided into two types — visual and auditory. The visual submodalities with which modern media carry out active experiments include: stereo or mono; words or sounds; volume (loud or quiet); tone (sharp or soft); timbre (color of sound); the location of the sound source (far or near); duration (short or long sound); continuity or discontinuity; pace (faster or slower than usual); distinctness (distinct or muted).

The most common visual submodalities are associated (see with my own eyes) or dissociated (see myself in a picture). This submodality is often used

by video bloggers in the form of shooting without a tripod, a non-standard shooting angle; color or black and white; framed or borderless; depth (flat or volumetric); location (e. g. right or left, top or bottom); distance (the picture is far or near you); brightness; contrast; sharpness (blurry or focused); mobility (film or slide); speed (faster or slower than usual); quantity (split screen or composite image); the size.

By modeling these submodalities we can draw the audience's attention to content that might otherwise seem boring to the viewer. It is easy to see that the activation of submodalities is becoming a trend of the network platforms, and then it moves to television screens, allowing the viewer's attention to be fixed on the values being broadcast.

Finally, the personification of information is becoming another trend in the development of modern audiovisual media. Above, we offered an explanation of the reasons for this phenomenon. Let's look at it in more detail.

Researchers today note the dominance of the so-called open subjectivity in the media sphere. Reanimation of subjectivity leads to the fact that "my opinion" is presented as a priority for society. This process, which is objectively developing in the media, can have its pros and cons. On the one hand, if the author of the statement has a rich, interesting, deep and developed personality, then he can broadcast the values of the "vertical plan", encouraging a viewer for self-development and self-creation. On the other hand, a shocking author of a video work can go down to a very low level of broadcasting values and thereby significantly lower the cultural level of his audience. The situation is aggravated by the rejection of external control in the modern media. The ethical norms of each individual become the only criterion for his behavior. The ability to hide one's real life personality allows one to demonstrate qualities of character suppressed by the morals of society. This is reinforced by the prevalence of heuristics over evidence. Evidence assumes a set of facts arranged in a certain order dictated by logic, where one clearly follows from the other. However, such a linear scheme may not be available to the author, not interesting to the audience and is impossible in the conditions of constant returns and leaps that characterize modern media consumption.

4. Conclusions

All of the abovementioned things allow us to say that modern media in the aspect of broadcasting cultural values play a double role: on the one hand, they preserve basic knowledge and broadcast it to the audience, using

both traditional and the latest formats and providing a sense of stability in the post-truth era. On the other hand, they can significantly lower the general cultural background of the audience — not only in the area of experiment with the form of presenting the message, but also in the conditions of using traditional approaches. It is important for the authors of modern media texts dealing with cultural issues to rely on archetypal plots, fixed formats, classical metaprograms. But at the same time it is very important not to use them in order to introduce controversial, unverified, questionable information. Of course, it is important for them to search for new forms, taking into account the transformation of the information needs of the audience, but at the same time it is important to remember the effect of “down selection” and not sacrifice values for the sake of momentary fame.

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Literary Reputations in the Post-Literacy Era: The Image of a Writer in the Runet

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Abstract. The communication trend of the media discourse in the Runet, associated with the use of images of writers, is explored. The material used in this study includes Internet memes augmented with the images of classical writers and precedential quotations from their works. The theoretical basis is the concept of literary reputations (I. N. Rozanov). Transformations of literary reputations influenced by the technologies and values of the post-literacy era are analysed; new cultural meanings of the existence of literary concepts are revealed.

Keywords: literary reputation, writer, internet meme, participatory culture, post-literacy, communication, precedential text, creolised text

1. Introduction

The Internet is flooded with small speech genres [Bakhtin, 1996]: demotivators, memes, ‘advices’, humorous postcards, ‘pies’ and ‘powders’ (genres of network poetic quatrains), which are actively studied in the context of both genreology and communication [Shchurina, 2010; Nezhura, 2012; Shomova, 2018]. Their main properties are virality, the ability to replicate, communicative expansion, focus on humour and rapid turnover: they are often associated with the urgent issues of the day, but at the same time they broadcast basic stereotypes that go back to national culture — mainly its precedent phenomena [Karaulov, 2007, 216]. Meme, a word introduced in the 1970s by R. Dawkins [Dawkins, 1993], is difficult to identify, especially when it comes to its existence on the Internet: this is both a ‘kind of precedent phenomena’ [Shchurina, 2010, 84], and a kind of creolized text [Sorokin, Tarasov, 1990, 180–181] using the resources of precedent: ‘A meme has a cultural connotation that enables the addressee to identify the precedent phenomenon’ [Shchurina, 2012, 163]. Such a fragility of the concept is explained

by the fact that the meme appears only in the perceiving consciousness, this phenomenon is entirely receptive.

As a phenomenon of verbal communication, witty aphoristic phrases were 'invented' long before the Internet era: they were an essential condition for communication of the high society (recall the 'phrases of portable properties' quoted in living rooms — 'les mots', in the invention of which one of the heroes of 'War and Peace', Diplomat Bilibin, succeeded). However, only Internet technologies have allowed them to become a truly massive phenomenon. Emerging in various Internet communities (social networks, chats, forums), Internet memes often go beyond the global network and are 'prescribed' in the language of everyday life, become the basis for advertising, and penetrate the media.

In the Runet, there are many so-called meme generators — on various sites, the user is asked to enter his own captions into the finished picture. There is even a Memepedia website dedicated exclusively to the viral content, with its own Memotek, an encyclopedia of popular memes classified by headings, years and the alphabet. Obviously, we are faced with a part of a 'culture of participation' that is powerfully asserting itself in the network (G. Jackins [Jenkins, 1992]). By adding to our cultural roles of reader, listener and viewer a new one, a user, we have become not only consumers, but also producers of texts [Zvereva, 2012, 8].

If we look for cultural analogies to the ubiquitous anonymous Internet memes, then a parallel arises with the carnival laughter culture of the Middle Ages [Bakhtin, 1990, 17] with its liberating laughter, opposed to the seriousness of the official culture. The abundance of the 'indecent' amongst Internet products stemming from the relative moral and ethical uncensoredness of the network space, can also, in accordance with the works of A. M. Panchenko, D. S. Likhachev, B. A. Uspensky, be considered in the context of folk laughter culture as curse words associated with the material-bodily bottom. In the modern postmodern discourse the binarity of the Russian culture noted by Yu. M. Lotman becomes irrelevant [Lotman, 1997, 596] as the border between 'high' and 'low' is blurred, and the mass culture compromised in the national tradition, associated with everyday practices, broadcasts not only kitsch, but also important value meanings [Knabe, 1989].

Since in Russia a sacred attitude to the word persisted for quite a long time and writers had a special status of rulers of thoughts and prophets, their

position in the pantheon of the greats was legitimised by the institutions of the entire previous culture, whose power is appropriated by an anonymous Internet author [Bourdieu, 2000]. Despite the fact that the literary centrality of the Russian culture has remained in the past and literature is no longer synonymous with culture, the writers included in the 'literature canon' continue to be among the popular 'heroes' of Internet creativity. Quite often, it is the sacred figures of writers from the literature canon that become 'victims' of the laughter carnival outrage of the Runet.

Let me explain the concept of 'literature canon'. It does not have a strict literary significance and is distinguished by its controversial nature [Zemskov, 1999; Megrelishvili, 2013]; we can talk about at least three canons ('actual', 'school' and 'fashionable' [Dubin, 2010, 69–70]), touch upon aspects of their historical variability, 'social targeting', communication with literary hierarchies and national mythology. M. Yampolsky defines the 'canonical text' quite capaciously and concisely: 'it is... a text that ceases to belong entirely to the author and whose meaning acquires a certain ontological character' [Yampolsky, 1998, 219]. I will understand by the literature canon 'a set of texts recognised as ideal in the system... of the national cultural tradition' [Guskov, 2016, 176]. Entering the canon, the author acquires a biography, becomes mythologized, just as a saint is canonised [Berg, 2000]. In the Russian national culture, for example, this path was most clearly followed by Pushkin [Reitblat, 2001]. The concepts of 'classical author and classic' cannot be called purely scientific concepts, they are discovered only in the field of reception [Zenkin, 2009, 281–282].

Finally, it is necessary to introduce another concept related to the perception of the images of writers by Internet users: the stereotypes that guide the creators of memes are based on the theory of literary reputation. This concept was introduced by I. N. Rozanov [1928] a century ago and further developed by a number of researchers [Mashkovtseva, 2012]. Based on the ideas expressed by them, I will offer my own understanding of the literary reputation: this is a complex, varying with time, public image of a writer which is formed as a general picture of the reception of his work by all participants in the literary process — critics, contemporary writers and readers.

The purpose of this study is to trace what constituents of writers' literary reputations are relevant to users and what transformations they undergo under the influence of technologies and values of the post-literacy era on the basis of Internet memes in the openly accessible resources of the Runet;

what new cultural meanings of the existence of literary concepts are revealed. Let us turn to various types of Internet memes that exploit the images of writers — we will be interested in both text memes (using quotes and plot collisions from key texts of classical literature), and picture memes (less often), and creolized texts — ‘picture + accompanying text’... We will have to leave aside video memes, which go back mainly to screen adaptations of classic literary works (often the mass consciousness equates a text and a film). The subject of my interest will be the figures of the Russian literature canon, and therefore I will not focus on memes referring to foreign literature (for example, popular ‘advices’ with the image of W. Wolfe — the personification of a ‘philological maiden’) which has its own canon [Bloom, 2017].

I will comment on another large plot layer of Internet memes which will have to be ignored now — those associated with fictitious love relationships between same-sex characters in literary works and their authors (for example, between Onegin and Lensky, Pushkin and Gogol). Such love stories called ‘slash’ [Prasolova, 2008] should also be viewed in the context of the ‘culture of participation’ within fanfiction, i.e. fan literature. Slash memes telling about the relationship of male characters in the canon are proof of the laughable, carnival nature, perversity of small speech Internet genres in relation to traditional values.

2.1. The core of the canon: Pushkin and Gogol

A large number of Internet memes of the ‘literary origin’ are either puns or play on the sound shell of the exploited literary content. Here we are dealing only with external attachment to literary material. The situation is similar with the parodies in the description of Yu. N. Tynyanov who distinguishes between parody ‘debunking’ the original and exposing the technique, and parody only using an ‘alien form’ as a popular matrix and emphasising the contrast between ‘low’ and ‘high’ [Tynyanov, 1977, 290]. An example of a pun meme for which the literary form is indifferent can be a photo of a label from a grocery store in which the consonance is played out and the name of the product and the producing country is contaminated: *‘Carrots’ Unwashed Russia’: / Garlic of slaves and onions of masters, / And blue eggplants, / And other miscellaneous root crops*^{*}

^{*} Hereinafter, the cited Internet memes are in italics, with the spelling and punctuation of anonymous authors preserved.

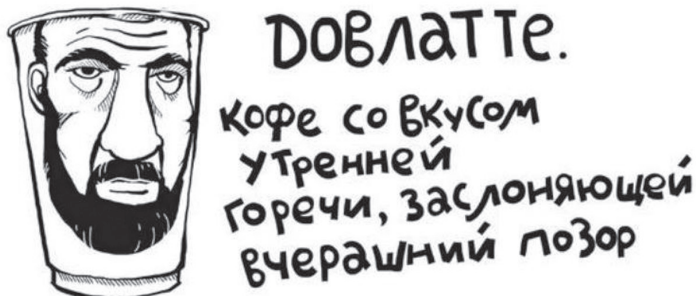
Here are some more examples of such ‘frivolous’ literary memes, ‘re-singing’ a quotation or the name of a writer and not suggesting ‘immersion’ in the pre-text: ‘Laughing all the way to the bank’ (a picture with Raskolnikov); ‘Hello, is this Griboyedov? I’m a vegan too’ (picture of a penguin talking on a cell phone); ‘Bitter — Sweet’ (portrait of M. Gorky as an advertisement for a pie in KFC); ‘Hook on the left Hook on the right Block’ (photograph by A. Blok between two reproductions of a portrait by the German artist J. G. Hook); ‘Leo Tolstoy was not a fat lion’ (images, respectively, of the writer and the lion).

Further, I will not distinguish between puns and memes that unite the author and the recipient on the basis of a common, at least superficial knowledge of the subject. I will confine myself to demonstrating one example of the difference between them: the first one uses the tautological consonance technique and addresses the entire body of the classics, without delving into its characteristics: ‘*Russian classical literature — all in one class*’ (against the background of a typical graduation photograph of the class with portraits of schoolchildren in round frames — instead of them the classics from the school curriculum from Pushkin to Gorky); the second one — a text without a picture, in black and white: ‘*All Russian literature is built entirely on suffering. Either the author or the reader suffers*’ (variant: ‘*Everything is very bad. Now let’s talk about this in more detail on 700 pages*’). Obviously, in the latter case, the author of the message and its addressee are supposed to have a common knowledge of the psychologism of the Russian classic novel and at the same time there is an ironic allusion to its many pages and a reference to the concept of ‘suffering’ that is important for Dostoevsky. There is another Internet picture on the same topic, ironically shuffling the ‘ingredients’ of an archaic picture of the world: on a turtle labeled ‘*suffering*’ there is ‘*Russian literature*’ in the form of three elephants — ‘*new man*’, ‘*extra man*’ and ‘*little man*’... In one of the blogs, I even found a meme with the projections of literary reputations on the fragrances: on each bottle, along with the image of the writers, there is an annotation that plays on Lermontov’s hussars, Pushkin’s revelry, Yesenin’s peasantry, Chekhov’s medical education, Mayakovsky’s love for Lilya Brik.

The idea of an Internet user about the Russian literary canon is reflected, for example, in the following meme: ‘*So. all right. You didn’t listen to me, so let them now explain to you what the difference between ‘dress somebody’ and ‘put on’ is*’ (option: ‘*You have three mistakes in one word*’) — Pushkin

(in the centre), Gogol, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov are walking aggressively and proactively.

I consider those memes whose authors manage to reflect the idea of the literary reputation or the artistic world of the writer in an elegant, artistic form, with the help of a pun or consonance, to be especially successful as, for example, in this: *‘Dovlatte: Coffee with the taste of yesterday’s bitterness, overshadowing yesterday’s shame’.*



An indispensable condition for the successful perception of a meme dedicated to writers is cultural presupposition: acquaintance with the writer’s work and biography in the scope of the school curriculum. For example, this one presupposes knowledge of the biographies of Russian poets and writers who, in a carnival spirit, are discredited as ‘untrue saints’: *‘Literature teachers at school force 14-year-old children to analyse and understand the poems of adult drunks who committed suicide’.* Or here’s a meme quest: *‘Our heroes (Dostoevsky, Mayakovsky, Yesenin) have lost their favourite items on the way. Help them. Give everyone the item they need. An axe, a pistol, a bottle...’*

As you might expect, the most popular hero of literary memes is Pushkin, who is at the very core of the national canon. His central position is played up even on the meta-level: *‘Pushkin is our meme’* (next to the graphic self-portrait of the classic). Or like this: *‘Sonny, have you done your homework? — No, I haven’t begun it yet. — Who are you waiting for? Pushkin will do? — Why do I have to do that ***! I have already died’* (the last remark belongs to the poet himself). Text: *‘Chukchi is not a writer, Chukchi is a reader!’* — accompanied, of course, by the image of Pushkin personifying the writer as such. *‘No! Give me only a mug!’* - We see a classic refusing an offer to drink (a reference both to a Soviet poster promoting sobriety and Pushkin’s lines *‘Let’s drown our*

grief in drink; where is the mug?). Pushkin turns out to be a mythologised character, the precedent of which is truly inexhaustible. Here's how, for example, one of the latest network memo viruses '*Natasha and the cats*' has been rethought: many Pushkins wake up 'Natasha' (wife?) anxiously: 'Natasha, get up, we have finished the Little Tragedies', 'Eugene Onegin' has even been finished', 'Finished, honestly', 'We've finished everything'.



In most Internet memes about Pushkin, we will find references to the textbook version of his biography refracted by the mass consciousness that reduce the image of the classic (all of them are accompanied by well-known images of the poet — a portrait by O. Kiprensky, V. Tropinin, etc.): '*A gambler, a womanizer, a duelist, African roots*'; '*The first Russian rapper is not Timati. The first Russian rapper was A. S. Pushkin. He rhymed well, had African roots and died in a shootout*'. In some memes, only one of the features of this stereotypical set is exploited, for example, a poet's duel, or his family life (a portrait of a poet and a text using two emoji-hearts '*Love is... Why did you say about my wife, ghoul, let's go out, Natasha, don't bother, I myself*'), or his 'Don Juan list': '*Women accuse Pushkin*' — the text is accompanied by a graphic image of the contrite figure of the poet surrounded by women,

angrily making claims on him. Obviously, here the reputation of a classic becomes a reason for a topical statement about harassment that generates information storms in the media and the Internet. Such relevant comments can be referred to a fashionable singer (*‘Remember Pushkin’s poems! Remember all the songs of Face [modern rapper — GB] by heart!’*) or to a cult film. The meme with a frame from the film ‘Pulp Fiction’ by K. Tarantino is quite noteworthy: *‘Come on, tell me about Pushkin again! You disgrace Pushkin.’* Let me remind you that in the film in this scene, one of the main characters, Bandit Jules, before killing a man, quotes an excerpt from the sermons of the prophet Ezekiel as the replacement of Scripture with the name of Pushkin suggests the perception of the latter as a sacred figure equivalent to a saint or a prophet.



Since the Internet user is predominantly audio and visual, there are many overlaps between the images of literary classics and the heroes of popular films in memes. For example, Russian writers and poets are portrayed as the ‘unstoppables’ from the 2010 film of the same name (directed by S. Stallone), an American action movie featuring the most famous actors of the 1980s and 90s playing a group of elite mercenaries. And the plot of another meme is the projection of two bandits from the already mentioned ‘Pulp Fiction’ onto the main ‘heroes’ of the literary canon: Pushkin and Gogol point pistols at the viewer with the words: *‘Have you read the Inspector General and Dead Souls? If not, go and read ***’*. It would be more logical to demand reading one of Pushkin’s and one of Gogol’s — and here the question arises: did the anonymous Internet author know that Pushkin is defending another person’s copyright?



It is natural that the second most important figure in literary Internet memes is not Lermontov (only a few memes will tell us only about his Scottish origin and love for cards), but Gogol, who rivals Pushkin for popular fame (we cannot help recalling V. Belinsky's position about two directions of Russian literature — 'Pushkin' and 'Gogol'). Moreover, as it has repeatedly happened in recent decades [Kaspe, 2009], the film series 'Gogol' (directed by E. Baranov, 2017–2019), recently released on film distribution and on the screen and reflected in the memo creative work, added fame to the writer: 'You don't have to read Gogol, if you can go to the cinema to see him.' However, some memes, defending literary centrism, broadcast a critical attitude towards the series: 'Gogol of a healthy person (portrait of the writer by F. Moller) / Gogol of a smoker (portrait of an actor playing a writer in the series)' (option: the same images with the captions 'Good Gogol / Bad Gogol').

The most 'memogenic' fact of the life and work of the writer is the burning of the second volume of *Dead Souls* by him: 'I have written you — I'll burn you' (both an appeal to the fact of the biography and a precedent phrase from 'Taras Bulba'); 'What if Gogol burned the second volume of *Dead Souls* because he wrote in the Latin layout and noticed it only in the last chapter?'; 'Your book will not be criticized if...' (plus a picture of a flame); 'Gogol to Bul-

gakov: Misha, today we will groove (here we see wordplay: Russian words meaning 'groove' and 'light it up' have the same base). Don't you like the second part again? ' (Gogol — to M. Bulgakov, the author of the famous Wolandian phrase 'Manuscripts do not burn') and even 'The film will be released in 4 parts, but the fourth will be burned.' It is noteworthy that Internet authors play up in their work such facts as the writer's love for macaroni and cheese and the mysterious circumstances of his death ('Guys, stop joking: you have pampered yourselves quite enough, it's high time to open it already'), but completely ignore such components of his reputation as inclination to mysticism, preaching or disagreements with contemporaries due to his scandalously famous letters to friends, etc. — all this, apparently, remains 'overboard' of the school curriculum and cannot become a reliable basis for memes that rely on recognition or general availability.

2.2. ...and others

It is not known whether the fact of early Dostoevsky's belonging to the 'Gogol' direction of Russian literature was known to the author of the following meme: 'I have read a lot of literature, but I think that only Gogol really 'grooved' (*lit it up*)' — the caption to the portrait of the writer by V. Perov. By the way, it is his most widespread image which has served as the basis for a large number of Internet memes — both biographical, and quote and plot ones. Among the latter, the leading ones are those referring to 'Crime and Punishment' — a work that is included in the 'school canon' and is wittily parodied by plot as follows: *'The cat shit in the shoes... Perhaps I will not scold him, but only hint that I suspect him. I will keep it in nervous tension until the cat repents.'* *'Would you like some sweet oranges? Do you want long stories out loud? Do you want me to kill the neighbours that interfere with your sleep?'* — a quote from the song of the singer Zemfira is accompanied by a picture of Raskolnikov. There is also a general idea of the writer's reputation: *'Dostoevsky in my head prevents me from being happy'* (a picture with a silhouette of a child's head inside which there is a portrait of the writer). It is Dostoevsky with his idea of suffering who personifies all Russian literature in the following meme: *'English literature: I will die for a moral duty; French literature: I will die for love; German literature: I will die for greatness; Russian literature: I will die'* (the same Perov portrait of the writer is placed here).

английская литература: я умру ради
морального долга
французская литература: я умру ради
любви
немецкая литература: я умру ради величия
русская литература: я умру



The poets from the literary canon of the twentieth century also seem to be 'gloomy' to the mememakers: *'Depression does not come alone: it brings Mayakovsky, Yesenin and Brodsky with it'*. It seems that Russian literature opens up to the mass consciousness as extremely pessimistic, attuning to suffering and pain, and not encouraging or healing... And heroes do not always teach light or kind things, as it is presented in an ironic meme (in the spirit of G. Oster's 'bad advice') showing a stack of books with the following titles: *'Chatsky (How to ruin a party), Onegin (100 ways to lose friends), Raskolnikov (Sociopathy for dummies), Bazarov (We expel guests [? — G. B.]), Pechorin (How to be *** [unprintable word denoting a bad person — GB])'*.

Leo Tolstoy is famous among the mememakers primarily as the author of the epic 'War and Peace', which, apparently, since their school days have amazed them with an overwhelming volume — this is what most of the 'Tolstoy' memes are about: for example, depicting a thick and thin book with appropriate inscriptions: *'War and Peace' / 'War and Peace' without a description of the oak*; *'Jesus knew how to turn water into wine, and I turn it into War and Peace'* (tweet on behalf of Leo Tolstoy); four squares: *'Air magician, fire magician, earth magician, Leo Tolstoy'* [the meaning implied is 'water' - GB]; *'Rewrite me in full'* (the words of Tolstoy who is strictly looking at the addressee), etc. It is obvious that the format of the epic novel is irrelevant to modern mass consciousness, and other works of Tolstoy are less rooted in the 'school canon'. The author of the 90-volume collected works

was awarded the ‘panegyric’ only in comparison with one of his namesake writers: *‘In words you are Leo Tolstoy, but in practice — Alexei’* (attached portrait of Alexei Tolstoy).

Let us recall the meme ‘The Expendables’ which depicts the Russian classics in the form of military mercenaries — in fact, it represents the entire literary pantheon of the 19th century: Griboyedov, Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Nekrasov, Chekhov. It is noteworthy that we will not find Goncharov here, the author of Oblomov, who is traditionally ‘squeezed out’ in the school curriculum by his more ‘successful’ competitors — Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Turgenev. The latter is the author of the compact novel ‘Fathers and Sons’ which fits well into the palette of school reading with both a small volume and a bright hero, as well as he is the author of the touching story of ‘Mumu’ [Boeva, 2019] which is ahead of many classical works in terms of the number of fanfictions. Among the ‘irrepressible’ there is not a single writer of the eighteenth century who almost completely ‘dropped out’ from the school literary canon. Of Pushkin’s predecessors, we see only Griboyedov, who steadfastly ‘has occupied his rightful place’: he is not only the author of a comedy, which has become an enduring source of precedent phrases and expressions, but also the owner of a vivid biography (on this topic, the meme ‘*Griboyedov loved duels: he took part in duels several times a day and threw a glove in the face of everyone he met*’). From the twentieth century, only the most brutal ones were ‘lucky’: Mayakovsky and Yesenin — of all the literary representatives of the last century, they are most often the heroes of Internet memes. Suicides and scandalous reputations ‘come in handy’ from their biographies (one is a hooligan, the other is a futurist and a herald), and the mass consciousness, of course, identifies poets and their lyrical heroes. However, some authors try to express themselves about the artistic and aesthetic features of their poetry, for example, accompanying the image of Mayakovsky with the caption ‘*One, two, three, four, seven! I have been friends with rhyme since childhood!*’ (Still it remains unclear whether this is an allusion to Mayakovsky’s famous ‘ladder’, or to his sophisticated rhyme — and in what sense: positive or negative). The futurism of the early Mayakovsky is also played up: ‘He offered to throw Pushkin, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy from the steamer of our time but ended up with them in the school curriculum.’ As you can see, in order to become a popular hero of memes, you need both rootedness in the literary canon (i. e., first of all, in the school curriculum [Boeva, 2018]), and a vivid, amazing biography.

It is interesting that the classic can be ‘glorified’ in the Runet by far from his most canonical text. So, for example, it happened with I. Brodsky whose most quoted verses in mememaking are ‘*Don’t leave the room, / Don’t make a mistake*’. When, in 2020, on the eve of the poet’s birthday, in St. Petersburg, graffiti with his image appeared on the wall opposite Muruzi’s house, soon painted over by the housing services, the Runet reacted with a meme with the caption: ‘When I tried to leave the room at least on my birthday...’ (‘Frequency of this quote is even ironically played in one of the memes: at the registration table there is a crowd of people with this inscription, but at the other table, with the inscription: ‘*Other works by Yosi*,’ is empty. A ‘sociopathic’ poem inviting one to stay at home, whimsically combined cats and a photograph where he is depicted with a cat in his arms (and possibly with his famous essay ‘A Room and a Half’), and caused the associative series ‘Brodsky — cats — a room — home comfort — home’, presented in a number of memes and strangely combined with poetics and literary reputation as an emigrant, intellectual, and Nobel Laureate. Truly, we do not know how our word will respond...



Associations with the work of writers can be very diverse — the following interesting intermedia comparison deserves attention. This music-loving story is called ‘*If Russian Writers Represented Genres of Music*’, and in six ‘boxes’ the following pictures are placed: ‘N. Gogol: black metal, M. Lermontov:

emocore [style of rock music which is characterized by lyricism, melody and expressiveness — GB], *V. Mayakovsky: antisocial hardcore*, *S. Yesenin: folk rock*, *A. Blok: gothic metal*, *L. Tolstoy: neocrust / darc hardcore* [a direction in rock music in the definition of which the epithets ‘hard’, ‘powerful’, ‘atmospheric’, ‘melodic’ are appropriate — GB]. The next meme even provoked a chat: ‘- Well, if you are not obsessed with rock and metal, then Gogol is rather dark ambient [a direction in electronic music, defined as gloomy and noisy — GB], Mayakovsky is rapcore [a genre in rock music using rap (recitative) as vocals — GB], Tolstoy — symphonic music. — You don’t even need to compare. If Pushkin had a cue ball [apparently, slang education from the musical term ‘beat’ — GB], his poems would be called rap. — Who is MDM then? [Melodic death metal — a kind of extreme subgenre of metal (from the English ‘melodic death metal’) — GB] ‘Obviously, a person who is not included in rocker culture can only superficially assess these correspondences, but similar ones can be also with painting, dance, and with architecture and other forms of art.

I will also cite as an example a plot that ‘opens’ Russian literature to the world and laconically, with the help of the technique of parallelism, defines the face of the writer: ‘*Dostoevsky kills a person; Orwell kills hope; Salinger kills youth; Kafka kills joy; Castaneda kills consciousness; Kerouac kills a generation; Polozkova kills poetry; Dontsova kills intellect; R. R. Martin kills everyone.*’

It seems that to the mass consciousness all the authors and heroes of their books seem to be a large friendly family whose members can easily exchange words with each other, have a drink, go to a cafe, share current difficulties... As, for example, in this meme imitating a chat with the corresponding nicknames and avatars:

Blok: — It makes me wild that I have six volumes of works, but everyone knows only a poem about a pharmacy because it is posted on Vcontacte

Brodsky: — Zhiza ((

Mayakovsky: — It’s even worse when your poems become popular only after they are sung by a famous rock group

Yesenin: — Has Bezrukov ever played you? ‘

Or as in this story: ‘*One day Pechorin, Onegin and Chatsky walk into a bar. But the bartender says to them: ‘Gentlemen, please leave the place: you are superfluous men.’*

3. Conclusion

Of course, I have left many Internet memes using images of writers outside the scope of the conversation: they can be likened to barbaric, even vandal, statements. According to M. Berg [Berg, 2000], it is important for a barbarian to be erected over traditional sacred values, and to give his/her barbaric construction the most weighty symbolic capital. And what else can increase them if not parasitizing on names, whose position in the pantheon of the greats is legitimized by centuries of culture?

The written word is no longer omnipotent. In the post-literacy era, literature has also lost its power to affirm the status of reality, both cultural and social. Nevertheless, literature, and the figure of the writer as its personification, continues to be a powerful accumulator of cultural capital, redistributed under the new conditions of the post-literacy era.

The examples of Internet creativity that I have considered, in fact, have been created according to the same strategic principles as the poems of conceptualists and canvases of Socialist art: by appealing to iconic names and cult pre-texts, they parody and deconstruct them and allow the authors of memopuses to assert themselves at the expense of 'intertextual victims'. However, this does not mean the overthrow of values, because the compromised artistic system (literary classics) in the process of deconstruction 'becomes a more or less positive value, if not semantic, then still functional' [Smirnov, 1994, 42].

The undertaken analysis of Internet memes confirms that the classics and classical authors, being the 'core of the cultural memory,' consist of 'not the most read, but the most commented authors' [Zenkin, 2009, 282]. The discursive gap, which more and more separates those living in the era of post-literacy from the time of literary centrism, puts a person in a strange position in relation to cultural heritage and tradition: to value what has not been read, to be content with retellings and stereotypes, to entrust themselves to mythology. What are the classical authors that exist on the Runet the examples of? Tolstoy of long descriptions, Pushkin of maximum perfection, Dostoevsky of gloominess, Yesenin of hooliganism. The Runet forms a new identity which 'cannot be reduced only to the experience of a common language' [Zvereva, 2012, 14]; new cultural meanings and a new mythology, different from the mythology of the previous era, appear in it. All this testifies to anthropological changes that should become an object of observation and reflection.

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Precedent Text as a Special Kind of Code in the Internet Communication

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Abstract. Precedent texts should be considered as one of the most complicated and multifaceted phenomena which a) indicate common background knowledge of the interlocutors if they have such knowledge; b) work as a specific code for positive and negative emotions and ways of their expression, especially in the case of communication via Internet. The article highlights the hypothesis concerning complicity of functions performed by precedent texts, and the changing of their range.

Keywords: precedent text, language, communication

1. Introduction

Currently, linguists focus on precedent phenomena. There are many definitions given by various concepts, since a precedent text is a multifaceted phenomenon, it is viewed from different angles. For example, Karaulov [2007, 216] identifies such characteristics of precedent texts as the significance for a native speaker in cognitive and emotional terms; the transpersonal nature of precedent texts (linguistic communities can operate them and moreover, according to Karaulov, they are an asset of native speakers at different time intervals); the repetition and high frequency of precedent phenomena in texts produced by native speakers in various fields of its application and in different eras of its development. According to Krasnykh, the precedent phenomena include all the stereotypes that have been created within the ethnic and linguistic-cultural community, and asserts that 'there are bundles of predictable vectors of associations, i. e. frame structures behind all phenomena of this kind' [Krasnykh, 2002, 191]. In addition, to understand a precedent text as a phenomenon that includes a number of structures of both phenomenological and linguistic nature: '... all knowledge and ideas are kept in the form of cognitive structures, such as linguistic cognitive structures (LCS) and

phenomenological cognitive structures (PCS). The precedent phenomena can be kept in the form: 1) PCS — invariants of perception of a precedent text and a precedent situation; they can always be verbalised but there is no rigid 'linking' between the LCS, which can foreground a precedent phenomenon, and the PP itself, i.e. when referring to the invariant of perception of a text or situation in communication, it is possible to use different LCS' [Krasnykh, 2002, 192]. The work of Krasnykh also speaks about the so-called cliches (in the case of activation of linguistic cognitive structures) and cliches of consciousness (in the case of the use of phenomenological cognitive structures). In turn, Voroshilova [2010, 127] notes that 'traditionally, today's researchers distinguish two main approaches to the classification of the sources of precedent phenomena, such as the narrow one, based on the genres, types and genres of mere words'; and the broad one (semiotic), in which the precedent phenomenon is viewed as a precedent cultural sign that keeps background knowledge associated with past cultural experience in its various forms [Kushneruk, 2006, 63]. Within the framework of the so-called broad, or semiotic, approach Voroshilova points to the existence of a 'cultural precedent text', which is represented by such varieties as oral lore, oral tradition (a fairy tale, individual folklore images, that function in modern linguistic consciousness as independent national and cultural icons and symbols, for example, Santa Claus, the Grim Reaper etc.), as well as 'pieces of art (literature, cinema, animation)' [Voroshilova, 2010, 128]. It is obvious that this classification of precedent texts is based on the source, that is the field of origin and genre characteristics of the phenomenon that has acquired the status of a precedent one. Since in our work we consider the precedent text of the 19th century, which was initially politicised and became more politically acute during its foregrounding or actualisation in the contexts produced by native speakers of the Russian language in the 21st century, the provisions put forward by Voroshilova that 'precedent texts are 'recognisable', have no cultural or age restrictions...', and also about 'the effectiveness of well-known images as a means of persuasion and a means of influence' [Voroshilova, 2010, 127], it seems necessary to use it as a methodological framework for our work.

2. Material and technique of research

As material for research, we have selected fragments of texts presented on the Internet and containing a well-known phrase from A. S. Pushkin 'To Chaadaev' *Our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of op-*

pressive reign/autocracy, which, in our opinion, is a vivid example of a precedent phenomenon entering the bright field of consciousness of the Russian-speaking (and — more broadly — one well familiar with the Russian culture but not positioning oneself as a Russian native speaker) recipient. We have chosen as sources-

1) The Russian Language National Corpus (RLNC) (note that the RLNC contains only 13 fragments that contain this precedent text);

2) Websites, which, in particular, include the blog of the fictional Internet troll Lev Sharansky (<https://lev-sharansky2.livejournal.com/>) as well as other resources (excluding the simple placement of the precedent text itself, i. e. poems by A. S. Pushkin, on the Web). In this case, by continuous sampling, we have selected 149 text fragments containing the analysed precedent text, the most typical of which is presented in our work.

In addition, as a methodological basis, we used the method proposed by Leontovich [2011, 21]: ‘The purpose of this method is to show that the generation of cultural meanings results from the interaction of numerous factors that can be tentatively characterised by several parameters: 1) the creation of ‘micro-meanings’ based on culturally specific meanings; 2) combination thereof resulting in the formation of complex cultural meanings; 3) the logic of meaning formation which determines the ‘macro meaning’ of communication’ [Leontovich, 2011, 21]. The researcher offers a clear step-by-step analysis algorithm, which makes it possible to trace ‘the development of meanings in the text, in particular cultural-specific ones, to interpret them, to trace their interconnections and patterns of implementation in the context’ [Leontovich, 2011, 23].

Finally, one of the components of our work is a free associative experiment [Dostovalov, 2005, 18], namely, such a subtype of it as the projective technique ‘Unfinished Sentences’, when the persons being tested are presented with not a single verbal stimulus but several ones united by grammatical connections. The persons should supplement these ‘beginnings’ of sentences with any suitable words, so that the whole sentence has the nature of a completed utterance [Dostovalov, 2005, 19]. The experiment was carried out to confirm the precedent nature of the text in question; the emphasis was put on such a characteristic of this phenomenon as its recognition by native speakers of the language or by those who perceive it as a second language and have sufficient knowledge of the Russian language and culture. Students of the specialty ‘Foreign Philology’ (57 people) were selected as the persons, of which

21 were graduates of Russian schools, 36 were graduates of Kazakh schools (in programs on Russian literature, the study of which in Kazakh schools takes 3 hours a week; represented are masterpieces of the Russian literature including the precedent text under research). The age of the persons was from 19 to 22; gender composition: 87.4 %, or 50 experiment participants were females, and 7 males made up 12.6 % of the total number of participants. The persons were given one part of the phrase, *on remnants of oppressive reign...* and the author of the text was not mentioned. 22 students, or 36 %, could fully recognise and continue this text, as well as name its author, which, in our opinion, sufficiently confirms its precedent nature. 19 students, or 30 %, partially, i.e. with some inaccuracies, reproduced the text and named the author. Finally, the remaining 34 %, or 16 students, could neither continue the text, nor recognise it, nor name the author. Nevertheless, for this age group, which, on the one hand, is a potential target audience of Internet texts and on the other hand, has a sufficient educational level to identify and correctly perceive such texts, the recognition rate is quite high.

The second stage of the experiment consisted of working with the associations that persons had in relation to the given text; we used a similar technique aimed at identifying free associations. The most typical are the following associations, *the destruction of a political system, the creation of a new one, opposition to power* etc. Thus, it became possible to use not only a broad interpretation of the precedent phenomenon but also a narrower interpretation thereof, within which the precedent phenomena are understood as names, statements, texts and situations with metaphorical potential [Brodsky, 2005, 6; Brodsky, 2007, 258]. In the analysis, we also used the position put forward by Gudkov concerning the role of the so-called 'mythological precedents', i.e. nationally determined and minimised representations that are hidden behind a precedent phenomenon (PP). According to Gudkov, 'one of the functions of the cognitive framework, the core components of which are PP, is to set a paradigm of behaviour of members of the linguistic and cultural community. In this regard, for a man of today, the cognitive framework plays a role similar to the role of the mythological system in the life of a traditional community. Various myth researchers have pointed out that one of its main functions is structuring the paradigm of the cultural (social) behaviour accepted in society' [Gudkov, 2003, 118]. The perception of the precedent text chosen by us by the recipients is fully consistent with this provision that precedent phenomena are included in our

speech and, more broadly, our cognitive repertoire, and allow us to decode the information hidden behind them, and are also transformed under the influence of the linguistic and extralinguistic objectives they pursue.

3. Outcomes

Text fragments (in all the cited cases, preserved are the spelling and punctuation features of the quoted texts — LM, OS) including the investigated precedent phenomenon, can be characterised by significant pragmatic load; in this context, the use of Pushkin's phrase, which has acquired the status of a precedent text, in its direct meaning, fixed in the *usus*, and with the corresponding evaluative colour (correlated with the positive pole of the rating scale), and the ironic transformation projected onto the negative zone of the evaluative scale.

1) The use of this precedent text as a way of expressing a positive attitude towards a change in the social system and other global changes in society presupposes its inclusion in a broader context as a quotation, for instance, in a number of examples from the Russian Language National Corpus: — *Our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign*, — *Vagin quoted* [Yuzefovich. Kazarova]; *And Russia will arise from slumber, our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of the oppressive reign...* [Troshev. My War]; cf. the direct quotation in such texts extracted from the RLNC, such as 'Diary of my Meetings' by Annenkov, 'The Tale of the Turgenev Brothers' by Vinogradov, the Diary of Chukovsky as well as Herzen's works chronologically closer to the investigated precedent phenomenon 'My Past and Thoughts', Gilyarovsky's 'Moscow and Muscovites' (didn't he say about us, *Our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign! The speaker was added by a merry neighbour...*) etc.

A similar contextual environment, namely the one levelling the pathos of the precedent text and even in contradiction with it, can be found in a modern Internet text (reviews of one of Bushkov's books): *In reading The Witch, I became more and more disappointed. After all, Mr. Bushkov knows how to write. But why exchange your talent for such crafts? Was the writer forced by the bony hand of hunger to engage in such a thankless job? Well, I will not condemn but only summarise. So, in my opinion, we have, as always, quite a good and light style of storytelling and even an attempt to immerse the reader in the first third of the 19th century at the language level. Unfortunately, there are no more pros here. This is followed by a scanty superficial plot about noth-*

ing, we can safely say. There is also a monarchical idea, which is opportunistic for the present time, how magnificent in the blaze of glory is the dear father, Nikolai 'Palkin' and how unpleasant are the free-thinkers who sold their souls to the devil. And the Poet, our everything, blinded by this brilliance, is no longer so much carried away by such a stupid activity as writing poetry. Oh no! Now he is a zealous apologist for autocracy (hello: '... **'Our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign'**) and puts his heart into something so dear to our Fatherland as serving in the secret police. The fearlessness of the so-called witch unequivocally evokes imperishable images created in the cinema by iron Arnie. After all, figuratively speaking, he breaks through the reinforced concrete walls with his forehead! In general, the plans and actions of the opposing side are as vague as the opposing party itself but we will show them Kuzka's mother (which means showing them what is what) anyway!

Eh, but you could follow the example of the same Martin and create something really worthwhile instead of letting your creative gift blow a whistle. <https://fantlab.ru/autor42/responses?sort=mark&page=all>

The contextual environment is given here in full in order to illustrate the contradiction between it and the precedent text, which does not entirely correspond to either. Bushkov's concept (cognitively, semantically, but also from the standpoint of such phenomena bordering on the precedent phenomena as a stereotype (Pushkin is a singer of freedom), or the review style itself (compare, for example, the familiar hello: **'Our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign'**)

Elements of mixed feelings about the precedent phenomenon can be traced in the text fragment of V. Rozov's work 'Surprise before Life': *of course, we were taught that Pushkin wrote 'In the Depths of Siberian Ores' and '... on remnants of oppressive reign' but still he was a nobleman and even a chamber junker (yunker), visited the tsar...*

A similar dual effect is produced by the interaction between this precedent text and the situationally and pragmatically ambiguous text of Okunevskaya 'Tatiana's Day', since Pushkin's text went through the perception of the wardress: *I read poetry in a whisper, I sing in a whisper, the wardress was bewitched by Lermontov, Vertinsky; she stops knocking with the key when I read 'My friend, believe me that with thunder, the star of joy will rise again, our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign', she's listening... and slowly, like when we were little, sobbing, everyone fell asleep...* [Okunevskaya. Tatyana's Day, 1998]. Of course, the contextual environment

and presupposed information gives the recipient the opportunity to decode the ironic background (everyone fell asleep); but irony here is more a shade of the emotional palette than its main tone.

It is much more obvious that the correlation of a positively perceived precedent phenomenon and a situation when the desire for freedom proclaimed by the poet obtained through cardinal changes in society, correlates, on the contrary, with the denial of such cardinal changes. Thus, there is a kind of cognitive dissonance between the original text and the meaning assigned to it in the precedent (including the pragmatic one) and its use in this context as a precedent: *Nourishing, hilarious, trouble-free, Russian donuts, jam doughnuts, buns, Bolsheviks will end in two weeks, 'and our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign'...* [Don Aminado. Train on the Third Path, 1954].

2) The second type of transformation of the axiological information contained in the precedent text, namely, positive evaluative information, can be seen in those cases when the author of a broad context clearly argues with the creator of the precedent text by evaluating the message embedded as having sharply negative consequences: ***Our names will be incised with wonder On remnants of oppressive reign!*** *During the revolution and the Civil War, 12,500,000 people were killed. During the repression, 4.5–4.8 million were convicted, of which 1.1 million were shot. Was that what you wanted? Or they wanted the best but they themselves wrote about the Russian revolt, senseless and merciless. Well, we got it.* <https://moe-online.ru/nn/poetry/500442> Often, the 'one-sided polemics' of communicants, who are at a considerable distance from each other on the chronological axis, i. e. the author of the context containing the precedent phenomenon, and the creator of the precedent phenomenon itself, A. S. Pushkin, is based on the process of decoding both the precedent text and adjacent fragments (which have also passed into the category of precedent phenomena): ***Our names will be incised with wonder On remnants of oppressive reign!*** *That means oppressive reign/autocracy will end. You will fulfil someone else's will. AUTOCRACY is the ability of a person, a politician, a state to govern by himself/itself (to set goals, choose the methods of achieving them, overcome the opposition of those who want to them deprive of it, the enslavers). Of course, your names will be incised on remnants of oppressive reign, the memory of the people certainly guarantees this. We had such a comrade Gorbachev, So, he acted in full concordance with this poem by Pushkin.*

1. People had an impulse to make life in the country better, hope for change etc.... 'dedicate our soul's elation'.

2. There were comrade Gorbachev and Co. who captivated this generally good minded crowd with a star of joy, and who lived at that time remember this well, since there were no indifferent people at that time.

3. Russia arose from slumber, let us remember perestroika, acceleration, glasnost, how Gorby shone with his gift for the striking phrase. Then in 1991, when Yeltsin was made much of and carried in people's arms. (Actually, his crowd of people with 'their soul's elation dedicated' blinded by the 'star of joy' brought him into power in their arms.)

4. The USSR was ruined, although it was not autocratic on a global scale and was like a Masonic structure; it still had a certain level of autocracy. So, 'autocracy was ruined' by having plunged the country into slavish dependence on the West. 5. 20 years later, people remembered very well who they owe. 'Our names will be incised on remnants of oppressive reign!' It will certainly be so. Gorby even celebrated his anniversary in London, closer to his masters and away from those who remember his name quite well. Yeltsin, although deceased, is still not thought kindly of. <https://eujine-alfa.livejournal.com/tag/%D0%97%D1%8E%D0%B3%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2>

There is a sharp negative perception of such precedent phenomena as **the star of joy, our soul's elation** that correlate with the same source. It is vital to emphasise that the author of the post carries out linguistic reflection by correlating the concept of **autocracy** with the positive part of the rating scale, updating the meaning of the structural components of the lexical unit, which was not implied by the precedent phenomenon in question.

A similar but not identical situation could be seen in the following fragment: Yesterday I went out into the courtyard and heard these words known since my childhood: **'And Russia will arise from slumber, our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign'**. Those words were said by a resident of a neighbouring house, whom I know, Pyotr Stepanovich, a pensioner, a former teacher of the Russian language and literature in a secondary school, who worked in both the Soviet times and for several years after. Should he not know Pushkin's words written by the poet about two hundred years ago? Pyotr Stepanovich said those words to his sister Galina Stepanovna, she lives in our house, her elder brother has often visited her for two years. Galina Stepanovna is also a pensioner, and also worked in the same school as a primary school teacher. I did not hear the beginning of the conversation between brother

and sister, but according to the subsequent words of Galina, I understood what it was about: — I don't know how and when our Russia will **arise from some kind of slumber**, and I don't quite understand what kind of such a slumber, from which it does not wake up in any way, lethargic or historical. With my pension, which I earned at school for thirty-five years, with almost every day price increases, I will really soon arise into eternal sleep. (<https://kerchtt.ru/ischezli-yunye-zabavy-k-chaadaevu-pushkin-aleksandr-sergeevich-stihi-k-chaadaevu/>). Ironically, the text preceding the precedent phenomenon we have chosen is played out (**our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign**, it is a natural continuation, as a result of the transformed phrase *Russia will arise from slumber*. The poetic pathos and stylistic affiliation of the precedent text are diminished by the contextual environment as a whole and the inclusion of indefinite pronouns by transforming both the stylistic affiliation of the text and giving it a colloquial character, and its evaluative flavour.

In a number of cases, there is also the use of a precedent phenomenon as a title that formalises the main communicative objective of the text, without subsequently foregrounding it in the text itself but using the effect of implicit presence: **These names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign**. *For some time, different people, who were normally related to the judicial system, from tribunes of various heights told us that the law had not been the authority of the court, the law of the autocracy was over. Putting the idea into practice did not always end well but that did not stop anyone. Grain yields fell. However, anything can grow from such grains on the Russian soil. The stone birch is also a birch by name but you will understand the difference as soon as you try to cut it down or burn it. It is rather an anti-birch. This is all because it grows on the rocky slopes of the hills. So, our whole axiology sprouted in the judges' consciousness as an outlandish baobab. Many judges decided that the rule of law was over, and if there is no god, then everything is allowed. They have been diligently sweetened up for several years that there is nothing but YOU. It is clear that some have fallen into euphoria.* (https://zakon.ru/blog/2014/10/26/i_na_oblomkax_samovlastya_napishut_eti_ime-na). We also draw attention to the fact that the precedent text was subjected to the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic transformations due to the component replacement (**our names/these names**). The use of another pronoun creates the effect of distancing from the meaning of the precedent text; the author of the Internet text seems to contradicting himself/herself to those whose names **will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive**

reign; at the same time, the evaluative plan of the precedent phenomenon in this case was not changed, and the axiological connection with the original precedent text did not undergo any transformations either (the key concept of *oppressive reign /autocracy* is linked with the same evaluation sign as in Pushkin's text here).

Contexts containing the precedent phenomenon examined in a number of other precedent texts have been included in this group. Moreover, the use of a number of precedent phenomena within the framework of a relatively small text fragment creates the effect of oversaturation, redundancy, which transforms the evaluation sign to the opposite one: ... *to Paris to walk along the dark alleys, and took with him the keys for the 19th century, and everything seemed to turn out as wished but strangely somehow Akakys Akakieviches got overcoats, but at once they put on marshal's shoulder straps, and their voice cut through, the madman's notes crawled out of the yellow houses and began to smash the Morganists and cosmopolitans for some reason, Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov regretted the old woman, learned, and hit a home run, but still looked at life from the class angle and had it coming, and everything turned out as they wanted: it rose, that very star, and names were incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign, and then they were erased and some others written, and then added more, and then all erased, then others written, then Malaya Zemlya (The Minor Land) and Tselina (Virgin Lands) were written, and then began to collect remnants in order to rebuild the oppressive reign/autocracy with them and damned questions arose over us, hung and collapsed, rubbed into dust, it was a bit rubbish!* [Alexander Terekhov, Kommunka, 1995–2005]. In addition to the ironic oversaturation, we note the play on the precedent phenomenon and actualisation/ foregrounding, along with its main meaning of action (*writing names*), a number of appositional and at the same time contradictory actions without specifying the actant (*written, erased and others written, more added, erased*). There is also the destruction of the effect set by the precedent text by indicating the opposite action (*began to collect remnants* in order to *rebuild the oppressive reign/autocracy with them*)...

Cf. also fragments extracted from L. Sharansky's blog: *What even General Vlasov would approve, who, being a committed communist, challenged the cannibalistic regime of Stalin, who returned the country to the imperial path instead of the ideals of the world revolution by Leiba Davidovich Trotsky. We'll change henceforth the old tradition, and our names will be incised with*

wonder on remnants of oppressive reign. It is not right living on lies. For your and our freedom...

...A fire will flare up from a spark, **and our names will be incised with wonder on remnants of oppressive reign.** After all, nobody but us. Balls, beauties, Beryozka (Soviet retail store), deficit. Schubert's waltzes and a reprimand by the party committee. The Russia that we have lost. We'll change henceforth the old tradition. In the struggle we will gain our rights. Workers of the world, unite. We will fan global fire to defy all bourgeoisie. All power to the Constituent Assembly! The results of the 20th Congress of the CPSU to life! We are the power here. So, let us win! The precedent text in question is placed in a number of other precedent phenomena, those similar in semantics and pragmatics as well as directly opposite ones. So, precedent texts **From a spark will kindle a flame; we'll change henceforth the old tradition; we will fan global fire to defy all bourgeoisie**, which have a high pragmatic load and a close associative connection with Russian history and culture and decoded that way by recipients, native speakers of the Russian language, are very close to the text in question, semantically, pragmatically and functionally. On the other hand, there are precedent phenomena like the **Russia that we have lost** as well as the parodic use of rhythm and syntactic structures of the famous song of Bala, the beauty, Beryozka, deficit. Schubert's waltzes and a reprimand by the party committee (there is an associative connection with the song How Delightful Evenings in Russia which also became the source of a number of precedent phenomena and even Internet memes, in particular, such as the *crunch of French bread*). Such a context transforms the evaluative sign of the precedent phenomenon in question into its opposite by creating the effect of evaluative inversion.

The three types of case text's actualisation/ foregrounding differ not only in the field of semantics and pragmatics; they perform different functions, which is largely based on the difference in decoding.

4. Conclusion

As can be seen from the material presented, a precedent phenomenon similar to the one under the research is multifunctional and serves to foreground a number of associations in the mind of the recipient. Moreover, the transformation of the functions performed by the precedent text makes it possible to say that the precedent phenomenon is undergoing a comprehensive rethinking, in a structural, semantic, pragmatic and axiological

way. It is also important that a precedent text lives in the minds of native speakers as well as persons for whom Russian is a second language and who at the same time demonstrate the presence of associations in the bright field of consciousness, which allows correctly decoding the precedent text, which is preceded by isolating it from the syntagmatic chain and recognition. All this is confirmed by our experiment.

In our opinion, three ways of foregrounding the precedent phenomenon (preserving semantics and pragmatics, transforming up to inversion of the evaluative sign and stylistic characteristics of the precedent text, as well as the inclusion of the precedent text in the syntagmatic chain of similar ones and, accordingly, the devaluation of its emotive and evaluative potential) emphasised in this work do not exhaust the whole variety of cases of using such a multilateral method of transferring information. We see further research potential in the development of the problem of the formation of the text as a precedent, as well as in the research into the reasons that give rise to the inversion of the evaluative sign inherent in the original precedent text.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Bestiary in Modern Media Art (Based on the Tales of P. P. Bazhov and the “Shan Hai Jing” Materials)

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Abstract. The relevance of the study of bestiary in media art is due to the need to trace the links between traditional and digital culture in the modern world. The methodology of semiotic analysis of wild culture codes is used. Bestiary codes of the Ural and Chinese cultures are considered as such codes. The subject of the research focus is the bestiary of Bazhov's tales and “Shan Hai Jing” in media art. The goal is to identify the forms of existence of the Ural and Chinese tales in contemporary media art. The conclusion is made about the content continuity of traditional and modern media art. Bazhov's tales are reinterpreted in the form of literary and pictorial works of modern authors, and the Chinese legends “Shan Hai Jing” in the form of animated films, com-

puter games and serials. Keywords: Bestiary, culture, medi -art, P.P. Bazhov, “Shan Hai Jing”.

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1. Rationale

The research into bestiary in media art is relevant due to the need to trace the links between traditional and digital culture in the modern world. In the European cultural tradition, a bestiary is a medieval collection of zoological articles (with illustrations), in which various animals were described in detail in both prose and poetry, mainly for allegorical and moralising purposes. Similarly, any collection of fairy tales, stories or legends about fictional animals can be called a bestiary including literary works and film series, where fantastic animals act as characters, since in the descriptions of animals, truth has always been largely mixed with fiction, and absolutely fantastic explanations were given to fairly real facts. In a broad sense, bestiaries are moralising books rather than scientific ones.

2. Theoretical and methodological background to the research

To study the forms of existence of bestiary in the modern cult and media art, the methodology of semiotic analysis of wild culture codes was used on the example of the bestiary code. This methodology was developed by such representatives of modern Russian semiotic science as A.S. Makhov, O.M. Dovgy and others. Bestiary codes of the Ural and Chinese cultures are considered as such codes. The bestiary code can be interpreted as part of the mythological code because the images of certain animals are often used in modelling the world, and are an integral part of the linguistic picture of the world.

The bestiary cultural code is typical of the mythopoetic consciousness of traditional culture or for the ideas of a society of a particular era. That means that the bestiary cultural code will act as a cultural code only within the framework of a particular system of ideas and representations characteristic of a particular people or time period. The bestiary cultural code is able to encode stable ideas of the cultural community about a person and the world around it.

Through the conceptual animal sphere, understanding of the world and man takes place, and this turns the archaic images of animals into an all-in-one package of metaphorisation. Accumulated in cultural memory, man's imaginative ideas of the animal gradually deepened and were associated with

key economic activities, everyday concerns and beliefs of human society, thereby turning into signs and symbols.

In labour activities and everyday communication, figurative representations of an object or phenomenon important for the whole society were shaped, which required the consolidation of this meaning in the collective memory in the form of one or another sign denoting not only the object itself but also a certain set of ideas associated with it. In addition, a symbol retains the features of the archetype that produced it, and provides a connection between a person, who has separated from nature, with his sources.

3. Target of the research study

The target of the research is the bestiary of the Ural tales of Bazhov and the Chinese tales 'Shan Hai Jing', and the embodiment of the bestiary images of the characters of those legends in the works of modern media art.

4. Research outcomes

4.1

Today, media art is the most powerful tool with which the cultural space of the whole world is shaped, where the use of new high technologies is widespread in almost every area of social life. Of all the varieties of media art, I am primarily interested in screen art and culture manifestations, such as cinema, animation and computer games.

The images in the tales of Pavel Petrovich Bazhov gave rise to an almost boundless array of visual replicas made in the Soviet period of the Russian culture, as far as both quantity and diversity are concerned. Since the first edition of the Malachite Box to the present day, Bazhov's tales have been accompanied by a growing stream of visual representations. Colourful illustrations for dozens of publications, monumental panels and murals, sculptural works, fiction and animation films, theatrical performances, porcelain plastic and other decorative and applied art items, jewellery design, and finally fashion design — a significant part of the encyclopedia dedicated to the writer focuses on even a simple review of this visual setting [Bazhovskaya encyclopedia 2007: 99–109; 405–410; 465–471; 489–490]. In a word, Bazhov's creative work is immersed in an unusually dense context of visual representations of his figurative world, primarily the characters of his mountain mythology, from malachite boxes to the monumental Stone Flower fountain in the city of Ekaterinburg.

Today, it has become a commonplace to assert that the vast array of visual representations of the fantastic characters of Bazhov's tales in book illustrations, fiction and animation films, porcelain plastic and decorative and applied arts is archaic without meeting the needs of modern culture but degenerating into kitsch. Visual representations of Bazhov's images still reproduce the clichés prevailing in the Soviet visual culture of the late 1940s and 1950s and are focused on the Russian painting traditions of the 19th century.

Questions are raised about the prevailing style or canon of Bazhov's visualisation and how this style meets the trends of modern culture. This last question is far from idle, since visibility has become almost the dominant factor of our time. Today, the viability, relevance and efficacy of a literary work are therefore associated with the degree of suggestiveness of its visualisations to a great degree.

A pre-condition for updating Bazhov's creativity in contemporary culture is the renewal of his visual representations, the penetration of some tendencies of modern mass culture into Bazhov's visualisation (comics, cosplay), which meets the need for upgrade. But modern visual variations on Bazhov's themes do not go beyond the usual framework, although they are seemingly subject to the influence of modern mass culture without a sign of any deeper rethinking of Bazhov's tales. Rather, there is a tendency to degenerate into kitsch in its purest form.

The most successful artistic replica of Bazhov's bestiary cultural code is O. Slavnikova's novel. In her novel '2017' [2006], the writer creates scenarios for the visualisation of Bazhov's characters in the spirit of the newest screen culture, which is based on computer animation. She describes how the fantastic characters of Bazhov might look on the screen and radically reinterprets Bazhov's mountain mythology in the spirit of neo-mythology of mass culture.

In the novel, the images of Bazhov's mountain mythology are refracted in this medial environment emerging from the pictorial static imposed on them by the previous tradition. Slavnikova does not only form new scenarios for visualising the Bazhov mountain mythology but also upgrades its deep semantics by highlighting the chthonic fundamental principle of the Bazhov mountain spirits. Bazhov's fantastic characters are not only anthropomorphic but are socialised and even moral to some extent. Mountain spirits favour kind, honest and courageous workers and are irreconcilable in respect of those who oppress them, also unfavourable to those who violate

moral principles. Such an upgrading highlights both the creative potential of Bazhov's tales and their undervaluation and lack of demand in modern screen media art.

4.2

There are many fantastic animal creatures in Chinese mythology; and they have been an integral part of culture since ancient times, when the Shan Hai Jing legends were collected and written down. Shan Hai Jing is a masterpiece of the Chinese pre-Qin culture. This is a book that contains myths and legends of ancient ancestors, as well as many classic images of magical animals.

Many images of traditional stories and lore retain their symbolic meaning in modern culture. So, Taote is a fierce beast and in the ancient Chinese book of legends it eats a lot; it has only one big head and a big mouth, is very greedy, eventually it ate itself. It is a symbol of greed, which is why it is often used to describe voracious or greedy people. The fox spirit or nine-tailed fox is a mythical creature in ancient Chinese myths and legends; it arose from the Shan Hai Jing compiled during the Chunqiu (770–476/403 BC) and Warring States periods (476/403–221 BC).

In fact, the nine-tailed fox in the pre-Qin period had somewhat of a witchcraft image; and it turned into well-being as early as the Han Dynasty. The atmosphere gradually changed during the Six Dynasties, gradually deteriorated after the Tang Dynasty, and again the Nine-Tailed Fox turned into a negative image. Obviously, this change is actively used in the mass culture aesthetics at the present stage.

In modern China, the image of the Nine-Tailed Fox often appears in films and television plays; gradually it has turned into a sweet and beautiful goddess loved by the audience.

Qionqqi, one of the four evils in ancient Chinese myths and legends, combines the characteristics of gods, monsters, and evil people, and are the symbols of evil representing the most evil-minded things. Like the Nine-Tailed Fox, Tao Te, Qionqqi and other magical creatures are described in Shan Hai Jing, and in modern China they were introduced into bestiaries in films, television plays and games. Those works that have been adapted and created on the basis of ancient themes and characters of Shan Hai Jing represent various genres of media art, have a great modern aesthetic value and communicate the atmosphere of oriental mythology and connotations of the Chinese traditional culture loved by the audience.

Painted Skin I is a film about oriental love magic, and was released on 26 September 2008. The nine-tailed fox is the female protagonist of this film. The film tells the story of the love between the protagonist, his wife and the nine-tailed fox demon Xiao Wei. Xiao Wei fell in love with Wang Sheng, she consistently seduces Wang Sheng with sorcery by trying to replace Wang Sheng's wife. As of 19 October 2008, the box office grossed RMB 212 million; the film was a great success; after four years, the film follow-up was released.

In 2017, the film *Three Lives Three Worlds, Ten Miles of Peach Blossoms* was released. The film tells the convoluted story of love between the female protagonist of the Nine-Tailed Fox Baiqian and the future emperor. In the same year, the eponymous series *Three Lives Three Worlds, Ten Miles of Peach Blossoms* was released. In the series, the Nine-Tailed Fox Bai Qian is the queen of the Kingdom of the Nine-Tailed Foxes (who, along with the Phoenixes and Dragons, are descendants of the ancient gods); it is the future heavenly empress.

Soon the series *Three Lives, Three Worlds. Personal Diary* is a sequel to the Chinese television series *Three Lives, Three Worlds: Ten Miles of Peach Blossoms*, in which the central characters are the red nine-tailed fox Bai Feng Jiu (Bai Qian's niece) and the former emperor of Heaven and Earth Dong Hua Dijun. Both TV shows are widely loved by the Chinese. The series *Three Lives, Three Worlds* adapted and created on the basis of the ancient themes of *Shan Hai Jing*, is a large screen cycle of great modern aesthetic significance characterising the oriental mythology and connotations of the Chinese traditional culture. The authors of the series are committed to showing the vitality of the Chinese classical mythology; they tell Chinese stories well and inherit the excellent Chinese conventional culture.

The *Great Wall* is a Chinese film released in 2016 and is a fantasy action movie directed by Zhang Yimou that tells the story of an ancient Chinese elite army fighting the Tao Te monsters on the world's famous Great Wall to protect humanity in ancient times. Qiungqi is a demonic bestiary character in the 2018 TV series *Ashes of Love*. In this play, the focus remains on the theme of mythology, the protagonists of the play are mostly immortals and monsters, ancient monsters appear endlessly, and Qiungqi is one of them, a truly fierce female protagonist, her goal being to harm humanity.

A variety of protagonists of the ancient Chinese bestiary also appear in computer games, where they have also long gone beyond the game form of media art and have provided the basis for updating cultural heritage and

implementing innovations. For example, the first and currently the most popular mobile game in China is called King of Glory. The game currently has over 200 million users, with over 80 million daily active users at its peak. The characters are based on real protagonistes in the history of China or in Chinese literary works, the depth of the historical reconstruction of the atmosphere of the past in this game is known. The nine-tailed fox, Taote, and Qionqi also appear as playable characters in that game. It uses popular arts to create more influential Chinese cultural symbols, promote young people's interest in traditional culture, and nurture responsibility towards the inheritance and development of the traditional Chinese culture.

5. Conclusion

Conclusion 5.1. The bestiary of Bazhov's tales has not yet become the basis for the modern bestiary code of the Ural culture because modern cartoons, film series or computer games have not yet been created on the basis of his tales. The images of Bazhov's tales are reinterpreted by modern authors in the framework of literary or pictorial creativity.

Conclusion 5.2. In the Chinese mass culture, traditional bestiary images in film series, animated films and computer games are vigorously brought up to date and visualised in the media. This allows maintaining the continuity of traditional values and modern artistic forms of communication.

We can summarize a conclusion about the continuity of content in the Chinese traditional and modern media art. Bazhov's tales are reinterpreted in the form of literary and pictorial works of contemporary authors, and the Chinese Shan Hai Qin legends in the form of animated films, computer games and serials.

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Upgrade of a Fungus in Contemporary Art: From Media to Co-Author

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Abstract. The article examines the problem of the author's potential of non-human agents in biological art. In the context of critical posthumanism and new ontologies, their role in the process of creating a work is being revised. Based on the example of bio-art projects, it is concluded that a performative work changes the status of a biological organism, from a medium it becomes a co-author of the artist.

Keywords: author, bioart, non-human agent, critical posthumanism

1. Introduction

The digital age has inspired the transformation of almost all spheres of human activity, including art. Art & Science, which appear as interaction of science, art and high technology, will change the understanding of author autonomy, the art work, and the viewer. Modern artists often delegate the implementation of a project (or some part of it) to various non-human agents: from computer programs to living organisms. Almost all areas of Art&Science work with non-human agents, but the most interesting phenomena is bioart. The amount of bioart tools includes not only new technologies, but also “live” and “half-alive” media, which increases the problem of the role and functions of media in a work of art. In our opinion, in some bioart projects the media are able to become co-authors of a work. This situation re-actualizes the author’s problem in the discussion field of contemporary art. Can non-human agents be considered as full co-authors of the artist?

The basis of the research is the bioart projects, the authors of which use fungi and fungi-like organisms (lat. fungi) as non-human agents. The study also analyzed the texts of Art & Science theorists and practitioners, their interviews and public speeches where they commented on the problem of the non-human agent as a co-author. The solution to this problem requires us to look at the philosophical contexts of contemporary art and investigate how the attitude to the author’s problem has changed. Next, to refer to the topic of a non-human agent as a potential co-author we will pay attention to several projects in which artists have used living systems and analyze them in the context of critical post-humanism. Then we will draw conclusions about the specifics of the artwork with a non-human agent as a potential co-author.

The philosophical context of the study. The fact that modern art turns to non-human agents is interesting. The problem of the human/non-human is one of the most discussed in the humanities. This is the most important area to bio-art than any other area of Art&Science. Bio-art projects are a kind of intervention in the most relevant philosophical theories of our time. The ideas of critical posthumanism, agent realism, and actor-network theory are reflected in the works of modern artists. One of the unifying principles is the idea that J.-M. Schaeffer defined as the end of the “Thesis of human exclusivity” [Schaeffer, 2010, 10]: man is just a living being among others, having no superiority over other forms of life. This idea has been painfully

maturing in the public consciousness over the past century and became the sharpest question today in the age of anthropocentricity.

The anthropocentricity is the clearest evidence for humans to rethink their position in the world. Irreversibility of the anthropogenic activity the results and its impact on a planet, forces humanity to abandon anthropocentrism as an ideology of human superiority. The rejection of the anthropocentric perspective becomes a source not only of new ontologies, in which human and non-human actors are considered similar, but also of a “new anthropology”, the contours of which are written in the texts of critical posthumanism. R. Braidotti suggests considering the human as a part of a community, a “transvernal entity”, completely immersed in a network of non-human relationships (with animals, plants, viruses) and immanent to this network [Braidotti, 2018, 37]. Human is not autonomous, he is symbiotic, he is always “together with-” a wide range of non-human agents. According to T. Morton: “We humans contain non-human symbiotes that are part of the system that allows us to be human, because without them we would not have lived. We are not entirely human. We co-exist with all forms of life in an indeterminate space...” [Morton, 2019, 63]. In the absence of hierarchies, the classical binary oppositions are also changed. Instead of a confrontation of nature and culture, D. Haraway introduces the concept of “natural culture” [Haraway, 2008, 250], which redefines the relationship between the human and non-human: none of these principles is any longer a priority. It redefines the boundaries between bios (“cultural” life as a human prerogative) and zoe (natural, “animal” life).

Bio-art projects are posthumanistic. According to M. Bakke, “they direct our attention from subjective human life to non-human forms of life, such as animals, plants, microbes, and Life in general” [Wakke, 2010; 10]. Bio-art actively dwells upon the full range of problems arising from the new situation. Artists are looking for answers to questions: how can the human and non-human co-exist and interact with each other in the new situation? how can we be ethical towards each other? how does our perception of the author change in the context of the appearance of non-human agents in art?

2. Dematerialization of the author

In the history of culture, the author has never been understood as something clear. His voice was always mixed with something else, from God to the collective unconscious. So, in the Middle Ages, the author was con-

sidered as a kind of “media”, a continuation of the “ God”: the real Creator was in the sphere of the transcendent. And that is why the works of that time were not signed. The concept of “author” (understood as “Creator”) arose due to the growing interest in the individual, in man as a being who is able to stand on the same level with God at the beginning of the New time, thanks to the power of his mind. But after F. Nietzsche’s statement of the “death of God”, and the democratization of creativity initiated by the art of modernism, the author’s significance begins to decline. Even Dadaists and Surrealists used such creative formats as spontaneous, collective, etc. In a situation where “everything is art” (Ben) and “everyone is an artist” (J. Boyce), artists delegate an increasing amount of creation process to the public. Thus, interactive art, the art of participation, and participatory practices allow us to interpret as a co-author any recipient who finds himself as the focus of the work.

The author, according to R. Barth, “becomes smaller, like a figure in the very depths of the literary “scene”; it is gradually removed [Barth, 1994, 387], until it completely dissolves. In his paper “The death of the author” R. Barth describes this process in the most radical way. For Barth, the author is not a subject, he is just a scriptwriter writing down a text consisting of “quotations that refer to thousands of cultural sources” [Bart, 1994, 388]. It does not have any individual characteristics. Any work includes other voices that can be metaphorically named — the voices of culture. For M. Foucault, who continued the analysis of this problem during his talk “What is an author?” (Collège de France, 1969), the author is nothing more than a function that reflects the way certain discourses exist inside of society [Foucault, 1996, 22]. Discourses are something more fundamental than the author. In both cases, the author’s identity does not matter: the author is a derivative of something external to him.

Philosophy and art have explored the author’s problem from different perspectives and in different contexts, using different arguments, but they come to identical conclusions about the author’s dematerialization. In contemporary art, this intention is continued by Art&Science, which delegates copyright powers (partially or completely) not only to the public, but also to non-human agents. This gesture provokes discussion about whether these agents can be co-authors of the work. It applies to generative art, the specific feature of which is the artist’s control transfer to various autonomous systems, most often technological, but in the case of bioart both technological and biological.

Let's look at what happens to the author concept in bioart, using the example of projects whose creators use fungi and mushroom-like organisms as non-human agents.

3. Fungi in the projects of bio-art: between media and co-author

It is no exaggeration to say that fungi are true exponents of the spirit of our time, in the prism of posthumanism. They are the object of not only artists' close attention, but also of philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, etc. Fungi and fungi-like organisms, in particular, slime molds, appear in films and books, which are scientific bestsellers. There are exhibitions and conferences that are devoted to fungi, and they are the object of an endless amount of laboratory research connected with science and art as well. There are whole societies of slime mold lovers, and many sites about fungi in a wide variety of contexts.

What can explain the popularity of mushrooms in modern culture? Many factors, including the fact that mushrooms have an incredible biological diversity. They are one of the dominant life forms on the planet. They can be macro — and microscopic (yeast, mold, etc.). They are ubiquitous: above and below ground, inside humans and animals, etc. as B. Woodard notes, “the fungus has the ability... to cover the entire space of civilization” [Woodard, 2016, 52]. The rhizomatic structure of the mycelium makes fungus an analog of the natural Internet. It is no accident that researchers are calling fungus the dominant biological species on the planet and metaphorically call the “fungosphere” the “thinking shell of the planet” [Shental].

But our attitude to mushrooms is ambiguous. They are a potential threat to both humans (fungal spores can cause disease) and the anthropogenic environment. Fungi destroy the inorganic and utilize the organic. Sooner or later, they will become our gravediggers, because they will have to dispose of everything that will ever die. According to B. Woodard, “the fungus is a representative of death, and not some form of life... the fungus is an agent of decomposition” [Woodard, 2016, 54]. In this context, the comparison of a radioactive cloud with a mushroom does not look strange (although some mushrooms have radiation protection). A mushroom is an alien, it is an organism that is neither a plant nor an animal, its borders are mobile. It is on the dark side of ecology. At the same time, fungi are a component of the human microbiome. Fungi are symbiotic, they are able to collaborate with representatives of other biological species, and humanity should learn

from their example. Shental considers mushrooms as “agents of the new planetary world order” and calls for consolidation. This is a kind of allusion to the ideas of D. Haraway, who proclaimed the primary task of humanity is to form a tribe that would include “a variety of living beings, human and other, as opportunities, not completions” [Haraway]. The possibilities of this are explored today by bio-art artists.

Most artists use mushrooms in the creative process as media. In this case, the author focuses on the result, and not on the process. So, the American artist and biologist Phil Ross creates from mushrooms not only art objects, but also quite functional things — furniture, clothes, and even bricks, from which, according to the principle of the LEGO constructor, new forms can be assembled. F. Ross uses mycelium, the part a mushroom, that recycles waste containing cellulose and transforms it into an ecological material, resistant to fire and suitable for making different things. In a specially made hollow form the artist launches a mushroom, and corrects the direction of growth by putting the “feed” in the right place. After the mycelium fills the entire form, it is dried, and then processed. And the released form is ready for a new working cycle. Such relations are not called symbiotic, since the living mushroom used by the artist is killed at the end. In such cases, the artist approaches living systems from the usual positions of anthropocentrism, where there is no question of establishing any contact with a non-human form of life.

For media to be able to claim the status of an artist’s co-author, the work must meet certain conditions. First of all, it should be performative. Much more interesting in this regard are interactive performative projects and installations aimed at establishing real time communication between species. The artist’s focus here is on the process, not the result. These attempts are relevant to the thesis of posthumanism about the equivalence of human and non-human agents.

This idea is the basis of the project of the German artist Teresa Schubert “Growing Geometries — Tattooing Mushrooms”, 2015. The work is an installation that includes live mushrooms, on the hats of which the artist put colored ink tattoos and then recorded the process of their changes (as the mushrooms grow) using videos, photos and sketches, which are also part of the project. The configuration of tattoos, which initially have geometric shapes, is transformed under the influence of the fungi life processes, the corners of the squares gradually blur and they turn into circles. Assuming that tattoos act irritatingly on the mushroom, as a kind of response gesture

and apology to him, T. Schubert made the same tattoo, that she applied to mushrooms, on her back. This was project completion with a symbolic equating of the body of a mushroom and a human.

In Schubert's work, mushrooms create images, just as an artist does. The question of authorship in works of this kind is becoming more and more ambiguous. What is the status of the mushroom in this case? Is it a media or co — author? T. Schubert herself, who defines herself as a post-media artist, has repeatedly said in interviews and public appearances that she considers mushrooms as equal co-authors of the work. She sees her goal as “creating a situation where interaction between us makes it possible for joint creativity” [Criado and Rosell]. But the mushroom in this case behaves in full accordance with its nature. The transformation of tattoos on the mushroom cap may inspire the author, but this fact does not make him a co-author. The mushroom here rather serves as a media, although the artist herself refers to it as a co-author. Interestingly, during the interview Schubert says that she likes to think of herself and organisms as co-authors, although “researcher” and “moderator” are better terms for this kind of activity [Criado and Rosell]. At the same time, the artist's project “The Forestal Psyche” (2017), which is a series of collective walks in the forest in order to detect fungi, slime molds, lichens, and then discuss the results, nominally transfers the non-human agent to the status of a co-author. After all, the result of the walk depends on the fungi and fungi-like organisms, and each time it is not obvious, so each time this performance will be different.

Sascha Spachal, an artist from Slovenia, also works on the topic of interspecies communication. An interdisciplinary project “” (“Myconnect”, 2013) created by her in collaboration with microbiologist M. Shvageli and programmer A. Podgornik, is a device for establishing human communication with oyster mushroom mycelium. R. Rapp, commenting on the artist's work, notes that she uses scientific knowledge to organize special meetings, mediated by electronic, metabolic forms of awareness and exchange-sound. Meetings of this kind “call into question the anthropocentric division between nature and man” [R. Rapp]. The audio-visual installation is a capsule with Petri dishes with mycelium fixed in the upper part of it. The person (viewer or artist) lies in the capsule; the assistant attaches sensors to various parts of his body. The human heartbeat starts the system, the signal reaches the mycelium, is processed by it and returns to the person in the form of sound, light and tactile impulses, which, in turn, cause a change in the human heartbeat

and start a new feedback cycle (human-interface-mycelium), and so on. In this case, in our opinion, the non-human agent does not obey the strict algorithm set by nature, its reactions are variable. They not only depend on the physical condition of a person, but also have the opposite effect on him. The mushroom here, rather, acts as a co-author of the artist, who found a way to establish contact with him and responded to her in response.

This is not just an example of a symbiotic relationship between different species, but rather an illustration of the ontological equality of the human and the non-human. This is the hope that the words of A. Jing will come true, and we will be able to “build a world where ways of living are intertwined, where symbiotic transformation is still possible [Jing, 2017, 330]. The mushroom in Sasha Spachal’s installation is a companion species that allows a person to experience a symbiotic relationship. According to Spachal, she owes her thoughts to a multitude of entities, human and non-human. It sees itself as an insignificant part of the planetary network and expresses the hope that we will be able to stop the metabolic gap that we have created [Saša Spačal, *Mycohuman-relationships*].

An example of the transformation of a non-human agent from media to co-author is, in our opinion, such bioart projects in which contact with non-human agents is achieved through music. So, the Brazilian composer Eduardo Miranda creates “Biocomputer music” (2015), which is a collaboration of the mushroom-like organism *Physarum polycephalum* and the composer. A biocomputer is an interactive music machine that uses bio — processors made from mold slime. While the musician is playing the piano, the pickup signals are transformed into pulses sent to the slime mold, which in turn reacts with its own impulses. These pulses are recorded by a computer program that drives the electromagnets that vibrate the strings of the instrument. The musician improvises to respond to the slime mold’s response by changing the manner of performance in accordance with the set of sounds suggested by the slime mold [Miranda]. Signals coming from a non-human agent in response to human activity are transformed into the sound of music. Commenting on this project, D.M. Bulatov interprets the actions of the slime mold as an act of creativity, which is “...a clear recognition that we do not occupy any leading positions in such interaction. This is a study with an open ending, finding out what the world can offer us in response” [Bulatov, 2018, 106].

4. Results and their interpretation

4.1. Non-human agent as co-author

Today, we can no longer describe reality only from a human point of view. Any attempts of this kind must take into account the numerous “non-humans”. In this regard, Art&Science projects involving non-human agents, in the terminology of B. Latour, can be interpreted as a complex team of people and non-people, where the latter appear not as “passive and disenfranchised conductors of human meanings, forms and discourses”, but as active intermediaries [Latour, 2014, 58]. All components of this team are capable of communication, mutual influence and transformation. The identity of the non-human agent as a co-author is not set initially and the author’s task is to research it. The human initiates the change. In our view, a non-human agent can be considered a co-author of a work if the work is performative and interactive, and if the potential co-author’s reactions to the author’s actions are relevant, but not identical to them. They do not just cause a response from the author, but they transform him, even if it is a question of minor physical characteristics. Under the influence of these changes, the author sets new vectors for the development of the work. In this way, the non-human becomes a co-author in the dialogue process. At the same time, let’s not forget that the ontology of the team’s components can be different. In this regard, each time in such cases, the problem of communication arises, (which is possible to solve only if the translation problem is successfully solved). T. Nagel in a famous text asked the questions: What’s it like to be a bat? What does it feel like to be a fungus, a slime mold, a bacterium? In a situation where a living organism acts as a non-human agent (in our case, mushrooms and mushroom-like organisms), a system of mutual signals exchanged by both sides can be considered as an analog of translation.

If non-human agents follow the author’s plan without showing their participation, or their activity does not exceed the limits of what the author delegates to them, they remain in the status of media. If the participation of living systems declares its subjectivity, such systems become co-authors of the artist. Artist Heather Barnett notes that working with living biological material, she can predict its behavior and reactions, but cannot control the result, which allows her to view this work as almost collaborative.

The idea of treating working with non-human agents as co-creation is not shared by all artists. So, Lauren Kronemeyer, who works with insects, is skeptical about this idea: “As a human, I would not consider getting into

the trap as cooperation” [Criado]. At the same time, she says she is “open to surprises” from the live systems she works with. The unpredictability that non-human agents demonstrate during the project process allows us to talk about them as co-authors. Their reactions can set the project in a new direction that is not intended by the original author’s idea. This is why, in our opinion, most artists who work with live environments, tend to consider them as co-authors. This point of view (according to a survey of artists conducted by the editors of the online platform CLOT Magazine, dedicated to the research of art in science and technology), is shared by many artists. For example, the Israeli artist Nurit Bar-Shai is convinced that living systems have free will external to the artist, which results in a lack of control over the final result. Simon Park, an artist and microbiologist who works with slime mold and fluorescent bacteria, also sees them as co-authors, as they are, according to him, independent and able to make their own decisions [Criado]. He has his own opinion about the problem of co-authoring non-human agents, that the bacterial microbiota is able to control the production of hormones in our body and thus change our mood and mental health, so it can be argued that it is in fact the author of every work of art ever created by man. In this logic, a person acts as a co-author of a non-human agent (in this case, a microbiota), and not vice versa. It is a reason to dispute the privileged position of a person.

Bio-art projects reveal another aspect of the author’s problem in contemporary art. M. Foucault in his speech “What is an author?” quotes the words of S. Beckett: “the wording of the topic with which I would like to start, I borrow from Beckett: “What difference does it make who speaks,” someone said, “what difference does it make who speaks” [Foucault, 1996, 13]. In the situation of challenging the exclusivity of a human, when, in accordance with the ideas of new ontologies and posthumanism, human and non-human are equally active, there is really no difference, and in this sense the classics anticipated modernity. It doesn’t matter whose voice art speaks today (human or non-human). It is important that, as P. Celan wrote, ‘there are still songs to sing on the other side of humanity’. Commenting on this speech by Foucault, J. Agamben notes: “There is, therefore, someone who, although remaining anonymous and faceless in it, uttered a statement — someone without whom a thesis that denies the importance of the speaker could not be formulated” [Agamben, 2014, 64]. But still, who is this “someone”? In the context of vitalistic materialism, J. Bennett’s “Someone” is the result of breaking another opposition that has developed in culture: Life/Matter,

where life was seen as the embodiment of vitality, and matter — lifelessness, passivity and inertia. J. Bennet says that the latter is replaced by a vital, “pulsating materiality that lives next to us and within us” [Bennet, 2018, 8]. Artists today work with matter as a living, self-organizing substance that reveals itself in a performative way. Both authors and co — authors are its components.

5. Conclusions

In modern art — performative, procedural, interactive — the state of a non-human agent is unstable: under certain conditions it can nevertheless transformed into a co-author of a work. The very fact of this upgrade, which made it possible to discuss the non-human as a potential co-author, has a huge potential. This is another step towards recognizing the non-human as a principle symmetrical to the human, and now not only in theory. As for the author's dematerialization process, it continues. The author redistributes his potential in favor of non-human agents, but this step is an invitation to interspecies cooperation.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Zombie Apocalypse in Cinema as a Form of Adaptation to New Digital Technologies and Their Consequences

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the analysis of the film “Train to Busan” by South Korean film director Yeon Sang-ho, which depicts the situation of a zombie apocalypse after a chemical leak from a scientific laboratory. The director focuses on the reaction of representatives of different strata, groups and social institutions of society to the tragedy. Ultimately, the film’s ideology leads to a dilemma between capitalist efficiency and social justice. These subjects are analyzed in the article from the positions of sociological approaches and concepts.

Keywords: cinema, sociology, Apocalypse, technogenic threats, future discourse, economic efficiency, social justice

1. Introduction

In 2016 was released the movie “Train to Busan” filmed by South Korean director Yeon Sang-ho. The film received huge box office worldwide and became the highest-grossing Korean film in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore. It also received positive critical reviews. On Rotten Tomatoes, the film has a rating of 94 % based on 115 reviews with an average score of 7.6 out of 10. On Metacritic, the film has a score of 72 out of 100 based on 16 critics reviews, which meets the status of “generally positive reviews”.

In Russia, the film also got high assessment from film critics and viewers. Some Russian critics saw the film as a social parable about how to react to mass insanity [Dolin, 2016], and one of them considered the zombie-virus as “straightforward political metaphor” [Nechaev, 2016], well understood by participants of mass protests in South Korea in 2016.

The action takes place during a zombie apocalypse in a high-speed train on the road from Seoul to Busan. During the departure of the train, zombies appear at the station, attacking people. A girl bitten by a zombie manages to jump into the last car. She quickly spreads the infection throughout the whole train. The heroes are forced to escape from zombies, and in such an extreme situation the and the inner essence of each character are revealed. In the film, the director presents a gallery of social types from various walks of life with their attitudes and orientations, as well as shows their psychological changes in the face of a deadly threat. Each of them react to the disaster in their own way. While the main force of the film is reflected in the humanity of the story: the father protects a little daughter, husband — wife, boy — girl, older woman — sister, and the viewer throughout the entire film is desperately worried about them. The relevance of the story is due to the technogenic risks and threats that are caused by technological progress, on the one hand, and the lack of rationalization of the “life world” of a person, on the other. Y. Habermas called this process “the pathology of modern life” [Habermas, 1986, 96]. We see similar situations everywhere in modern society. However, one of the most unusual and powerful events affecting people’s consciousness and behavior was the Coronavirus pandemic, announced by the world health organization on March 12, 2020. It changed the normal functioning of social institutions and the usual daily practices of people in all over the world.

The key focus of the research is a sociological analysis of the zombie apocalypse as an image of the future in modern society on the example of “train to Busan”. For theoretical sources for the interpretation of the storyline and discourses were chosen W. Beck’s sociological concept of Risk society, M. Buravoy’s concept of public sociology and scientific hypotheses, and of the capitalism future supposed by I. Wallerstein, R. Collins, M. Mann, and others. In order to understand how artistic and theoretical constructs are transformed into social reality, we investigated a series of interviews and reviews of this film published in the Russian and foreign press.

2. Content analysis of the film “Train to Busan”

The film symbolically begins with a check on the road and information that in a certain scientific laboratory there was an incomprehensible leak. The truck driver, expressing dissatisfaction with the constant checks, tries to answer the phone and knocks down a moose on the road. Thinking that the animal is dead, he nevertheless leaves. But the bloodied moose rises to life as a zombie animal.

After that the plot starts, all major events of which were subjected to content analysis. For content analysis were selected such observation units as the main characters of the film, the number and content of key episodes with their participation. Usually, the timing of key episodes and the total number of appearances in the frame of the main characters are still highlighted, but since the film “Train to Busan” is an action thriller, it is difficult to track the timing and total number of appearances in the frame: all the characters constantly appear in the frame, fleeing from zombies or fighting them.

Counting the number of key episodes, we see that the main character of the film is Seok-woo, a fund manager — successful and productive. As usual, he sacrifices the interests of the family for the sake of work and, being divorced, lives with his mother and daughter. And everything would have continued like this if what Bakhtin has called *menippea* (after the third-century BC philosopher Menippus of Gadara) hadn't happened. Describing this genre, Bakhtin emphasized such features of *menippea* as the combination of creativity (in this case, directed by Yeon Sang-ho) with the formulation of deeply ideological problems. Bakhtin gave the following methodological description of the *menippea* in a work of art: it is a moral and psychological experiment, a violation of the normal course of events, the creation of exceptional situations that demonstrate and provoke opinions and ideas [Bakhtin, 1979]. During this experiment, the main character's personality are transformed, values are re-evaluated, and what is called “redefinition of the situation” in phenomenological sociology. At first, Seok-woo tries to use his special status to use insider information and get support from his “friends” at the stop in Daejeon. However, later, insider information from the same source opens Seok-woo's eyes: he is informed that the commercial activities of their company have led to a disaster in the country. In the face of a deadly threat, he realizes that the main value in his life is his daughter and tries to save her in every possible way. When he has got the infection, he remembers the images of his newborn daughter and then he experiences happiness.

The antipodes of Seok-woo are the negative character Young-seok and the positive character Sang-hwa. Sang-hwa, who patiently takes care of his capricious pregnant wife Seong-kyeong, shows himself as a brave hero, helping not only his wife, but also the rest of the passengers, including Seok-woo and his daughter Su-an. He bravely fights with zombies, endlessly covering other people. This hero does not have a moral dilemma — he is, although simple, undoubtedly, a purely positive character. In contrast, the Director of the company Young-seok is depicted, who saves himself until the very end, while constantly receiving insider information and giving orders to the train chief not to wait for other people, to leave immediately. He “goes over the heads”, throwing other characters of the film to the zombies: the conductor, the girl cheerleader of the baseball team, and finally, the train chief himself. It is not difficult to notice the collective images of the main characters: at one pole we see the reaction to the emergency situation on the part of the basic, inconspicuous layers of society (ordinary workers and employees) and at the other — the behavior of the elected (officials and high-ranking leaders).

Other characters in the film — young baseball players, a homeless man, two elderly women — are depicted in the film, rather, as social types that complement the previous characters and shows the variety of social stratification in modern society.

Yeon Sang-ho, answering the question why the film became so popular, says that he tried to combine in his film such extraordinary elements as zombies, on the one hand, and the most ordinary people from our usual life in all their diversity — people of different ages, genders, social statuses — on the other. He wants to draw a portrait of modern society. At the same time, the Director keeps a moral neutrality, mentioning that he did not intend to portray Seok-woo or Sang-hwa as heroes, and Young-seok as the devil. Just the first saved their relatives, and the second — was afraid to die, helping others. The Director highlights the behavior of ordinary people in a emergency. Only representatives of the future generation, Su-an and Seong-kyeong, who is about to give birth to a child, manage to escape. By completing the film in this way, the director seems to give the future to the next generations. He poses the central question of his movie — What kind of future will we leave to our children?

Describing the plot, it is impossible to miss two important things. The zombies, who are the most recent to appear in the movie and news information coming from official authorities on television and in the form

of appeals to passengers. After watching the movie, it becomes obvious that for the film director, the relationship between the characters is much more important than the theme of zombies, which are only the personification of a threat in the modern world. At the same time, the director is quite focused on the detailed image of zombies — how they look, move, how their facial expressions and eyes change. Many Russian and foreign critics drew attention to the high professionalism in the image of the creators of the film zombies[Trofimenko, 2016]. All this, of course, made the film attractive to the viewers and contributed to the box office success.

A special theme in the film is the news and information from official authorities. The reality of the present time is that true events do not always correspond to the news agenda. Today we are flooded with information that contradicts itself. In the movie “Train to Busan”, once we hear from the screen that there are outbreaks of violence in the city, but the military takes measures to restore order. Another time it turns out that a number of provinces were overwhelmed by a wave of violence, rioters tried to destroy state property, and there was imposed a state of emergency. Then there were announcements about the elimination of the main hotbeds of violence, a request to remain calm and trust the government. In addition, train passengers were misinformed when they were told that the government was in control of the situation in Daejeon and everyone should get off. Meanwhile, Seok-woo received insider information that those who got off the train will go to quarantine. The topic of information communication is extremely relevant to the evaluation of this film and partly helps explain its box office success: the government is portrayed sarcastically, because it cannot cope with current events. Recall that in December 2016 President of the Republic of Korea Park Geun-hye was impeached, and on the eve of mass popular protests against bribery, abuse of power, and the transfer of secret information to people far from the government. However, it is certainly possible to interpret the news agenda in the film in a broader way: literally in all societies today, we see an ideological disparity of information sources that form a literally paranoid picture of what is happening in the minds of ordinary people who do not trust official sources of information, they act with their own ideas and values.

3. Discourse of the future in cinema and sociology

The genre of films about the end of the world is not new in the world of cinema, fiction, computer games and is always a kind of prediction

of the future, often inevitable and tragic. Common themes of apocalyptic movies are:

- alien invasion (“War of the Worlds”, “Independence Day”, “Star Wars”, animated series “Transformers”, “the Fifth Element”),
- displacement of humans by living creatures of a different kind (“Reign of Fire”, “Planet of the Apes”, “Rats — Notte di terrore”, “Parasite”),
- viruses, epidemics, pandemics (“Land of the Dead”, “Dance of the Dead”, “I am Legend”, “Resident Evil”),
- mutinous artificial intelligence (“Matrix”, “Terminator”, “Screamers”, “Steel Dawn”, “Cyborg”),
- nuclear war (“Mad Max 2, 3”, “the Postman”, “Mutant Chronicles”, “On The Beach”)
- natural disasters (“Asteroid”, “Armagedon”, “Night of the Comet”, “Until The End Of The World”, “El Largo Invierno”, “Category 6: Day of Destruction”, “After the Apocalypse”), etc.

In general, we can identify the following plot areas of this genre: a) natural, “natural” disasters; b) man-made disasters, human intervention in the laws of nature; C) intervention of an external, most often reasonable, force [Poryadin, 2009].

The Apocalypse is usually understood as the process of the collapse of the world, the End of the World, is reflected in the legends and myths of different peoples of the world. They provide a variety of descriptions of how the world will disappear, be swallowed, burn, freeze, sink, or be destroyed in other ways. There are many scientific and religious hypotheses about the end of the world. What in the past centuries was seen as the causes of the Apocalypse has lost its significance, but there are appearing new ways and means of expressing this.

We consider that it is appropriate to refer to the theories and ideas of modern sociologists in order to present their vision of the future and how it resonates with the image of the future in modern art forms, especially in cinema. The major part of sociological research is conducted as a description and explanation of the present — social phenomena observed in the “here and now” mode. However, the object and subject of sociology are diachronous: the object of sociology is the present, but its subject is the future. In contrast to modern futurology, which focuses on the technological perspectives of humanity, on (post) human genetics and demography, climate and ecology, the subject of sociology is not the fate of humanity, but the social future:

social structures and ways of social interaction that are relevant in the long term [Ivanov and Asochakov, 2016].

In July 2016 in Vienna a forum of the International Sociological Association (ISA) “the Future we want: global sociology and the struggle for a better world” was held. The main idea of the Congress was expressed in the program report of forum President Markus Schultz. His report was based on the idea that sociology was initially driven by a collective reflection on the possibility of change and now, in the context of global trends and the rise of new social movements, it must move from an objectivist vision based on determinism and “expert democracy” to engaging in public debate and focusing on an “open and contested” future [Shulz, 2016].

The social future as a subject of study has returned into the recent years’ sociology in the form of conceptualization of risks and social chaos. For example, the German sociologist W. Beck linked the concept of risk with the stages of society modernization. According to his theory simple modernization was associated with the risk of detraditionalization and the formation of new institutions of industrial society for that time. The second wave of reflexive modernization, which began around the 1960s, led to the discovery of “side effects” of economic progress in the form of the nuclear war threat, terrorism, environmental pollution, global warming, global diseases such as AIDS, and now the coronavirus pandemic. Modern development is associated with risks of individualization, revision of gender relations, and global economic risks. Economic risks are associated with the fact that technological advances, robotics and computerization lead to the removal of people from the labor sphere, transferring them to flexible forms of employment with low wages and lack of social guarantees. If the main value of industrial society was equality, then in modern society, security becomes the main value: people see that the state is not able to cope with new threats and begin to independently look for ways to deal with the risks to their lives [Beck, 1999; Beck, 2000; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002].

Beck’s concept of a risk society resonates well with the events of the film “Train to Busan”, where an unknown infection is spread from a scientific laboratory and leads to the transformation of people into zombies. In these conditions, each passenger has to find his own way out of the situation and escape from the zombies. Against the background of elements of fantasy entertainment and keeping the audience’s attention with a sharp, exciting story, Yeon Sang-ho raises political and ideological issues related both

to the survival of humanity and to the personal safety of the environment. And in this, also, you can find the secret of the popularity of his film, which is the speaking of the situations that cause anxiety for every viewer. One of the Russian film critics even hypothetically draws parallels to the situation in the high-speed train going from Seoul to Busan in Korea, with the high-speed train “Sapsan”, which regularly runs from Moscow to St. Petersburg in Russia [Zelvensky]. In this sense, the film “Train to Busan” performs an important social function of informing the audience about how to behave in unexpected dangerous incidents.

The logic of the research on social activism, which opens up the prospect of a better future, was initially put forward via the movement for “public sociology”, initiated by M. Buravoy [Buravoy, 2005]. Public sociology strives to spread sociology beyond the academic framework and distribute its ideas among a broad audience. Buravoy and other scientists who promote these ideas push the development of sociological science towards involving issues related to public activities, political activity, social movements, and civil society institutions in open public and political spheres. If a movement associated with public sociology is possible, it should breathe new life into sociology by using its empirical methods and theoretical ideas to discuss not only what is currently happening in society, but also what society could become. Public sociology assumes a normative approach to analysis and the political nature of the analysis of social reality [Ivanov and Asochakov, 2016].

The social future is an intense present. In other words, these are not the institutional structures and patterns of interaction that are widespread and stable in the present, but only those processes that cause instability, mobility and gaps in social life. Therefore, the tendencies to protest and challenge the most disadvantaged groups and structures of society, objectively being on the periphery of social life and, consequently, on the periphery of attention in the study of the social present, in the study of the social future, should become the Central object, placed at the center of attention.

Followers of the theory of social actionism in the 1970s participated in the activities of social movements, including extremist ones, applying the method of social intervention in practice. The same idea, but in a less radical form, is found in Buravoy and followers of his concept of “public sociology”, who turn to the practices of civil activism and protest movements that spread in the period after the global economic crisis of 2008 [Ivanov and Asochakov, 2016].

If a well-made movie, using a simple language accessible to ordinary people, can attract millions of viewers from various countries and make them think about important problems of our time, then social science is limited in capabilities by the University audience. At the same time, the art of cinema becomes popular at the peak of current trends, political events and fashion, while the product of social science has a longer life span and affects the most intellectual part of society. Nevertheless, public discourses of cinema and social science have a great potential to influence discursive and practical consciousness in modern society [Giddens, 2005] and form the cognitive and emotional attitudes and behavioral orientations of millions of people in different countries.

4. The discourse of the future of capitalism: productivity and material success

In an interview, the director of the film answering the question — why does he give up hope at the end of the film? — says: “I didn’t give an obvious ending to the film” [“Busan” director reflects on film’s wild ride]. Moreover, it is not entirely clear how the Busan military in camouflage will be able to hold the defense against the zombies that flooded the country; the director suggests that the audience independently imagine the ending. The last survivors are represented by the future generation — a little girl Soo-an and a pregnant woman who is about to give birth to a child. Developing the main storyline of the film — the relationship between Seok-woo and his daughter. Director Yeong Sang-ho wonders: “What can we pass on to the next generations? Until now, we have valued development — economic, social — in the hope that our children will live better. However, development itself may one day stop. Even today, we can say that development does not always make sense. In this case, what should we pass on to the next generations?” [“Busan” director reflects on film’s wild ride].

In an attempt to answer this question, we turn to sociological works that assess the future as an economic system of production and distribution. Capitalism is primarily associated with the goals and ideals of enrichment, and although it is the cause of many of the ills and misfortunes of modern society, it still has no worthy alternatives. The analysis of the future of capitalism is given, for example, in the book “Whether there is a future for capitalism?” — a collection of articles by famous sociologists I. Wallerstein, R. Collins, M. Mann, G. Derlugyan, K. Calhoun [Whether there is a fu-

ture for capitalism, 2015]. The authors are trying to determine the changes of a present, describing it in terms of “neo-liberalism”, “post-industrialism”, and “post-Fordism”, “postconsumer” etc., and what are the effects of globalization on companies. They are convinced that there is a crisis in the world in general and in particular societies. Due to this fact, sociologists interpret the future of capitalism in different ways.

For example, I. Wallerstein in the article “Structural crisis, or Why capitalists can consider capitalism unprofitable?” relies on the traditional premise that capitalism, like any other system, has its own life span. He writes that today the debate about the structure of the new macro system is based on two alternative ideologies: the spirit of Davos (named after the world economic forum in Davos, Switzerland) and the spirit of Porto Alegre (named after the world social forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil). Supporters of the Davos spirit suggest tough measures to preserve the old capitalist order, but there are widespread ideas in their ranks that repression does not always work in the long term and it is necessary to improve capitalism, fertilizing it with ideas of green movements or social justice. Supporters of the spirit of Porto Alegre, who advocate the ideas of equality and justice, also do not agree in their approaches and are divided into those who develop discussions in the direction of consensus based on discourses of the civilizational crisis, as well as irrational enrichment and consumption, and those who openly call for a political struggle for power, insisting on the redistribution of all available benefits and opportunities [Wallerstein, 2015].

R. Collins in the article “The Middle class without work: exits are closing” characterizes technological substitution as a new threat to capitalism. If earlier mechanization replaced mainly manual labor, now new technologies are able to displace many professions and types of employment of people with intellectual labor. It lists possible threats:

- the appearance of online stores, online publications, etc. does not create new jobs, but, on the contrary, displaces previously employed employees;
- computer technologies allow you to conduct business remotely from anywhere in the world, which leads to increased competition among specialists and managers with modern business education in developed countries;
- financial transactions in pension funds, exchange-traded investments and speculation, which are popular among the middle class, are becoming increasingly risky, as financial markets can burst at any moment;

- administrative work in the public service can also be reduced by 3–5 times or more in the context of an employment crisis, since, on the one hand, business owners are growing dissatisfied with high taxes, on the other hand, the unemployed and part-time employees who have a high level of education and are able to quickly mobilize if necessary to organize a protest movement are protesting;

- an inflation of diplomas, the value of which decreases as the number of University graduates increases (now 60 % of young people study at universities, and in the Republic of Korea — 80 %). This process is fraught with high competition for prestigious jobs and alienation of young people from the official standards of adulthood. Collins writes that the knowledge economy is a myth, and education in today's conditions is a hidden Keynesianism: cheap student loans are simply a mechanism for distributing hidden social benefits and state subsidies. According to the author, there are various ways to solve this problem: from cheaper education through the introduction of online courses to technological substitution in the field of education itself, and even mass protests against high education costs, as was the case in 2010 in the United States [Collins, 2015, 64–91].

The sociologist also notes the unevenness of technological substitution in different societies: if in the United States and Western Europe, technological substitution will affect the middle class, then in China, India and Brazil it will not be as deep. The crisis of capitalism will increase if it joins other protest movements (religious, racial, ethnic) for the distribution of official positions and rents, state regulation, and access to resources for ethnic groups (positive discrimination).

M. Mann in the article “The End may be near, but for whom?” expresses a much more optimistic point of view. He believes that by 201 many countries had overcome the crisis. Among the structures that proved to work were corporatist “development States” like South Korea, development-oriented economies in East Asia, where the ideology of neoliberalism did not become widespread, or countries where strict regulation of financial capital remained (Canada).

Mann believes that the future of capitalism will most likely be “not stormy, but rather boring” (about one percent growth per year) [Mann, 2015, 145] and there are no alternatives to capitalism, since fascism and communism have proved ineffective and unattractive, and fundamentalism stands for spiritual salvation rather than material salvation. Therefore, we need a turn towards

greater state regulation, curbing national States, and increasing the rights of citizens. If this does not happen, then there will really be a catastrophe: the relatively privileged and rich States of the North will build fortresses of “siege capitalism” and “ecofascism” against the rest of the world, and the main motive of such societies and people will be anger [Mann, 2015, 153].

The director of the film “Train to Busan” can be considered a continuation of the social problematics of the revolutionary zombie discourse.

In this regard, we can recall one of the first Korean zombie films “Pulgasari” (불가사리 — cor., or “iron eater” — in late Korean mythology, a legendary animal with the body of a bear, which has an elephant trunk, buffalo eyes, a cow’s tail and tiger paws. It feeds on iron, and also banishes delusions and nightmares in people). The image of Pulgasari in Korean folklore has been known since the Koryo period in the 10th-14th centuries. The film “Pulgasari” was filmed by South Korean director Shin Sang-ok in 1985 in the North Korean genre of science fiction action. Shin Sang-ok was abducted by North Korea’s security services on the direct instructions of Kim Jong-Il and worked for years as a forced laborer for the North’s propaganda cinema. Some sources later referred to this film as “Communist Godzilla” [Gorenfeld, 2003]. The film “Pulgasari” also depicts a direct allusion and criticism of capitalism as a political and economic system that ripens in the bowels of feudalism and destroys it due to the irrepressible consumption of resources. An additional ideological moral put forward by the film’s producer, Kim Jong-Il, is the idea of a people’s revolution.

Yeon Sang-ho develops this topic in a very different context. If the North Korean film of 1985 depicts the traditional criticism of capitalism, then in “Train to Busan” we see the activities of large multinational companies, financial pyramids that conduct highly effective activities without any social responsibility. In this regard, recall the episode of the insight of the main character Juice: while the blood of the passengers splashes on the glass of cars, TV broadcasts about the strike developed into a rebellion, and the introduction of martial law to suppress anti-state conspiracy, it covers the guilt for his financial fraud, as he speculated in shares of the company, prevent the leak of classified infection which turns the Korean zombie.

This episode reveals the violation of social order and law in modern society and attracts the attention of the British sociologist Z. Bauman. He writes that in the modern world, some structures are moving faster, such as the economy and business. Multinational corporations in the pursuit

of profit are developing at a great speed and strive to completely eliminate spatial restrictions (complete overcoming of gravity). Only in the most egregious cases do corporate crimes end up in court and become public knowledge [Bauman, 2004]. Prisons are filled with people from the lower class of society who have committed so-called “traditional crimes”, such as, for example, the stowaway train ride of a homeless passenger in the film we are analyzing.

The main character of the movie *Seok-woo* before the disaster was a typical high-ranking manager, in the terminology of another character Sang-hwa, a man living in a dog-eat-dog world. It is for such highly paid managers that the practical philosopher Andrew Taggart conducts his training programs [see Taggart, 2018].

Then arises the question: why is one of the main idols these days Elon Musk, especially for those who work in the IT industry? The practical philosopher believes that the answer to this question is related to the concept of “the era of the bourgeoisie”, which means a gradual shift in public consciousness that began around the XIX century. The “bourgeois era” consists of several stages.

— The bourgeois paradigm and the revaluation of values (since the beginning of the XIX century). The old values of the aristocrats — honor, pride, as well as Christian values — compassion and piety — are gone. They began to be replaced by bourgeois values — prudence, restraint, the ability to earn trust and honesty in transactions. The aristocrats honored heroes, the Christians honored saints, the bourgeois honored practical entrepreneurs, and most of all, visionaries like Steve Jobs and Elon Musk. The re-evaluation of values has led people to judge themselves and others by how they earn a living.

— Society of labor (from 1945 to the present). After the second world war, a different process began: the gradual transformation of people into workers, when work takes up an increasing part of life. The post-world war II period was marked by economic growth. For example, many middle-class Americans could afford their own homes, comfort, and technological innovations. They began to separate leisure from work and were able to retire safely. Watching the well-being of their parents, representatives of “generation X” and later “generation Y” believed that their prospects were even better. Formally, people in the United States work less today than in the 19th century: the working week has decreased from 70 hours in 1830 to 40 hours by now. But the numbers do not reflect the quality of the work that has become the foundation of our social identity.

— The threat of technological unemployment (our possible future). This stage is associated with the development of artificial intelligence and machine learning. The result of these processes may be unemployment in the transport industry, manufacturing, services, and other areas. Does this mean that people will feel like a “useless class” and generally useless people?

Taggart writes that modern people find in personal productivity salvation from suffering, happiness, or at least something that gives them a chance to be happy. But this is an illusion. The goal of productivity is to preserve the labor society. There will be no need for labor, and the idea of productivity will be devalued.

In addition, each of us strives to overcome the emptiness of his life, the vacuum that arises if it is not filled with work. That is why life hacking has been so popular in social networks in recent years: it is easier to solve simple tasks than to answer important, complex questions related to the meaning of our existence. These questions are philosophical in nature: who am I? what is the meaning of life? The labor society, with its constant employment and race for productivity, distracts us from thinking about these issues [Taggart, 2018].

The director of the film “Train to Busan” is looking for answers to these questions and finds them in his own way. In our opinion, the general message of the film Yeon Sang-ho leads the audience towards is the idea of love. We see how in the face of death, the film’s characters make a moral choice in favor of their loved ones: Seok-woo jumps from a train to save his daughter Su-an; Sang-hwa is killed in a fight with a zombie while rescuing his wife Seong-kyeong; an elderly woman voluntarily goes out to her infected sister, wanting to thank her one last time; Yong-gook does not want to run away from the zombies without his beloved Jin-hee, preferring to die in her arms; homeless also brings their lives in sacrifice, giving the possibility to run the giving the possibility to run the Su-an and Seong-kyeong in order to win time for. Even the Director of the company, Yong-seok, in the last moments of his life, remembers his childhood and his mother, who probably loved him more than anyone in his life. Indeed, if you believe the findings of modern psychologists, there are almost no people who, in the face of death, think that they had not worked enough.

5. Conclusion: alternative scenarios for the future

The plot of the film makes the viewer remember another vivid South Korean Thriller “Snowpiercer”, shot in 2013 by Director Bong Joon-ho and

showing the lives of survivors on a train after a global cold snap. Both pictures show post-apocalypses on the train, but it is a meaningful example of antagonist films [Nechaev, 2016]. Bong Joon-ho made a complex movie, where the train rushing on an icy planet represented a metaphor for human society — with its social injustice and division into classes. At the tail of the train are the social lower classes, who are fed protein biomass from processed beetles by the fascist dictatorship and are reminded of their place with a system of harsh punishments at every opportunity. A bloody revolution was beginning with the gradual advance of the humiliated and insulted to the locomotive and yet, the film “Snowpiercer” only at first seems to be a picture with a left-wing bias and a desire for justice through revolution. In the finale of the film, everything is turned upside down. It turns out that the system itself planned a bloody riot in order to reduce the excess number of passengers from the point of view of life support. The creators of “Snowpiercer” are clearly skeptical of both the revolutionary pathos and the possibility of a positive scenario for the survival of mankind.

In the film “Train to Busan”, the reasons for the zombie apocalypse are not directly mentioned, but the replicas can be understood that it is the “sharks of capitalism” who were ready to sacrifice the interests and security of society for profit, financing dangerous scientific developments. The director insistently pronounces the main idea of the work — you can survive and win only by rallying and forgetting about selfish aspirations. The almost cartoonish villain Yong-seok, a businessman with connections who is literally ready to walk over corpses to stay alive, helps illustrate the message.

By the end, we see that after the death of the main character Seok-woo, only his daughter Su-an and a pregnant Seong-kyeong remain alive. The locomotive, in which they were left alone, rushes through green fields and forests. In the frame, we see a blooming beauty filled with life. There are protective structures on the tracks. The locomotive stops, the two heroines go through a tunnel, through piles of corpses and bonfires. The city is guarded by the military, who first receive orders to eliminate Su-an and Seong-kyeong, but then, after hearing the children’s singing of Su-an, decide to save them. The command comes: “Cover them!” In these simple words, you can hear the warmth of the human mind, acting not as a programmed machine, but relying on feelings and emotions. And although we don’t know if Busan will eventually be able to resist the zombies, thanks to the creators of the film, the audience is given hope for salvation, kindness and common sense.

We become witnesses of two possible outcomes in Korean apocalyptic films. In both pictures, in fact, only children who take the baton from adults survive. What is their future? In the first film “Snowpiercer” — death among the snow and polar bears. In the second — the hope of reuniting with people and meeting with the mother. And their path to hope, to a better future, as we have seen, is not obvious. It is not necessary that it will be associated with irresponsible capitalism or, conversely, with revolutions and the destruction of the capitalist structure of society. However, in any case, the future, according to both sociological concepts and the idea of Director Yeon Sang-ho, should be associated with active collective actions of people towards creating a just and safe society. In the terms of Habermas, “new technologies force us to conduct a public discourse about the correct understanding of the cultural form of life. And philosophers no longer have any plausible pretexts to leave the subject of this discussion at the mercy of representatives of the biological sciences and science fiction-inspired engineers” [Habermas, 2002, 26].

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Creativity in the Film Director's Work: An Example of Works by A. Zvyagintsev

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Abstract This article discusses the main approaches to the definition of creativity, including interdisciplinary ones; in addition, the author highlights a systematic approach to the definition and understanding of creativity at the intersection of psychology, philosophy, and economics. The author reveals the specifics of the analysis of the filmmaker's work through the prism

of creativity. The article analyzes the work of the modern Russian film director A. Zvyagintsev in the context of creativity.

Keywords: creativity, film reality, art reality, Russian cinema, A. Zvyagintsev

1. Introduction

The author dwells upon the concept of creativity, and analyses how it is applicable to the analysis of a film director's work with the example of Andrey Zvyagintsev's films.

Five films of the contemporary Russian Film director Andrey Zvyagintsev were reviewed and analyzed. According to the title of his lecture "Five views on man and time" those five films symbolizes the views. Both components of this author's view, highlighted in this title ("the man" and "the time") are not constants, they are variables that are subject to constant fluctuations, which the film director sees and depicts in his films.

A constant, a unique unit in the work of this film director, consists of referring to the achievements of world art, culture, masterpieces of painting and music. In such a way, Zvyagintsev reflects today's reality, testing the very foundations of modern life. Everyday stories shown by the film the timeless events, occurring in mythological space and time

The purpose of the article is to analyze the film director's work through the category of creativity and to detect the points of greatest concentration of ideas that give the film significance and artistic value.

2. Research material

The research material consists of five full-length feature films: "The Return" (2003); "The Banishment" (2007); "Elena" (2011); "Leviathan" (2014); "Loveless" (2017). We also include A. Zvyagintsev's interviews materials, books and film scripts. The director's first film "The Return" (2003) received a Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival, and the national "Nika" and "Golden eagle" awards as the best film of the year. His second film "The Banishment" (2007) represented Russia in the main competition of the 60th Cannes film festival. Also this film won the prize of the Federation of Russian film clubs at the 2007 Moscow film festival. Elena (2011) won the special jury prize for the Special view competition at the Cannes film festival; Leviathan (2014) won the Golden globe award for best foreign language film, as well as the best screenplay award at the 67th Cannes film festival; Loveless (2017) won the jury prize at the 70th Cannes film festival.

3. Research methods and methodology

Analysis of films, written printed sources (books, interview texts), and the film director's video interviews.

4. Research

In our time, the word “creativity” is not just widely used, but is used in many different meanings. All available definitions fall into one or more of the following categories:

- individual talent;
- process;
- result;
- public recognition.

Here are the specifics of defining creativity — creativity as a talent inherent in an individual. The essence of this approach is in the idea that “creativity” is an innate individual talent but in this case a tautology may arise: “Creativity is what creative people do.”

Creativity of consciousness is based on the individual's ability to create new ideas and images. There are two closely related stages in this process. At the first stage, a person comprehends the available material. The second stage is the emergence of a new idea and the search for ways to apply it in practice. The forms of the creative process are diverse. In our opinion, they are determined, first of all, by the originality of the individual and the area of activity [Daragan, 2011, 197].

Creativity of consciousness is manifested in selectivity, purposefulness of perception and memory, in the creation of ideas, and images that did not previously exist in the individual's or the public consciousness, as well as in acts of imagination, fantasy, research activities, works of art creation, various forms of ideal anticipation of the future, the promotion of scientific problems, hypotheses and theories [Daragan, 2011, 202].

A number of researchers argue that it is more correct to understand creativity not as an ability, but as a certain mood, intentionality [Stoletov, 2014, 43] but in relation to the creative process itself, creativity acts as a quality of the process, a certain kind of orientation, intentionality, which I divide into intensive and extensive types. Intense creativity dwells upon ontological fundamentals by revelation and the creation of a parallel existence and reality. In this case, the novelty is existential. Extensive creativity reflects the desire to expand its influence on empirical reality by analyzing

it, identifying the laws of interaction and creating new things: mechanisms, machines, etc. — that is, to change the material world and create material values [Stoletov, 2014, 49].

The need to combine both types of creativity is obvious. Creativity acts according to the principle of complementarity. It can be thought of as a state of primal emptiness that is human openness to the world. In this case, creativity is a personal quality, a special state of the subject that precedes the process that we later call creative. It appears as an opportunity to break away from the existing structure in an attempt to create a new one [Stoletov, 2014, 52].

Creativity as a process. In this approach, the word “creativity” means “creative process”. Writer Arthur Koestler describes creativity as “the accidental bringing together of two unrelated ideas.” As a definition of creativity, he used the mechanism of generating creative ideas. It can be assumed that a combination of initially unrelated ideas can serve as a source material for ideological creativity, but it cannot be called equal to the generation of “creative ideas”. So, despite its importance, the creative process does not reflect the concept of creativity.

But creativity (in contrast to creation) is not a process, but a certain characteristic of the process, the features of its course [Stoletov, 2014, 48]. Creativity as a product, in this case we can talk about “works of art” or “great achievements in different fields”. A significant aspect of activity in this case is the presence of a “creative approach” in the process of problemsolving. However, you can look at the creative act in a broader context.

Creativity as something that has been recognized by others. Some people consider this recognition by the wider community as the main feature of the creativity phenomenon. The meaning of the creative process, in addition to its starting point, when it is initiated by the author, is also in the recognition of its result by other people. They also need to demonstrate creative abilities and understanding to perceive and evaluate the work. For example, it is not enough for one artist to have creative abilities, the public must also have them in order to adequately assess the quality of the work.

One of the world’s leading experts on creativity, Professor Morris Stein gave the following definition: “...creativity is a process as a result of which something new appears. Something that at a particular time is perceived by a group of significant individuals as useful, reasonable, or satisfying.” By “a group of significant individuals”, he means those who have sufficient authority or power to establish a scale of values. The emphasis on defining value

and identifying the cultural context inherent in this approach is an important element in the process of defining creativity. [Green, 2003, 17]

Creativity is not possible if there is no creative environment. The components responsible for the creative process interact with each other and the cumulative effect of their interaction is not reducible to the influence of any one of them. Motivation can compensate for the lack of a creative environment, and intelligence, interacting with motivation, significantly increases the level of creativity [Druzhinin, 2007, 199]. The creative environment means the sphere, structure, and social context that forms the requirements for the creative product.

S. Mednik in his psychological concept considers associations to be the core of creativity. In his opinion, the division of the cognitive act into convergent and divergent components is a wrong representation of the creative process. Creativity is the ability to overcome stereotypes at the final stage of mental synthesis and in the field of associations. The creative process may be considered a reformulation of associative elements into new combinations. The creative solution deviates from the stereotypical one. The criteria for creative solutions is the amount of deviation from the stereotype [Velichko, 2014, 629].

Creativity is a system (multi-level, multidimensional) of mental education that not only includes intellectual potential, but is also associated with motivation, emotions, level of aesthetic development, existential, communicative parameters, competence, etc. [Ilyin, 2009, 159].

Druzhinin V. N. gives the following definitions of terms:

Creative — a creative person who uses non-standard ways of solving problems, capable of original and non-standard actions, discovering new things, creating unique products.

Creativity (from lat. creatio — creation) — the general ability to create, characterizes the individual as a whole, manifests itself in various areas of activity, is considered as a relatively independent factor of giftedness.

Potential creativity is a term used by a number of authors to characterize the innate prerequisites of creativity.

“Specialized” creativity — the ability to create in a particular area of human activity (literary, musical, scientific creativity, etc.), develops on the basis of general creativity under the influence of experience [Druzhinin, 2007, 353–356].

In the large psychological dictionary of A. Reber is given this definition of creativity: “Creativity is a term used...to refer to mental processes that lead to decisions, ideas, thinking, creating artistic forms, theories, or any products that are unique and new.”

J. Perry-Smith and K. Shalley define it as follows: “People can be creative in their work by generating new ways of doing their work, coming up with new procedures or innovative ideas, or by using already known approaches in a new environment... We give the following working definition of creativity at the individual level: it is an approach to activity (work) that leads to the generation of new and relevant ideas, processes and solutions.” In this definition, the authors again focus on the “productive” component of the creative process.

Many authors in their understanding of the essence and content of the concept of creativity focus on its procedural side. Thus, E. Torrance equates creativity to creative thinking, considering that it is related to the problem-solving process and includes the following components:

- being sensitive to problem situations;
- searching for, highlighting and formulating a problem;
- generating hypotheses about how to solve the problem;
- testing these hypotheses;
- finding and formulating solutions;
- interpretation and promotion of results.

An important role in the creative process is playing person’s sensitivity to contradictions. This allows them to identify the problem area within which they can solve the problem [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 16–17].

Contradictions can be identified in the process of dialogue, when the problem area appears in the context of the task discussion. In this regard, sensitivity to contradictions can be not only a personal feature, but also a characteristic of the process of exchanging ideas between several people.

“Processual” definitions of creativity, given by some authors, focus on the activity of a person in the direction of disclosure and realization of his creative potential. Here “creativity” is understood as a personal characteristic, but not as a particular set of personal traits, but as a person’s realization of their own individuality. Human individuality is unique, so the realization of individuality is a creative act (bringing into the world a new, previously non-existent). From our point of view, the characteristics of creativity are not objective (in the sense of having a product — material or ideal), but are

processual, since creativity is considered as a process of identifying one's own individuality. This definition reminds the definition of creativity given by A. V. Libin. He considers the phenomenon of creativity as a special form of self-expression associated "with a constructive tendency in the development of the individual and activity aimed at creation, not destruction." [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 17–18].

Due to the complexity of the concepts of "creativity" and "creation", it is extremely difficult to give their full and correct definitions. The most appropriate understanding of creativity allows us to consider it as a phenomenon that combines both the "effect" and "process" sides. It is important to emphasize that its study as a person's ability to create an original product requires taking into account the subjective and objective novelty of this product. In this understanding, creativity is a complex of phenomenological, individual and socio-cultural aspects. They appear both at the level of its determination, and at the level of demand and evaluation of the results of creativity on the part of the socio-cultural environment [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 18–19].

Focusing on a particular factor that affects the understanding of the concepts of "creation" and "creativity" can lead to the formation of a separate direction in their research.

For a more detailed description of research on creativity and creativity, we will use a classification of approaches: each level determines the field of psychological categories and the positions from which the analysis is carried out. The proposed classification reflects not only the levels of creativity study, but also specific research subjects. In accordance with the provisions, we have identified the following main approaches to the study of creation and creativity.

1. Psychophysiological (biometric) approach, in which the subject of research is the biological and psychophysiological prerequisites of creating processes and creativity.

2. Cognitive-emotional approach aimed at studying the cognitive and emotional aspects of creativity and creation activity.

3. Personal approach, focused on the study of the features and traits of the creative personality.

4. Economic and pragmatic approach, which studies the features of the creative process and its products in specific socio-economic conditions.

5. Systematic approach that involves the study of creativity and creation of a person in unity and relationships with his socio-cultural environment,

economic reality, as well as the problem area in which his creative activity is carried out [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 21].

It can be noted that many researchers of innovation and creativity, in particular S. Majaro, J. Heap and P. Titas, tend to adhere to the following point of view: creativity is the ideas that arose in the author's imagination, and innovation is an already implemented idea, or an idea applied in practice [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 72].

The effectiveness of narrow-disciplinary approaches to the study of creativity has been very limited, since most of them are focused on the selection and analysis of one component. In this case, the entire complex of relationships contained in it is lost. In a narrow-disciplinary approach, one component of creativity is taken out of the entire context of human creative activity. All this points to the need to use a multidisciplinary approach, which involves taking into account social, cultural, economic and other factors that affect human creativity.

One of the proponents of a systematic approach to the study of creativity is D. Simonton. In his research, he focuses on the study of the interaction of various factors that determine creativity, and on the role of the social and cultural environment of a person in the manifestation and development of creativity.

M. Csikszentmihalyi is also an active proponent of the multidisciplinary approach. In his works, he pays special attention to the study of the interaction between a person, a subject area, and the environment. In his opinion, the basis of the system model of creativity is the idea that the environment of the Creator consists of two main components: cultural and social. In the process of creativity, he interacts with this environment, making changes to it. It is assumed that there is a certain community of people who have similar thinking styles, learn from each other, and/or imitate each other. In addition to coming up with original ideas, a person must find a way to convince their colleagues of their correctness. According to Csikszentmihalyi, the ability to convince the environment of the importance of accepting and implementing original ideas and innovations is an important aspect of realizing creative potential [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 35–36].

Csikszentmihalyi also points out that the level of economic development of society has a significant impact on the manifestation of creativity. How much creative energy is directed to a particular area depends not only on the number of people who actively show themselves in this area, and their

level of creativity, but also on how much their creative achievements are in demand by society.

The System approach allows us to identify and study “external” factors that affect a person’s creativity, providing an opportunity to analyze the processes of interaction between a creative person and his environment. This requires the development and use of methods for assessing this impact. One of the most popular methods is the psychometric method for evaluating various parameters of creativity [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 36].

The analysis of the main approaches to the study of human creativity and creativity shows that most of them study these psychological categories only at one level. However, there is now an urgent need for a multi-level analysis of them. Such an analysis can be carried out within the framework of a systematic approach that allows us to study not only personal, but also social, cultural, economic and other determinants of human creative activity. The emergence of this approach is due to an increase in the level of analysis of these psychological categories.

There are quite a lot of other areas in study of creation and creativity in addition to the describing approach [Yagolkovskii, 2007, 39–40].

5. Results interpretation

The film director’s creativity can be studied using a systematic approach to understanding creativity. This is both the creativity of a single person (artist), and the context in which the act of creating and releasing a film takes place, as well as the surroundings (critics, journalists, viewers), which are able to evaluate the work and recognize the category of creativity. The creativity of the director as an individual consists in the ability to construct a unique film reality. Now we will reveal the characteristic features of the film reality of films directed by Zvyagintsev. First of all, it is worth noting that the film reality of the director’s films is extremely culture-centric.

The language of the films of Zvyagintsev is woven from different modal quotes: cinematic, pictorial-graphic, sculpture-statuary, rhythm-melodic, musical, television. At the same time, the master so confidently subordinates the fragments and allusions to the logic of his artistic narration, that a unique author’s work is born out of the intermedial and multimodal intertextual fabric. Picturesque lines of frescoes of the Ferapontov Monastery, landscapes of I. Levitan and N. Kuindzhi, pictures of P. Bruegel the Elder and I. Bosch, literary motifs of F Dostoevsky and A. Chekhov, M. Gorky and A. Camus,

movie motifs of A. Tarkovsky and I. Bergman are used in Zvygintsev's films [Gudova, 2019, 1043].

Some scenes of his films refer to the canvases of the greatest works of fine art. For example, in one of the scenes in the film "Loveless" (2017), which shows children playing in the snow and figures of passers-by near the heroes' house, we see an allusion to the painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder "The Hunters in the Snow" (Jagers in de Sneeuw; 1565). It shows the irreversibility and serenity of the course of life against the background of the tragedy of the heroes' lovelessness. The film also shows the color scheme and mood of paintings by Andrew Wyeth (1917–2009), Edward Hopper (1882–1967), Rockwell Kent (1882–1971), Thomas De Keyser (1596–1679) ("The Company of Cpt. Allaert Cloeck and Lt. Lucas Jacob", 1632, a scene in an elevator with the main character, the boy's father), Rene Magritte (1898–1967) ("The lovers" (1928), blindfolded as a representation of total closeness or deliberate closing from reality), by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). In the movie "The Banishment" (2007), children collect a puzzle in the form of Leonardo da Vinci's painting "the Annunciation" (1472–1475). It is known that the references to "The Banishment" (2007) were the canvases of the American artist Andrew Wyeth (1917–2009), which set the color and aesthetic framework of the film, and also give the film scenes a mood of irresistible loneliness for each of the characters. The scene with the sleeping father in the film "The Return" (2003) — repeats the composition of the painting "Dead Christ" (1490) by the Italian artist of the early Renaissance Andrea Mantegna. This approach, which implies quoting and allusions of the director to the works of world art culture, introduces its own aesthetic framework, in addition to the frame of the film frame itself.

The space-time continuum of the films is defined by events of the present time and modernity. These are houses, blocks of new buildings, disadvantaged areas ("Elena", 2011), clothing, furniture, acting as "markers" of rich and poor life, middle class life ("Loveless", 2017). Signs are literally read by the gaze of the beholder. However, the special emphasis of the prolonged disturbing chord (Philip Glass, Arvopärt) is left by the plots displayed by the director, which can be conditionally called "Chronicles of the inevitable", arising from seemingly everyday situations: the arrival of the father ("The Return", 2003); pregnancy of the spouse ("The Banishment", 2007); making a will ("Elena", 2011); divorce of the spouses ("Loveless", 2017).

6. Conclusions

The director's creativity is manifested in the ability to work with various significant sections of reality, to organize the movie reality, saturating it with relevant meanings through reference to the achievements of world art culture (quotes, references, visual, auditory and color images).

Also, the most important feature of Zvyagintsev's film reality is intertextuality, which is one of the most important strategies for constructing the text of a work of art in modern postmodern art. Moreover, we can also talk about hyperintertextuality as the construction of more intense and explicit connections between texts and artistic statements. As a result, individual texts are instantly linked to many other discourses. The hyperintertextuality inherent in Zvyagintsev's work makes it possible to raise the viewer's inner gaze from a private plot presented in films to reflections on the eternal, on the meaning of human life and the future of humanity.

As a conclusion, we can highlight the features of the film reality of Zvyagintsev's films. We have reviewed and analyzed the films "The Return", "The Banishment", "Elena", "Leviathan", "Loveless" and we can say that the general characteristics of the space-time reality are, on the one hand, a kind of mythological plot that refers to some eternal history from the field of myth. And on the other hand, stringing this plot on the realities of modern Russia, with an emphasis on the director's own disturbing worldview, when ordinary actions gradually lead to horrific tragic results, each of his movies. The time axis is characterized by Zvyagintsev's consistent development of events, this is the time of the origin of the conflict and its resolution. Space acts as a space of "conflict resolution", it is a modern city, district and its surroundings in each of the films. Moreover it should be emphasized how the director uses the film language to create a timeless atmosphere — this is a remote island in the movie "The Return", a house on a hill in the movie "The Banishment", or a house on the bay in the movie "Leviathan", when we see a giant whale swimming in the waters of the sea or the skeleton of a huge cetacean on the shore.

It means that Zvyagintsev shows us, as it seems at first glance, the usual coordinated system, but by introducing his own author's marks, markers, he gives it a cultural-centered meaning; the director enters into a dialogue with the audience, relying on the system of eternal artistic and cultural values of humanity.

The creativity of the director can be marked as a system category (through a system approach), covering both the act of thinking of the film director himself, including his socio-cultural environment, as well as the process of creating the film's environment (cinematographic methods and techniques) — creativity as a product or result. In this case, it is a film that touches a certain problem area, released and received wide international recognition.

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Art & Science Potential in the Development of Russian Scientific Communication in the Museum Exhibition Policy Context

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Abstract: Art projects are usually expected to have the form of dual communication. Now we can see growing interest in the modern practice of technological art in Russia. The key aspect of the human-oriented models development is seen in the results of scientific and technological development actualization through the complex objects of art & science. This is proved by the example of the interdisciplinary project “ChaosMeasure: science as a way of communication”.

Keywords: exhibition project, media environment, modern museum, scientific communication, technological art

1. Introduction

Today, we can state a century of technological art development in Russia in the context of a changing historical picture, political discourse, and world concepts. Some examples of technological (scientific) art in Russia of the twentieth century were interpreted in the study of the practices of the avant-garde, underground and nonconformism, contemporary art of the turn of the XX–XXI centuries. At the same time, there was so little attempts to consider technological (scientific) art as an original phenom-

enon, to explore its semantic boundaries, artistic qualities, strategies, and socio-cultural role in the development of such a phenomenon as scientific communication.

Modern forms of communication practices in art & science projects of cultural and artistic orientation are interactive and meet the high requirements of immersion, which allows museums and scientific institutions to involve a wide range of recipients and visitors in their processes. Art projects are often expected to have a form of two-way communication, in contrast to declarative or didactic variations of classical and contemporary art. In this regard, in the environment of the technological art project it is not easy to make the formation and correction of public opinion and individual insinuations in the field of non-verbal communication on certain issues.

In this context, we can draw attention to the growing interest in the technological art (the field of Art & Science — Bioart, RoboticsArt, Neuroart, AI+art, etc.) in modern exhibition activities in Russia. Over the past years have been regularly held exhibitions, art and competition projects based on the technological capabilities of modern science. It should be noted that projects such as “Innovation as a method in art” (Saint Petersburg, 2018) and “Daemons in the Machine” (Moscow, 2018), which were relevant and had a wide resonance, went beyond the borders of cultural capitals. In 2018–2019, we note similar artistic initiatives in Perm, Ekaterinburg, and Vladivostok (“New state of life”, Perm, 2019; “New anthropology”, Koltushi, 2019, and others). This growing popularity of technological art is currently reflected in the cultural policy of many regions of the Russian Federation, and as a result, requires a meaningful analysis not only from the point of view of art institutions, but also from the point of view of forming an objective view of the development of science and technology in society, which the scientific communication is responsible for.

The second key aspect lies in the development of human-oriented models in various manifestations of public policy and, in particular, terms of updating the results of scientific and technological development in Russia. Dynamic and continuously updated information about the current development of high science and technology are already included in the cultural context of our time. The development of digital culture and the transfer of *locus agendi* to the virtual digital environment actually call into question the relevance of the national identity and cultural integrity criteria and blurs the boundaries of acceptable verbal and non-verbal communication practices in modern

Russian society. Contextualization of these phenomena through the prism of art projects (exhibitions, competitions) should be reflected in the strategies of visual, verbal and mediative communication of contemporary art projects and art & science initiatives in Russia. Creating a human-oriented environment in modern innovative scientific and cultural centers is a priority goal of the current agenda and is focused on the development of scientific, educational and socially significant areas in Russia and internationally.

In this regard, it is necessary to analyze the existing strategies of cultural and museum communication in technological art projects: to investigate both, assessing the communicative and immersive possibilities of involving different groups of recipients (in order to avoid the development of cultural exclusion zones (age, level of education, inclusive aspect)), and creating conditions for forming a reliable idea of the nature of high-tech phenomena and science. However, for explicating art & science projects, it is necessary to analyze the stereotypes and prejudices about science as a human reaction to new conditions of its existence in the context of high-tech activities results.

Such an assessment will create an information environment for modern cultural policy in Russia, which includes development and popularization of science and high technologies. The experience of meaningful dialogue within art & science projects will strengthen two-way communication using visual means of technological art, reduce the risks of information distortion, the emergence of zones of cultural, digital or technological exclusion, and as a result, prevent cultural conflicts.

2. Main part

2.1. The subject

The focus of the research study are art & science projects presented in the period from 2019 to the present at exhibition project “ChaosMeasure: science as a way of communication”. They are media objects with a different range of basic areas of natural science knowledge and technologies-biology, genetics, quantum physics, and others. Individual examples of technological art in this case may have two or more basic technologies, be formulated in the context of different discursive components, and correspond to several specific strategies in the field of scientific communication. In this case, the methods and properties of the rhizome will be applied to them in the research of objects in artistic practice that are syncretic in nature.

Comparison of the objects, combined with analysis of institutional critique, public opinion, and the evolution of the genre, will reveal the specific features and situational characteristics of the individual phases of objects' representation and the interaction with them in the viewer. The study of the communicative significance of the interaction between the recipient and the object in technological art in the case under study will identify and update potential communicative and social risks in the development of modern art culture in contact with Art & Science practice.

2.2. Methodology and methods of research

The corpus of scientific methods is defined by the research strategy. Taking into account the fundamental importance of studying the communicative potential of Art & Science, analysis of its content and characteristics of the cross-section of public opinion, expert opinion of professional groups, the key for this project are:

- situational analysis (case-study) with the identification and analysis of the case of a directly implemented exhibition and art project, and related situations of ethical, cultural or aesthetic conflicts, the response ("resonance") of society to the proposed communication solutions;
- content analysis, for the purpose of subject study and analysis of the content of explications of technological art projects selected for research. Content analysis of this group of materials will allow you to compare and identify specific features, similarities, and differences in the content of documentation describing the strategy and direction of development of exhibition and exhibition activities related to technological art. It will also be possible to observe and specify the direction/directions of development of such projects, determine the characteristic technological forms of project implementation, the most popular methods of communication practices and mediation in their implementation, which influence the formation of public opinion;
- in-depth interviews, in order to obtain an objective opinion and assess the current communication strategies, conflicts of various types that arise on the sites during the implementation of exhibition and competition projects in the field of art & science. An in-depth interview was conducted with the curators of the scientific, exhibition and exhibition parts of the "ChaosMeasure: science as a means of communication" project. The interview results will allow the establishment of metrics, including a description of marker traits in the focus groups, individual recipients, focused on projects

and exhibitions of technological art in Russia, to define strategic goals and principles of museum communication in the implementation of projects of technological art; to identify groups of recipients, conditional cultural alienation is excluded from the curatorial strategies to localize the definition of the role of science and technology in the components of communicative strategies.

Among the research methods, traditionally characterized research in the field of art history is assumed to refer to fundamental concepts for the proposed study are definitely the previously mentioned “rhizome” (Deleuze, Guattari), and the concept of the simulacrum (Baudrillard) and the whole mythologizing of contemporary culture by R. Barth. Taking into account the versatility of technological art, it is hypothetically assumed to follow the method of comparative research based on strictly formulated metrics. Various characteristics will serve as the boundaries of research metrics. Firstly, the technological basis of the phenomenon (art object, installation, performance, etc.), namely the natural science base for creating an object (wave theory, sound, optical technologies, synthetic biology, digital technologies, neurotechnologies, artificial intelligence, etc.). Differentiation by basic technology will allow one to analyze the nature of artistic communication in the process of the viewer’s dialogue with Art & Science objects and describe variations in strategies and dependence on the technological component. Secondly, to construct the metrics the strict attention should be paid to the degree of the language universality and the desire to overcome the stable fragmentation. This is more typical for the culture of postmodern (Foucault), then for the technological art. The universality of the language of modern science and high technologies determines the high degree of homogeneity of phenomena in technological, and wider Art & Science. Comparison by metrics, combined with analysis of institutional criticism, public opinion, and the evolution of the genre itself, will reveal specific features that have remained present over a long period of study, and historical-specific features that are characteristic of individual stages of cultural development. In the latter case, it is possible to refer to the basic principles of the historical and cultural method.

2.3. Description of the research

One of the factors that determine the nature of social processes in the modern digital economy is the use of the results of scientific research and high-tech developments in the humanities, including artistic fields.

In this sense, Art & Science projects (including technological art), obviously react on the interaction of science, man and society in the field of artistic practice. At the same time, without emphasizing direct economic effects of certain scientific discoveries and technologies, art projects based on these technologies, using them, strive to preserve the primacy of basic humanistic values and actualize issues of the ethical spectrum. Such contradictions, for example, were noticed during early experiments on noise extraction in the 1920s by practitioners of the Russian avant-garde and Italian futurists (Druskin), and later in the development of contemporary art in the second half of the twentieth century.

Practice of technological art, which affects such actors as the viewer, society, and modern (digital) culture, becomes the most specific object for monitoring the development of communication practices and strategies in the existing modern culture. Analysis of this practice gives the modern researcher an understanding of the current development direction and a certain field for foresight decisions.

This problem attracted great attention in the research of the twentieth century and, given the complex nature of the phenomenon sought, is considered within the framework of various aspects and scientific traditions in the field of art theory, philosophy, and STS. In general terms, the specifics and socio-cultural consequences of scientific and technological progress are described by the classics of the globalization theory (Beck, Huntington). The most important principles of research on the impact of digital technologies on modern society were laid down by M. McLuhan. The philosophy of digital culture becomes the subject of theoretical discourse and the theory of new media (Heim, Erwit, Swan, Manovich). In general, the research interest of the 1990s-2010's is still focused on the consideration of certain aspects of the relationship between art and technology, where technology is defined as the dominant force in the dynamics of socio-cultural processes (Wilson, Paul, Rinehart and Heylis).

Technological art and its manifestations are interpreted in the context of research on the philosophy of digital culture in the practice of Russian researchers — V. Kutyrev, T. Martirosyan, V. Rozin, N. Mankovskaya, D. Galkin. The works of T. Adorno had a significant impact on research in the field of transformation of ideas of humanism under the influence of the development of technology. The problem of the significance of technology development is revealed in the complex of the philosophical heritage of postmod-

ernism by V. Benjamin, J. Baudrillard, J. Liotard, and P. Virilio, which forms the theoretical basis for studying the relationship between technology and society and their impact on culture and art in the years 1970–1990. Individual works of researchers such as D. Bulatov, D. Galkin, J. Hauser, L. Beloff, and R. Blessing focus on defining strategies for contemporary art, including certain aspects of Art & Science theory.

Several types of convergent relations are developing in the digital culture: man-man, including through the mediation of digital tools, man-machine and machine-machine. In a certain sense, these dual pairs work in the context of modern technological art as part of the communication process between the creator, the object, and the recipient (viewer). In this dialogue, one of the key roles is played by understanding the technology, the technological chain, or the involved high-tech solution that underlies the author's message. In many cases, we register the need to understand the scientific component in order to verify the author's idea (S. Jonson, T. Schubert, etc.). In this regard, the statement that the face of modern technologies determines the substrata of modern culture, including art, is not unfounded and affects socio-cultural contexts. The nature of this dialogue is also changing due to the involvement of people in virtual consumption. In this sense, the virtual space created by the aura of a contemporary art object is part of a postmodern turn in culture and an organic part of it that actively flirts with the category of simulacra. The other side of these communication processes is the blurring of the lines between man and machine, since in the digital paradigm there is no functional difference between a signal coming from a machine and a human agent. Appealing to the object in the conflict, the viewer associates it with the dialog agent, with the "live" vis-a-vis in this dialogue, to the artist, while the grain of the conflict may lie a literal distance defined by the inability to comprehend the essence of the technological basis on which the concept of an artistic object is built (N. Wiener). Thus, the source of conflicts in the new technological environment and in the conditions of digital culture is the ambiguity of the recipient's (viewer's) ideas about the nature and form of interaction with the field of high technologies through an art object. Taking into account the fundamentally different goal setting of these relationships, the range of interspecific conflicts that arise during conditional "communication" is quite wide and occurs against the background of adjusting the strategies of modern art under the influence of a rapidly changing scientific picture of the world.

Currently, with the existing hyperbolization of the relationship between a person and a technological solution (for example, digital or robotic), there is an understanding that the solution of communication practices is no longer limited by the rules of Isaac Asimov. Humanistic value, as a derivative that arises from a meaningful encounter with an art object, in this case is transformed under the influence of the conditions, opportunities and boundaries of a new form of interaction — immersive, interactive, digital. Digital environments and media that differ in the qualities of immersiveness and convergence form a fundamentally new meta-language of communication and, as a result, are cited in the strategies of modern technological art.

In this regard, the study of phenomena originating from the early practice of technical figurative arts and their inheriting of technological artistic practices and strategies of modern art in the field of Art & Science, which do not have a precedent/casual basis, but are based on a deep analysis of the phenomenon, taking into account the trends in the evolution of modern science and digital culture, is an urgent issue of modern complex research in the field of art and scientific communication.

The interdisciplinary exhibition project “ChaosMeasure: science as a way of communication” was selected as a project relevant to two areas: modern research interest — Scientific Communication and Art & Science. The exhibition part of the project included art objects by media artists: Olaf Schirm, Natalia Alfutova, IBIOM group, Vladlena Gromova and Artem Paramonov, Egor Kraft, Natalia Fedorova, Marta de Mendes, Paul Vanuz, 18apples group, Anais Tondor, Elena Nikonole, Vasily Sumin. Turning to the representation of the artistic process and experience at the intersection of art and science, the curators included in the project a wide range of sections of science and art media: from robotics (the Melt object is an Autonomous robotic projection device) and digital technologies (“Content Aware Studies”, Egor Kraft) to ornithology (“Language of Birds”, Elena Nikonole) and biotechnologies (“AntiMarta//I’m”, Marta de Mendes; “LABOR”, Paul Vanuz; “MetabolA.I.”, Ippolit Markelov). The works selected by the curators illustrate the thematic tracks of the exhibition project — “Art & Science today”, “Life Forms”, “Non-Life Forms”, “Quantum in Art”. It should be noted that the curatorial text contains a reference to the scope of the project — “the exhibition does not claim to cover a wide range of issues in the field of Art&Science, but is a cross-section of current practices and an illustration of the most significant, in our opinion, topics.” The main discourse of “ChaosMeasure”

is obviously in the plane of discussion, which forms and makes relevant in the current agenda the main points of the institutional and interdisciplinary interpenetration of the fields of scientific knowledge and the metaphorical language of art. In this way, artistic practices related to technology are becoming another, now less familiar, platform for public discussion about creating a life-oriented humane environment in the era of technological change.

3. Results and their interpretation

As part of the research, an open interview was conducted for visitors of the interdisciplinary exhibition project “ChaosMeasure: science as a means of communication”. The interview was conducted as part of the exhibition program at the St. Petersburg communications museum in February 2020. The core of the respondents (over 50 %) was a group of museum visitors aged 18–24 years, students and graduates of higher educational institutions. The three main questions of the survey metric were addressed to the study of expectations from the form and method of communication (dialogue) built between the viewer and objects of technological art. For example, when asked about the preferred form of organizing a museum visit along with traditional independent visits (43.5 %), respondents pointed to the advantages of mediation (14.1 %) and conversations/meetings with the artist (37.1 %). It is obvious that building a two-way effective communication with an object that has a strong scientific and technical medium required more explanations for the viewer than the existing explication. The increasing role of the mediator (“translator” and “facilitator”) in the modern practice of exhibition activity is mentioned by J. Falk, where he points out the increasing role of social and psycho-emotional connections between the viewer (visitor) and the object in the process of “Museum travel”, which is based on the help of a “guide” [Falk, 2006, 156–157]. The answers to the question related to the expectation of greater interactivity and involvement of the subject of communication in the processes of a conditional museum in the future also appeal to this. Thus, the majority of respondents, describing the basic features of the “museum of the future”, pointed to the need for “involvement with the presented object, i. e., direct participation, not observation of the fence”, “interactivity, which allows you to make a trip to the museum emotionally filled and memorable” and “inclusion, interactivity, multi-functionality” (hereafter, spelling, punctuation, style of the author are preserved). It is interesting to note that only one out of 65 respondents mentions the inclusion, which may indicate that there is still a low

culture and widespread experience in interacting with inclusive formats and programs when implementing exhibition projects. In the field of technological art, the socially applicable norms of the inclusion have some limitations. On the other hand, the widespread use of digital media in the creation of art objects, on the contrary, expands the possibilities of inclusive programs through technological metaphor and flexibility in the art objects presentation.

The problem of so-called technological or digital inequality has a certain specificity, the signs of which have recently become more common in the assessments of Art & Science projects among non-professional visitors. By its nature, it belongs to the field of information ethics, where the problems of digital inequality are considered. Capurro, the director of the International center for information ethics, notes that this is not only a “problem of technical access”, but also raises a number of issues in connection with new digital interactive formats that create “the danger of exploitation, leveling, colonialism and discrimination in the sphere of culture”. An open information society, in his view, requires taking into account the properties of hybrid communication, “delineating new contours of freedom and peace in a society that is increasingly determined by the influence of digital technologies” [Capurro, 2010, 12].

In this context, it is interesting to quote one of the respondents of the ChaosMeasure exhibition, concerning the description of the viewer’s feeling in the space of the curator’s technological and artistic context: “visitors feel that they have come to a foreign territory, that they do not belong there, or they feel that they cannot understand and need an explanation. People need to be given accessible tools so that they can independently discover art and feel “on an equal footing” with the exhibition.” Such technological and medial alienation/exclusion in curatorial practice was the focus of the exhibition “Technology as Context” (2014), where curators Alan Liedts and Isolde de Buck looked at current art and already traditional media through the prism of new technologies. The medium of programmed communication for them was to introduce objects and images of “both art and scientific discoveries and innovative technologies”, which in general allowed the viewer to “change the ways of thinking and understanding the world” [Lidts and de Buk, 2014, 12]. At the same time, the main object of perception here remained technology and its contextual capabilities. In the project “ChaosMeasure: science as a way of communication”, curators take a step towards understanding, making scientific communication not a subject of curatorial research, but a way of orga-

nizing the process of knowledge — “Art & Science is an area where the most modern scientific and technological developments are critically interpreted, and therefore it is there that we can see the border of cognoscibility. The challenges that the further development of artificial intelligence, the prospects of quantum technologies, the reinterpretation of the concept of man under the pressure of the latest developments in the field of biotechnology-these and other issues are raised by artists in the works selected for the exhibition” [curatorial text, O. Remneva, L. Savina, 2019]. An integral part of this project is a public and educational program where artists, Art & Science researchers, scientists and mediators literally build communication tracks for the viewer with the field of interspecific dialogues in nature, quantum physics, and digital technologies. The participation of representatives of various professional communities, including academic ones, creates an environment of trustful communication for visitors to the ChaosMeasure exhibition.

4. Conclusions

In modern museum and exhibition activities, there is obviously an interest in hybridization and thematic fusion of various objects of museum design. Previously accepted conventional norms and ideas about “scientific” and “art” museums remain inapplicable in cases where the basis of dialogue (communication) about the current scientific agenda and innovative high technologies is the explication of objects of technological art. The nature of this communication is twofold, as it forces the curator to explain himself in two professional languages at once-the metaphor of art and the language of science. In this regard, an important task in building strategies for cultural and Museum communication in technological art projects is to assess the communicative and immersive capabilities of viewers. Involving different groups of recipients in the scientific discourse through Art & Science objects requires taking into account age parameters, educational level, and the inclusive aspect in order to avoid the development of cultural exclusion zones. It should be taken into account that the appeal to Art & Science, from the point of view of creating conditions for the formation of a reliable understanding of the nature of high-tech phenomena of science, requires a meaningful construction of a mediation program and the popularization of scientific knowledge. Meanwhile, this art direction can be a representative basis for building a dialogue between society and representatives of the scientific environment in the context of the current technological agenda, digital

culture and the culture of the future. Due to the mixture of technology and art in objects of Art & Science, the society understands deeply the aspirations and movements of modern science.

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The Role of a Mediator in the Participatory Practices in the Museum (Mediation and Facilitated Discussion)

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Abstract: In the era of the participation culture “viewer-inclusive” methods of communication in the museum have become in demand almost everywhere. The authors pose a question to the master of such a communication practices role. Analyzing participatory practices in terms of the achieved results, the authors appeal to the experience of art mediation (D. Malikova, E. Kochukhov, M. Lind, C. Mörsh), the VTC method (A. Housen, P. Yenawine) and its version adapted for Russian students — facilitated discussion (N. V. Ievleva, M. V. Potapova). The master of participatory practices acts as a part of an art environment. The master determines the perception and description norms for an art object,

even if the traditional position of the teacher and expert is deliberately rejected. The development of creative thinking is the result of both methods. But if facilitated discussion primarily develops aesthetic literacy, then art mediation expands the museum communicative environment, attracting visitors from different demographic and psychographic groups and numerous communities.

Keywords: participatory practices, mediation, facilitated discussion, mediator, facilitator, art museum, aesthetic development, communication

1. Introduction

“New literacy” paradigm implies not only new communication languages and information formats, but also a change of the ways it is obtained. In a post-industrial society, each item has an economic meaning: it is important not only what is said, but also how it is said, how it is conveyed and interpreted, and consumers’ interest of course. The old scenario of the simple “transferring” of authentic knowledge from teacher to student is not working today: “Traditional pedagogy, directed from the top down, does not contribute to the development of a thinking progressive society, which should ask questions, deeply explore problems and generate new relationships,” S. Angiama notes [Manifesta workbook, 2014, 16]. According to A. Danto, modern art is a phenomenon which only the art professional community and relevant institutions can distinguish. We need mechanisms and technologies, as well as guides and institutions that ensure the functioning of art in modern culture.

Today, in art museums the roles of three traditional subjects-participants of art practices are changing. Firstly, the author ceases to be an autonomous founder of the meaning of the work. This was declared by M. Duchamp in the first half of the twentieth century. “It is the participation of the viewer that creates the picture” and “the artist did not create anything until the viewer said: “That’s fine.” The audience has the last word” [Duchamp, 2016]. “The works of a modern artist represent a fundamentally different — “open” — type of work,” says the esthetician E. Orel [Orel, 2017, 156]. This happens in the eternal process of “artist — viewer”dialogue, where the last word will be said by the viewer; also, it is caused in new forms of art: ready-made, promotions, performance, plays, proms, street-art when viewers become participants of the art work. Secondly, the role of the Museum worker-“the guide” (teacher) is now perceived as “passive” by both guides and tourists. This model is inconvenient for viewers who are accused of ignorance, but it also became not suitable the expert, who strives for activity, and much more

sympathetic to the role of an “illiterate teacher” [Rancier, 2018] than a “keeper of values”. Thirdly, the viewer (student) also strives for action, and the “culture of the recipient” is forming in museums [Weibel, 2012]. “Contemporary art presupposes the active participation of the viewer in the artistic process”, declared in Manifesto 10 [Manifesta 10, 2014]. The research of Museum auditories “21st Century Skills” made by the American Institute of Museum and library services (IMLS), highlights the stimulation of critical thinking, creativity, communication skills, the ability to partner, cooperate and produce new meanings, interdisciplinary and cross-cultural thinking, visual literacy, and, among other things, working with media resources [Museums, Libraries, and 21st Century Skills: Definitions]. Fourthly, the museum environment is changing and more and more specimens are becoming digital. Media art theorist Peter Weibel writes: “And if over the next decades we can’t adapt to the new behaviors learned by online viewers, the museum’s function will become outdated, as the viewer will say: “I only go to a Museum when I want to experience the old-fashioned cultural behaviors. When I want to experience a modern model of cultural behavior, I won’t go to a museum, because if it throws me back to the XIX and XX centuries.” So, in my opinion, museums must adopt a new way of doing things” [Weibel, 2012].

What is the role of a mediator accompanying visitors in the museum? What may the mediator change in the perception of art? What should the mediator inspire the viewer to be active, to extract information from what he saw, make independent judgments and get satisfaction from mental work?

There are many scenarios of participatory museum practices, so it makes sense to analyze the difference between existing practices. The difference will be located in the “goal-result” field and directly depend on the behavior of the mediator (the guide).

2. Methodology

The development of the museum participation culture makes participatory practices more and more popular. The main thing that changes participatory practices is the transition of the museum (exhibition) paradigm from the “Keeper of values” format to the communicative one. Analyzing the specifics of participatory museum practices, we rely on the one hand on philosophical studies of the aesthetic perception, on the other on the experience of applying new methods and their understanding in the framework of Museum education.

Sociological analysis of the aesthetic theory, proposed by P. Bourdieu, allows us to understand several important points. Firstly, art museum is an institution that allows, through specialized agents (guides), to impose on the viewer the norm of seeing a work of art. Secondly, this vision is conditioned by the language of art description. Thirdly, the form of interaction between the art object and the viewer, mediated by the museum, has a historical conditionality.

Rejecting “essentialist thinking”, Bourdieu suggests replacing the ontological question with a historical one and analyzing the art environment formation. “We should analyze the emergence of specific institutions, influencing economy of cultural goods” [Bourdieu, 2003, 23]. He refers to specialized agents who possess the specific knowledge of art perception and evaluation and are able to “impose a specific way of measuring the value of the artist and his products.” They are critics, art historians, and collectors who determine the norms of vision and description of an art object. The perception of art needs the help of a language that can express what we see and at the same time force our eyes to see in a certain way.

“One of the most important is undoubtedly the creation of an artistic language. First of all, this is a way of naming the artist, to talk about him, about the nature and value of his work (not only financial). At the same time, art language is a way to talk about painting itself and painting technique, using special words, often pairs of adjectives that allow us to talk about art (*manifattura*) and even about the special manner of the artist” [Bourdieu, 2003, 23]. The categories of artistic language differ from words used in everyday speech. The art discourse allows numerous agents, including the author, to produce “objects recognized as artistic”. For a visitor of an art museum who does not know the tools of perception and evaluation, the language of art description and does not know all that Bourdieu calls labels and codes, a work of art has not any meaning and value. “The aesthetic view constitutes a work of art as such” — he says [19–20], on the other hand, the aesthetic view itself is a product of training.

We can conclude that the museum is not only a place for displaying art, but also a place that forms the consumer of art. And, as we assume, the appearance of modern museum practices is the result of the functioning of a whole complex of dependent elements.

One of these elements is a change in the social demand for the goals and objectives of museum activities, which are not limited only to the display

of art collections. This is clearly seen in modern works devoted to the problem of aesthetic perception.

Jacques Rancier sees the attitude of power in the professional aesthetic discourse — a strategy of keeping dumb. That's why he demands the viewer's independence from the mediators (teachers) who impose "only true" knowledge. Although Rancier is speaking about the theater, it is obvious that his ideas can be transmitted to the visual arts in general: "Emancipation begins when the opposition between view and action raises questions in our mind. It begins when we understand that the wathing is also an action that accepts or transforms a given distribution of positions. The viewer also acts as a student or scientist. The viewer observes, selects, compares, interprets" [Rancier, 2018, 16].

The "ignorant teacher" and the "independent student" are complementary, equal subjects of aesthetic perception, and their views equally constitute and enrich an art object. Rancier rejects the fact that the mediator (teacher) and the viewer (student) are having identical views of the work, artistic intent and perception. Truth, if it exists, is somewhere between the teacher and the student, the artist and the spectator. "The logic of the emancipation assumes that in addition to the ignorant teacher and the independent student, there is always a third thing — a book or a fragment of text that has nothing to do with either. This is the third thing that the student and the teacher can turn to in order to jointly verify what the student saw, what he says about it, and what he thinks" [Rancier, 2018, 18]. Any art object is a third thing that acquires the postmodern characteristics of a text, which is open to endless interpretations. The rejection of traditional discourse may be dictated by the belief that not only the mediator, but also the art work itself, should not be considered as a translator of the author's idea and depend on professional criticism proving its aesthetic status. Independence of the viewer implies a different way of art perception. Perception, for which all opinions are equal and depend on personal experience. "Being a spectator is our normal situation. When we study and teach, act and learn, we are the same viewers who every second connect the visible with all the things we have already seen, said, done and imagined" [Rancier, 2018, 20].

In that way, the educational attitude (to reveal the author's intention), formulated in the Soviet tradition by the question "What did the artist want to tell us?", has now changed into the new question: "What do we see?". M. Lind notices that this question "often collides with the modernist idea of art, which

is not imposed on the viewer, but (should be) self-sufficient so that it can “speak for itself”, outside of “external” contexts. Which leads to a pedagogy devoid of context — “what you see and what you feel” [Lind, 2018]. The appeal to the viewer, in this case, is devoid of the appeal characteristic of modernism to connoisseurs, whose aesthetic sensitivity is due to artistic literacy. For J. Ortega y Gasset the language of art — the condition and the consequence of artistic susceptibility, allows you to separate the spiritual aristocracy from the masses. The basic principle of Ortega y Gasset’s philosophy, which claims for the anti-egalitarian status of authentic art, is a specific vision and description norms. “New art divides the public into two classes — those who understand and those who do not understand the art — artists and those who are not artists” [p. 236]. Being an artist for Ortega is, among other things, the ability to see the artistic. This is ability of the small number of experts, critics, sophisticated viewers, who are opposed to the power of the ignorant masses. The reverse side of the processes of democratization, that terrified him, was the widespread belief that the art can transform the viewer’s consciousness and expand it by a “true” experience of aesthetic vision, approved by specialists. An artistic discourse remains under the power of the expert who owns the truth, and the student’s view is ignorant. But taking the position of Rancier, we must remember that the viewer should not see exactly what the artist wanted to express, or what the teacher wants to put into it. Equalizing the positions of all participants in communication — the viewer acting as a student and a teacher, the artist and the work generates freedom of interpretation — offers freedom of view and expression.

In the 1960s A. Danto used an analytical method to study art, its language and boundaries. The scientist discovered the “world” of art and interpreted it as a holistic phenomenon that could no be longer perceived in a linear paradigm. The artist sees something, not as existing in reality, but as existing for himself. For the viewer, this vision, even interpreted by the artist, is not obvious, and never fully coincides with the artist’s vision. The viewer reassembles the work based on his own preferences and judgments. It makes us understand that art is neither a pure abstraction, nor also the part of everyday life, all those real things. He noted: “... this case is almost sociological” [Danto, 1964, 584]. In English language, “to see” means not only the action of the organ of vision, but also watching, that is, when the verb means not only to see, but also to understand. This means a fact that usually happens to us: before we see something, we are already influenced by it, we are always

under the influence of previously accepted, traditional things. As a result, all we can do with this is to reassemble it, in accordance with our own preferences, insofar as tradition allows us to do this, because it always strives to be interpreted, translated, even distorted, but still transmitted [Duv, 2014]. By reassembling tradition and imbuing it with our own feelings, each of us creates a new reality, just as art creates its 'own world'. The name and display of showpieces, the entire space of the museum guide the viewer to a certain understanding of the work — based on this principle that A. Barr built exhibitions. But the viewer does not even realize it.

According to A. Huysen, postmodernism affected the status of the museum and its functions, "the understanding of the role of the museum as a place of elite preservation of culture was replaced by the perception of it as a place of mass communication with spectacular *mise-en-scène* (spectacular *mise-en-scène*) and opera excesses" [Huysen, 2012]. In an effort to attract the audience, museums are forced to abandon traditional didactics and look for new forms of interaction with the audience, becoming a place of family leisure, entertainment and communication. "New Museum and exhibition practices meet the changing expectations of the audience. An increasing number of viewers are looking for strong feelings, instant revelations, grandiose exhibitions rather than serious and thorough development of cultural knowledge" [Huysen, 2012]. This is also true for the art museum and art-space. Participatory practices appeared due to the necessity to attract both sophisticated art lovers and newcomers who do not have the skills of aesthetic perception nor tools for evaluating and analyzing a work of art.

3. Applying the methodology in Museum education

Today, dozens of communication options are described in various exhibition and educational spaces [Simon, 2017; True needs. True partners: Museums and schools Transforming education, 1996]: this is personalization of visits, network presentations (Anne Frank Museum), "Internet arm wrestling", "live library", "Postsecret", development of co-creation platforms, network projects, mediation, VTS, joint school-museum projects that change educational scenarios. Diane B. Frankel, Director of the Institute of Museum Services gathered 15 active projects of collaboration of schools and museums and various forms of mediation. A large study of 9 chapters and 329 pages, "Time for cultural Mediation", conducted by the Swiss Foundation Pro Helvetia in 2009–2012 and presented in German, French, Italian and English [Time

for Cultural Mediation, 2013], is devoted to cultural mediation, its various forms, among which mediation in the art museum is the leading, but not the only one. The most important function of the museum is “the function to provide space for cultural practices derived from both elite circles of art appreciation and populist strategies for audience development” [Time for Cultural Mediation, 2013, 33].

Maria Lind, a contemporary art theorist and curator, in an article on art mediation, identifies three main museum approaches to working with visitors that were observed throughout the twentieth century: the traditional didactic approach aimed at creating an “enlightened consumer”, the supporter of which she calls Alfred Barr, founder and Director Of the New York Museum of Modern art (MOMA); the approach that puts at the forefront the “participant” visitor, his personality and creativity the “collective spectatorship”. The approach insists on the need for joint, collective meetings with art, involving the viewer in the process of perception and evaluation of works in their own way, so they can be called participatory. All these approaches have a common goal — to connect art and the viewer. They all are forms of mediation, “interaction of art, institutions and the outside world” [Lind, 2018] but they also achieve different goals, aimed at work with different types of users, and possibly with different objects. As for the objects, let’s clarify that if we talk about art exhibitions, completely different methods of audience engagement will work with “traditional” art and unusual for most viewers, sometimes strange and shocking works of modern art.

The first approach can be called the most popular in museums which identify themselves as educational centers. D. Joslit, calling museums “quasi-universities”, “encyclopedias of art works”, evaluates the museum as a project of modernist art producing the visual knowledge [Joslit, 2017]. Museum directors and curators form the exhibition space and accompany the exhibition (excursions) based on the goal of improving the literacy of the audience. Collected and described by, for example, Diane B. Frankel by Diana Frankel projects of close cooperation of schools not only with different museums, when teachers and researchers of museums work successfully together, increasing the effectiveness of lessons and the regular school curriculum, just demonstrate the advantages of this approach. Diane B. Frankel insists that museums and schools together are the most effective way to teach children.

We will interpret the second and third approaches in relation to practices that are actively developing in our country. Lind says that in 1937 MoMA

established an independent educational department under the leadership of Victor D'amico, which began to promote visitor participation: "instead of focusing on pleasure or judging art, the educational department encouraged viewers to explore their own creativity." This approach turns out to be surprisingly modern today: the viewer comes to the museum not to "pour" information into the brain, but to develop it, activate the ability to observe, select, and systematize. These properties are necessary for a modern school-child, a student. The old approach is usually in demand by older generations of visitors, but being passive learners is boring for young people. Museums need special people — mediators whose task is not to "retell" and "convey", but to "connect" and "attract attention" or "get a response". This common task is embodied in various methods that focus on certain processes of interaction between the museum and visitors.

The third, "collectivist" approach, which grew up on the ideology of constructivism (according to Lind) in addition to democratic skills (very important!) it also provides an opportunity for communication in the group, when the audience that has a certain training in the field of art perception can ("brainstorming") increase the degree of this training, along with the ability to express an opinion to each member of the group. This gives museums a chance to play the role of "third place". Nina Simon, describing various museum projects, highlights the fact that visitors begin to feel involved, solving a certain problem together, continue to maintain relationships through social networks, find new friends, and there are examples of joint responsibility, etc.

Ural industrial Biennale creator Daria Malikova says: "If the classical museum is focused on the presentation of collections, and makes decisions based on what it can show to visitors, then the new generation museum is a platform for bidirectional communication, putting involvement and exchange at the forefront" [Malikova, 2015, 24]. Individual museum projects contribute to the formation of stable communities. Here, as in the previous approach, you need a mediator, a specialist who can competently guide the group discussion not so much to the "desired result", but to bring it to some general opinions, generalizations, unite people, and so forth.

We would call the second and third approaches close to art mediation. It is also seen in another practice, VTS, Visual Thinking Strategies, which is presented in a special version, a facilitated discussion in our country, in the Russian Museum.

4. Practical part

4.1. Mediation

The term “kulturvermittlung” cultural mediation, came into museum use in the first decade of the 2000s. In 2013, the Zurich University of the arts published study “Time for Cultural Mediation”, conducted by the Swiss Foundation Pro Helvetia in 2009–2012. K. Mersch, notes the semantic richness of the concept of “mediation”, which is not reducible only to artistic programs: “despite the limited functions of this program, there is a huge variety of approaches and ways to develop problems and issues related to cultural mediation, which makes them applicable to other parameters and activities in which cultural mediation takes place” [Time for cultural mediation, 2013, 15]. Mersch defines mediation as follows: “the term cultural mediation, translated here from the German term “kulturvermittlung” and the French term “médiationculturelle”, although quite open, usually refers to the process of obtaining and discussing knowledge about art and social or scientific phenomena through exchange, reaction and creative response” [Time for Cultural mediation, 2013, 17]. Moreover, Mersch distinguishes the situation of cultural mediation from Museum pedagogy. The new term, mediation, is related not so much to education as to work in the arts, various cultural and social fields: “where ‘education ‘ or ‘teacher’ most often means participation in the formal education sector, the term cultural mediation also allows practitioners to present themselves as part of a wider range of cultural workers in various artistic disciplines working in various cultural and social fields”.

In 2014 St. Petersburg hosted the Manifesta 10 European Biennale, an event that used cultural mediation as its mandatory component. It brought a new phenomenon to the national museum practice, and methodically clarified its application. Manifesta said that the term “mediation” is widely used in Europe in the context of galleries, museums and contemporary art and is an example of gallery or museum education for the general public. Mediators are “literally mediators between the curator’s own vision and the visitors’ perception, which is formed during a joint walk around the exhibition. Art mediation provokes intellectual and sensual communication with artists ‘ works, exchange of opinions, and leaves space for an emotional experience of art. Ordinary human reactions are unavoidable, allowing them to manifest is the best thing a guide, mediator, or guide can do before adding facts from the author’s biography and textbooks on aesthetics” [Manifesta 10. European Biennale of contemporary art, 2014]. Thus, a mediator is a person who does

not give his own assessment of works of art, but participates in the process of forming it in the viewer. The role of the mediator is to facilitate dialogue and knowledge sharing.

D.N. Malikova, curator of Ural industrial Biennale mediation projects since 2015, is a developer of mediation practice in the Urals and sees three parties as mandatory components of a mediator's activity: a translator, a mediator, and a guide [Malikova, 2019]. "In a comprehensive sense, we define mediation as a function of transferring and sharing knowledge in the field of art, implemented with a new understanding of the museum's mission as an cultural dialogue curator" [Malikova, 2015, 43]. The researcher 4th Ural industrial Biennale E. S. Kochukhova notes that the mediation project at the Biennale "is one of the first steps towards a new museum communication. The advantages of this project are positive feedback from the audience, as well as relevant examples for further research confirming that museum practices are really undergoing transformation" [Kochukhova, 2019, 268].

Lind understands mediation as a "dating service" that helps to establish the contact between the people and things. Mediation "is dedicated to creating contact surfaces between people, works of art, and curatorial projects; it establishes various forms and adjusts the intensity of communication around and about art" [Lind, 2018]. The term "mediation" has now become a broad concept that combines meanings from psychosocial mediation to techniques of art history analysis. Each exhibition institution uses "mediation" with its own understanding. Art mediation that accompanies contemporary art exhibitions has its own characteristics.

The authors of this article have previously noted that mediation radically changes not only the status and purpose of the guide figure in a modern Museum. The mediator changes the very principle of communication between an exhibition site employee and the audience [Bulatova, Zhuravleva, Melnikova, 2019]. The task of the mediator is to ask questions and encourage the viewer to observe their reactions who no longer expects to get a ready-made explanation, he understands that the meaning comes from within. The mediator, as a conductor of communication, focuses on viewers, on their feelings and experiences. It becomes obvious to the viewer that a lot depends on their reactions and their position. Not being an "expert", the mediator becomes a "trigger", he has the right to make mistakes and express dubious interpretations, thereby arousing the viewer's protest or support, his interest in finding his own pro and contra arguments. All this leads to the eman-

cipation of the viewer, who becomes an active participant in the process of understanding the work finding real psychological contact with it.

4.2. Facilitated discussion

Facilitated (free) discussion is another method of communicating with the audience in the museum, which was developed by N. V. Ievleva and M. V. Potapova in relation to the audience of senior schoolchildren and students [Ievleva, 2018] in the early 2000s. The method is based on the use of VTS, a Visual Thinking Strategy that was created and has been practiced by A. Hausen and P. Yenawine since 1993 [Hausen, 2001–2002; Visual Thinking Strategies].

The essence of the VTS method is group work on an art work (suitable and specially selected for this session). The group includes 5–10 students and a teacher leading the conversation. Students are asked questions that help them carefully examine the work. Questions are always open, the moderator uses a paraphrase, repeating the answers of students, and, at certain intervals, summarizes the answers in a group result [Hausen, 2001–2002, 106]. Open questions are strictly worked out, they direct the viewer to the material of the picture: “What do you see here?”, “What allows you to talk about it like that?” [Working with the student audience in the art museum using the method of free (facilitated) discussion, 2016]. Hausen and Yenavine, together with a team of teachers, have been teaching students the perception of art for 30 years, which has a positive impact not only on the aesthetic, but also on the overall personal development of students. Research on the application of the method has shown that students form critical thinking, acquire the skills to openly and argumentatively judge what is happening, and, of course, increase their aesthetic development.

A. Hausen, using the method of aesthetic interviewing visitors to the New York Contemporary Art museum, discovered five stages of aesthetic development: the first stage is the stage of the narrator — “accountive” (the viewer sees only the concrete and obvious, the perception is extremely egocentric, the picture is evaluated at the level of “like — dislike”); the second stage is “constructive” (the viewer demands photographic accuracy and realism from the picture, if he does not get it, he can distance himself from the work of art; at this stage the viewer can rely on their own perception, their knowledge of the natural world and social, cultural, moral values); the third stage is the “classifying” (the quality of the picture is determined by the author’s name or affiliation to a particular style or direction in art, the viewer is relying on its own knowledge wants to rationalize the meaning of works of art by finding

him a place in the history of art); the fourth stage — “interpretive” (intuitive perception of the viewer, his personal opinion, in order to reveal the symbols and meanings that can change with each new encounter with the work, so viewers see and own the processes and changes); the fifth stage is “recreational” (it involves analyzing the picture from different points of view, finding a lot of contradictory meanings in it, the audience combines personal ideas with universal ones). As a result of the experiment, five years of work with schoolchildren using the VTS method, the majority of students rose from the 1st to the 3rd–4th stage, three times ahead of the control group [Housen, 2001–2002, 112–115].

The method was used in our country in school education (the program “Image and thought”), and today it is presented in the Russian Museum, thanks to the activity of the Department of social and psychological research. The principle of applying the VTS method in both programs is similar.

The authors of the program “Image and thought” (which was developed for preschoolers and primary school children in the early 1990s) L. M. Vanyushkin and L. Y. Kopylov based their ideas the works of psychologists L. S. Vygotsky, J. Piaget, and others. According to the authors of the program “Image and thought”, their task is to develop visual thinking, understood “as the ability to see the semantic essence of the visual image of a work: organized pictorial surface, a combination of sculptural forms; the ability to capture the mood of color spots or lines, to understand the meaning of building space on a two-dimensional plane, to understand the meaning of the interaction of light and shadow, texture, that is, all that is commonly called figurative means of fine art” [Museum and school in educational space, 1997, 66–67]. The development of visual perception strategies is achieved through sequential “entry” into works of art. To do this, this educational technology uses a sequence of questions and the principle of organizing a facilitated discussion. A special role is assigned to the teacher-facilitator. The task of the teacher was to maintain the discussion, the ability to listen and hear.

The method of free (facilitated) discussion has been used in the Russian Museum since 2012. Currently, 6 city schools and 5 technical universities participate in the program [Ievleva, 2018]. Classes are held on the basis of a museum exhibition (suitable and relevant works) with groups (12–15 people), where participants are given the freedom to express themselves based on their own impressions and assessments. The museum employee who conducts such a discussion does not give participants any information

(about the work, author, etc.) and does not evaluate the thoughts and opinions expressed. Its role is to maintain an active discussion in the group [Ievleva, 2018]. In the process of discussion, it is necessary to concentrate the viewer on the work of art, make them carefully examine the image, see it as a whole and with all the details, concentrate, hold and switch their attention. N. V. Ievleva and M. V. Potapova note that the possibility of using free discussion to get acquainted with art is due to the main characteristic of art — polysemy, which allows for different and equal points of view on the work. The purpose of the meeting for all participants is to understand the essence of the work, using the language of fine art [Working with the student audience in the art museum using the method of free (facilitated) discussion, 2016].

4.3. Comparison

The techniques of art mediation and facilitated discussion have common sides, both methods move away from formal training, from the stereotype of transmitting ready-made knowledge. As a result, the distance between the expert and the viewer is reduced, the barrier (the status of “ignoramus”, “dilettante”) is removed psychologically. Each person is competent in several areas, but is an amateur in all others, so the communication of people from different areas enriches all aspects of communication [Kochukhova, 2019]. Authors define the common features of mediation and facilitation:

- treating the visitor as an equal, having their own vision and perception of art;
- engaging the viewer in communication, encouraging them to speak, and pronouncing what the viewer sees (translating from “visual” to “verbal” language);
- “radial thinking”: the starting point is the work, but the result of the conversation depends on the group participants;
- noticing the details of the work, not just a complex look;
- stimulating co-creation in the process of revealing the meaning of the work, increasing the creativity of both sides of communication;
- attention to the individual needs of the visitor, interacting with the meaning of the work with the current problems of the viewer.

The result of these methods addressed to the viewer is not so much ready-made new knowledge, but the ability to find the path that the student will have to go himself. This approach, according to D. N. Malikova, corresponds to the socio-constructivist approach in education, which is characterized by the dependence of the learning result on the meanings introduced

by students, collective goal setting, and blurred evaluation criteria. In this case, “the role of the teacher is reduced to the role of a guide, moderator, who forms the learning environment in order to make it the more effective” [Malikova, 2019, 13].

However, mediation and facilitated discussion are different practices. This difference lies first in the role of the mediator, the subject leading the communication. Secondly, in the process of communication and in the results of this communication.

Intermediary. The authors conducted a small survey of mediators of Ural industrial Biennale-5. Some statements are based on this survey and some on the author’s (a member of this team) experience.

— The moderator of a facilitated discussion is always an expert, he has an excellent understanding of the material, and he has a special professional education. An art mediator, in comparison, may not be an expert or have special knowledge. The experience of conducting art mediation (Ural industrial Biennale, Manifesta) has shown that the task of mediation is perfectly handled by people of various professions, not experts in the field of art, who have never led excursions. Among the art mediators, there are not so many professional art historians (in the team of art mediators of Ural industrial Biennale — 5, where one of the authors of the article worked, only 3 out of 33 people had a degree in art history, two were art students). Among the 15 mediators who passed the survey, 54 % had a liberal arts education. The remaining 46 do not work in the art sphere. Thus, the mediator and the viewer are colleagues, they talk “on equal terms”.

— The facilitator’s activity directs the viewer to a careful consideration of the work. His opinion remains with him. The facilitator does not allow himself to ask such questions as “what do you think about it?”, “what do you feel?”, his task is to concentrate only on the art work to teach viewers to notice and read. The mediator shares his own impressions with the audience, encouraging them to engage in a dialogue. The subject of the dialogue may not be a separate work, but the curatorial idea, the theme of the exhibition, etc.

— The facilitator is always operating with special questions, according to a well-developed scheme in context to the art work. Questions like “what do you think about it?”, “how do you feel” are prohibited because they lead away from the art work analysis. “A mediator is a person who is between two parties, without joining any of them and without making any judgments about them. Its role is to promote dialogue and knowledge sharing” [Workbook.

Manifesta, 2014, 16]. The viewer's thoughts and associations often lead them away from the language of a particular work and into a broader cultural field.

— The facilitator, working professionally with aesthetically untrained viewers, develops their ability to judge. The mediator, being almost equal to the viewer, can take something from each mediation session for his development. According to the results of our survey, 37 % of mediators have a better understanding of art, while 29 % noted that they have improved their communication skills, and 14.5 % have gained new knowledge.

The process:

- the goal for both methods is to uncover the activity and personal perception of the viewer. But if mediation is aimed at attracting the audience's attention to a particular exhibition and participation in it, or even just for the "cultural entertainment" of the visitor, then a facilitated discussion is always tied only to a work of art, its goal is to give an opportunity to "read" elements of the artistic language, to teach concentration, to understand the essence of the work.

- focus of activity: in mediation, the activity of "participation": the viewer is connected to participate in the discussion of the exhibition and the work. In a facilitated discussion, the activity is aimed at carefully investigating the work.

- the direction of the conversation: in mediation — to go from the audience, from their questions, based on their experience and understanding. The mediator's behavior is situational and depends on the group. In a facilitated discussion, the direction is only from the work, it is important to go from the material, to direct questions to the material. The facilitated discussion follows a clear plan.

- direction of thinking: in mediation, "Their thoughts should cover all areas and levels." [Workbook.Manifesta, 2014]. In a facilitated discussion, all thoughts are directed at understanding the language of the work.

- the task of mediation can be described by the words "look and think", and facilitated discussion — "look and see". Mediation is organic to contemporary art exhibitions, and the facilitated discussion tends towards the classical museum.

The results. The mediator provides interest in a particular exhibition or museum, people want to get to it, bring friends and connect to the community event. The result of the mediator's work is free communication in the museum space. The result of a facilitated discussion is an aesthetic

development which is implemented in an interest in art and the ability to read artistic language.

5. Conclusion

In open methods we see a familiar postmodern paradigm that changes the focus from the art work to numerous interpretations. This “active interpretation” (the term of J. Derrida), free from author’s and expert opinions, arises in the process of museum discussion practices.

Aesthetic perception is the result of a complex communication process involving equal participants: the author, the art work, the curator, the audience, and intermediaries. Today, not only individual artistic texts are beginning to have a semantic value, but also curatorial ideas embodied in utterances inspired by the various works of art. An inexperienced visitor of art galleries needs to “tune in” to become a full-fledged participant in such an event. The guide in this case is an art mediator, but you can “read” a separate work, thanks to the skill acquired during a facilitated discussion.

The freedom of interpretation claimed by postmodernists becomes not an elite intellectual amusement, but an accessible way of communicating with art.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Multimedia Practices in Corporate Museums: Tribute to Fashion or Canon Transformation

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Abstract. In the framework of the project "Scaling social memory of generations in 'historically' and 'newly' industrialized cities" we have studied various organizations associated with commemoration work. We have interviewed people and have had excursions in various museums: school museums, town museums, local history museums, and corporate museums. All in all, we have visited 11 corporate museums in several cities of Ural region. Certainly, now the best equipped museums are corporate museums of economically booming plants. They are supplied with state-of-the-art equipment that allows them to create fundamentally new expositions, change the traditional canon of the exhibition and storage of museum collections. Nevertheless, not all corporate museums follow this route, there are some which maintain traditional practices of housing exhibits. How do corporate museums of towns and cities of the Ural region work today? How would museum staff like to change their work with regard to use of multimedia technologies?

Keywords: corporate museums, identity, multimedia equipment, multimedia practices, Ural region

1. Introduction

A big city museum, especially the one situated in the tourist area, has its audience and, as a consequence, has resources for development. A small-town museum often has limited resources, its audience is small and not very attached to it. Nevertheless, both museums are strategic centers of commemoration.

In our project, we have studied museums of three types: local history museums, museums of enterprises, and museums of educational establishments. The theory of multi-scalar scaling seems specifically relevant to apprehend and classify them. In small towns all museums are technically local, however some local history museums can go beyond the settlement and present a wider history of the region, corporate museums tell not only about the enterprise of the town, but about the lead plant (holdings, groups of companies, etc.), and museums of educational establishments tell not only their own history, biographies of their graduates, but also tell about different historic periods of their life (in our case, this is mostly the soviet period).

We have interviewed people and have had excursions in various museums: school museums, town museums, local history museums, and corporate museums. All in all, we have visited over 50 museums in several towns of the Ural region and 11 of them were corporate museums. Activities of corporate museums have their specific features. At the same time, they may resonate with the town museum activities, many of our informants talked about their cooperation with other museums of the town. On the web site of the museum and exhibition center of PAO 'Uralkali' you can read the following, "It's a reflection of the company's history through men's destinies, through unique production, household, and antique exhibit items, through the use of the state-of-the-art technologies".^{*} On the same web site there is a poster of the exhibition 'Glimpses of the War-Time Childhood'. This is an art exhibition of Rosalia Shcherbinina, a veteran of 'Uralkali', a painter from Berezniki and a stonecutter, dedicated to the 75th Anniversary of the Victory. A main objective of corporate museums is presentation, the demonstration of the advantages of an enterprise itself. It is a museum that welcomes guests to the enterprise and a visit to the museum is mandatory for new employees. And certainly schoolchildren often visit such museums.

^{*} Web site of the museum and exhibition center of PAO 'Uralkali'. Access mode: <https://www.museum.uralkali.com/>

Thus, the museum plays the role of a carrier guidance. That is why the main characters of such museums are honored employees of the enterprise. Our paper is dedicated to the activities of corporate museums in towns and cities of the Ural area. How would museum staff like to change their work with regard to new technologies?

Certainly, now the best equipped museums are corporate museums of economically booming plants. They are supplied with the state-of-the-art equipment that allows them to create fundamentally new expositions, change the traditional canon of exhibitions and storage of museum collections. Not all corporate museums follow this way, there are some of them which maintain traditional practices of showcases with exhibited items, boards with photos and comments on them. In our interviews, we also asked what the staff would change in their museum, if they had all the necessary resources.

2. Objectives of Corporate Museums.

Town History is History of an Enterprise

A concept of a museum and its exhibition activities is based on a) the specifics of a town and request for designing the town identity (culture); b) regional specifics based on local history (enthusiastic researchers of their home area); c) an historic period with a significant series of events; d) interests of museum visitors of different generations, and e) local industry, including educational establishments, production enterprises, etc. Collectively such a constellation of concepts should actually be a memory storage and exhibition place but museums have their different ways to intertwine with the space of small industrial towns.

Sh. Zukin remarks in his works that in big cities, as a result of gentrification, there is a rising interest in various kinds of heritage [Zukin, 2019] and in this connection museums turn from 'ladders' into drivers of economic growth based on a generation of new senses and flows of visitors. How true is it for a small town and a city? For the moment, the primary consumers of museum products in small towns are schoolchildren. The objective of such museums is to create and transfer canons of memory, ensure the identity of a town, a plant, a region and even a nation.

Can a corporate museum of a small town create a narrative of authenticity of a place and thus attract a varied audience? According to Zukin, authenticity is a "cultural form of governance of a certain territory", a "cultural right to reserve for the good and all the home for all people, who live and

work in the town” [Zukin, 2019, 16]. The corporate museum is an integral part of the authentic town space of a small Ural town. Expositions show the history of industrialization, transformation of a town, construction of plants, hard work and survival during war, and the changes in the 1990s, when many plants stopped manufacturing. This is the history of a town told by corporate museums. *“...first of all, the territory, where you live, is a history of the enterprise... the history of the town is the history of the enterprise. That is why you need to know the history of the enterprise in order to understand what the enterprise manufactured. We had some situations when children came from the other part of the town and there was a question — What does the plant manufacture? Even the name of our plant didn’t show them that it manufactured paper. They could say anything, but not what it actually manufactured”* (interview, museum of Solikamskbumprom).

The unique character of the museum is highlighted not only with the contribution the plant made in the development of the town. The museum of the light railroad in Alapayevsk can justifiably count itself the most unique museum, the longest light railroad is still in operation there and it is used by tourists who visit Verkhnya Sinyachikha as well as transports everything necessary for living to a number of settlements.

The museum of VSMPO-AVISMA corporation includes two main parts. *“So, there is a historical part, as we call it, and that is our history. There is the history of manufacturing, the history of people who worked here, etc. It was always like this in the Soviet times. It is partly true now. And also the technical part. This is our manufacturing, our equipment, our products, our, so to say, the main components, that we manufacture”* (interview, museum of VSMPO-AVISMA Corporation).

The first part of the museum ensures authenticity of the plant and the town, highlights their unity. The museum of the corporation that manufactures semi-manufactured products from titanium for the aircraft industry is decorated accordingly. *“...we have decided to add some theatre and make the entry zone in the form of a cabin of an aircraft. We can see windows here. To the right there is the past, the pretty faraway past, in terms of the Ural plants... We are not Demidov’s plant, but still. The beginning of the 1930s, Verkhnya Salda, the view from the bell tower. And the plant... the beginning of the 1950s. There were potato fields, private housing. So we have decided like this. On the opposite side you can see the modern town and modern plant through the windows”* (interview, museum of VSMPO-AVISMA Corporation).

The museum is not just a demonstration of expositions; it is a restoration, reconstruction of past events. *“It is commemoration work, it is history. I tell you... there are about 12 books on different topics, including war and on specific chapters of history of the plant. It was done with the help of our management”* (interview, museum of VSMPO-AVISMA Corporation). The historical part covers an episode from the 1990s, how they solved the problem of survival. *“The first signing of the contract of a strategic partnership with Boeing. Tetukhin signs. And Mr Fradkov. he wasn’t even the prime minister at the time. He was a minister of foreign economic relations. <...> And in 2009 a joint venture with Boeing was set up here in Verkhnya Salda. Cooperation with Boeing in general, here is the ribbon and the pen they used to sign the contract. Here’s the pen”.* *“So, this titanium suitcase or a case, as you wish, was manufactured in one night, it’s completely made of titanium. The case, the handles, the wheels — everything is made of titanium. Our managers of the foreign economic department ‘travelled’ with this case and offered our product”.* (interview, museum of VSMPO-AVISMA Corporation).

The corporate museum exhibition is refilled mostly due to veterans and employees. It may be one of the functions of the museum to collect information about labor dynasties, *“in cooperation with the council of veterans and the museum we started collecting this information. We also did it through our corporate newsletter called ‘Bumazhnik’. We published information for the veterans of our plant and for the employees, so that people would feel free to come and talk about their dynasty”* (interview, museum of Solikamskbumprom). We can say that in the historical part of corporate museums there prevail practices that originated from the USSR, they highlight the heroism of soldiers and war workers, pay tribute to veteran employees of the plant. They demonstrate the achievements of industrialization, and how the plant transformed the town.

The modern component is a display of products, characteristic features of production, which in addition to a presentation function plays an important role of occupational guidance, to catch the interest of children and teenagers in the plant and provide the flow of workers and specialists in future.

3. Use of Multimedia Equipment in Corporate Museums

Multimedia equipment can be installed in a local history museum, it can practically never be found in a school museum, but most often such innovations can be seen in corporate museums. The functional tasks of corporate

museums differ from school and town museum. The task of a corporate museum is to show the history of an enterprise and its present. Multimedia serves as an indicator of well-being of the enterprise that can afford such luxury as a roaring dinosaur or an acting model of mining equipment.

There are several reasons to use multimedia equipment in a museum. Firstly, it helps to present widely exposition and exhibition material, an alluring image stays with the audience. Secondly, information services improve, with audio guides replacing traditional excursion stories. The staff have more time to organize face-to-face meetings with visitors who want to know more about the work of the museum. Thirdly, information computer stands help visitors to study audio/video files with historical reference resources about various collections of the museum, which are permanently redeveloped [Mysheva, 2015]. Another important addition to the opportunities provided by multimedia equipment is the atmosphere it creates in the halls of a museum, listening to pieces of music, watching old documentary films.

The following information can be found on the web site of Magnezit Group: “due to implementation of the project ‘From Museum of the Plant to Museum of Knowledge’ that received a grant of the XIIth contest ‘Changing Museum in Changing World’ of the Charity Fund named after V. Potanin, traditional historical and cultural institutions are transformed into modern educational and occupation guidance centers.” The director of the center is proud to speak about the transformed space of the museum. “Transformer-museum, mobile museum, interactive museum. It’s a small space, but we tried to make it multifunctional <...> Now it’s a cinema and lecture hall, in 20 minutes it can be a workshop hall, a meeting room, a room for some other activities, etc.” (interview, the museum of Magnezit Group, Satka). Indeed, furniture in the museum is convertible, convertible chairs in the interactive hall can be transformed into benches or cabinet cases for exhibiting.” There are drawers that you can pull out and discover amazing contents, the idea is to make it fun for a visitor to discover what is there in the next cabinet case or drawer.

Certainly, such things are meant first of all for children, since they feel awkward in a traditional museum where it is forbidden to touch everything.

* In Satka they prepare to open modernized museum of ‘Magnezit’ // Source — web site of Magnezit Group. Access mode: <http://magnezit.ru/ru/about/press/news/?id4=1002>

** Renovation project of the museum ‘Magnezit’ is prepared by the architect bureau ‘KONTORA’ (Moscow), designer Dmitry Baryudin

When many things are accessible to study, when you can hold pieces of ore in your hands, open many drawers, children show more interest in exploring such a space. “*Children like bright things*”, says the director. Catching the interest of children and teenagers who came for the excursion, launch the mechanism of generation of local identity with the town and the plant is a clear idea that helps to implement the occupational guidance function of museum.

Nevertheless, such experiments are debatable in the museum community. Digital presentations relate differently to museum expositions. They can:

- illustrate materials and facilitate understanding;
- complement the main exhibition and create a special atmosphere in each hall;
- bring in game and entertainment elements [Lebedev, 2007].

Not many employees of museums and specialists in this field would like to change the traditional canon of museum activity: “...this memory typewriter called a computer, alas, has given us and museum craft almost nothing, but speed, and, therefore, nervous behavior of a know-all and a fussy dullness of shallowness Moreover, global computer applications have aggravated the museum paradox and the paradox about museums: for two centuries the museum, the storage of the original, promoted itself with reproduction. Digital now” [Vdovin, 2007, 40].

Understanding the museum as a sanctuary, as a storage of unique documents and objects stands against such changes. The interest that an object arouses is replaced with its digital image though woven into a wider and clearer picture that enhances the importance of the object itself. Such presentation distracts attention from core value, the object itself!

There is another point of view that a museum and things are a basis for a cult of rare things, a competition between museums. Thus, the latter turn into seekers of values and the advantage of a museum appears in its cost, in the amount its exhibition items cost. Development of the digital environment of museums will probably change this situation drastically in the future. “On the one hand, global, omnivorous, insatiable museumification marks the total triumph of thingness. On the other hand, an amazing progress of ethereal electromagnetic flows freely floating in the air, in human feeling in tune with the archetypical model of all advanced religious confessions, steadily testifies that the vector of the earth’s evolution is programmed to the forthcoming dematerialization”. [Drikker and Makoveckij, 2016, 35]

In this discussion, corporate museums take a special place; very often the objects exhibited there are of value for the enterprise and the people who worked or who are still working there. On the web site of the Magnezit Group museum we can read, “we have made an emphasis not on mechanisms or production processes as they used to be, but on the plant’s core value that is the people who made it possible that ‘Magnezit’ became and still is a leader of the refractory industry of the country. We hope that the new museum will allow enhancing prestige of production and professions in demand, demonstrating the most important role of the state-of-the-art technologies and education”.*

The museum of PAO ‘Uralkali’ in its advertisement offers 5 exhibitions, two of them are associated with the 75th Anniversary of the Victory, these are ‘Glimpses of the War-Time Childhood’ and ‘Battle-Field Album’ — an exhibition of retro photos of the Great Patriotic War. Another exhibition called ‘Enchanted Minerals’ is an exhibition of minerals from the private collection of Tamara and Alexander Dupin, veterans of Uralkali and geologists. Another completely interactive exhibition called ‘Following the Path of Discoveries and Challenges’ is dedicated to the 95th anniversary of the Verkhenskoye salt deposit. And the last one called ‘New Year Hand Made’ is an exhibition of creative works of Uralkali employees from the series ‘World of Hobbies.’** “It’s a reflection of the company’s history through the lives of people, through unique exhibit items of production, household, and antiques, through the use of the state-of-the-art technologies”, we read on the web site of the museum.***

Emphasis on the activities of people, on the history of the enterprise, leads to the fact that such different museums as PAO ‘Uralkali’ and ‘VSMPO-AVISMA’ mostly hold to the traditional canon of an exhibition, reconstructing the history of the plant and its present, despite differences in equipment. The museum of ‘VSMPO-AVISMA’ does not have such abundant technological infrastructure as the museum of PAO ‘Uralkali’ does. Besides the roaring dinosaur, we can see an operation of the complex ‘Ural’, the process of salt production. An interactive exhibition can help to demonstrate equipment’s operations. Still, many museums focus on making models that show components and the operation of actual equipment.

* In Satka they prepare to open the modernized museum of ‘Magnezit’ //Source — web site of Magnezit Group. Access mode: <http://magnezit.ru/ru/about/press/news/?id4=1002>

** Web site of museum PAO ‘Uralkali’ <https://www.museum.uralkali.com/berezniki-events>

*** Web site of museum PAO ‘Uralkali’ <https://www.museum.uralkali.com/>

The museum of the paper-making plant 'Solikamskbumprom' is decorated in the 'old photo album' style.* The whole history of the plant is presented on high-quality boards, there are a lot of photos and copies of documents. New employees come to the museum and bring their children. Such a format is good for veterans. *"...I thought we are not that modern and probably this is our disadvantage, but it turned out that it's a great advantage due to face-to-face communication, and these photos. <...> So there was positive feedback as well <...> That's why I said that I would have left this part as it is to have this face-to-face communication and put our veterans in this atmosphere"* (interview, museum of AO "Solikamskbumprom").

When we asked how the museum might change if there were all the necessary resources, they answered that they would have made models for children to illustrate key points of manufacturing. *"I wouldn't change anything here, but if we were allowed to expand our territory, I would have organized some activities for children. Something modern to arouse children's interest. I would like these models to operate, work <...> Then, children will show more interest in paper making. We need to surprise them by newsprint production. They are kept out of the industrial site, only students and graduates can go there. As an occupational guidance. Younger children are kept out. It's very difficult to tell them about newsprint production and it is shown only in photos"*. (interview, museum of AO "Solikamskbumprom").

4. Results and Discussions. Types of Corporate Museums

Based on a museums' interest in attracting both future employees and consumers, they become a kind of exhibition center that demonstrates the capabilities of a plant and offers fine content to their visitors. In this respect, the museum of Magnezit Group is outstanding with its creative approach to organizing its work. The magnetism of a museum, its capability to attract an audience depends on various agents that expand the memory space of their national and sociocultural community. In Satka, a town of international street art, which is not afraid of experiments, such an interactive museum, a transformer-museum, blends seamlessly with the environment.

The museum of PAO 'Uralkali', despite all its technical capabilities, still holds to the traditional canon, the most important thing is people, their

* One of the names from the classification of N. V. Veselkova, Candidate of Social Sciences, participant of the research project.

memories, personal belongings that reflect the events of the past. Multimedia equipment in this case is more of a tribute to fashion, an indicator of economic well-being of the enterprise. The history of the plant and history of the town are bounded together, and evidence of this unity are shown in glass showcases. However, the museum of 'VSMPO-AVISMA' demonstrates rare and unique exhibit items, such as the first titanium ingot or a titanium case, which helped to secure the future of the enterprise. Old railroad trains, diesel-powered locomotives and other machinery of the Alapayevsk light railroad are no less unique. There is an old locomotive TU2 at the entrance checkpoint resting on a plinth to celebrate the 90th anniversary of the Alapayevsk light railroad in 1988.

These exhibit items are of value for the employees of the plant, especially veterans, because they have spent most of their life next to these things. Such exhibit items can also be of interest for schoolchildren. The question is will they help in the formation of identity with the town, will they ensure the authenticity of the place — the town and the enterprise?

5. Conclusions

The concept of a corporate museum, its exhibition activity today, rests mostly on the specifics of an enterprise and a town, at least the museum endeavors to design a joint identity of a town-plant in the past, present, and preferably in future. A corporate museum also takes into consideration regional specifics from the point of view of manufacturing. In Zlatoust one may hear many stories about the invention of damask steel. Visitors of this museum are told that in this city in the beginning of the 19th century Pavel Anosov recreated the lost technology of the legendary steelmaking. Corporate museums show all characteristic features of the historic period of industrialization, if a town is new, and, in addition, specifics of arts and crafts, if a town has a longer history. Corporate museums endeavor to meet the interests of consumers of museum memory of different generations. Today the museum of AO "Solikamskbumprom" as an 'old photo album' is more attractive for veterans, employees who were a part of labor dynasties, and people, who can come and see moving moments of the past, look through old photos. Technical innovations, multimedia equipment and models demonstrating operations of the manufacturing equipment are meant for the plant product consumers and young generation as future employees and specialists.

In our view, the importance of multimedia practices in museum activities depends not only on the capabilities of the enterprise to equip the museum or on the museum management's wish to make applications and get grants for its development. It depends on the canon, traditional practices of the museum focused on certain consumers of the museum's work. Multimedia equipment can help to demonstrate in a more fascinating way some episodes from the past, creating a special atmosphere, but it distracts attention from the important things, from the exhibit item itself, from the thing, from the actual evidence of the past, from something that is meant to arouse admiration and respect in accordance with the museum canon.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Media and Audio Practices: a Search for Philosophical Background of Analysis

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Abstract. Analysis of sound-based media artistic practices will serve as a case of a new media paradigm of contemporary art. This aim is informed by transintermedia, the multimodal nature of these practices that synthesize audio, visual, and proprioceptive forms of artistic communication in today's media environment, as well as by the integrative nature of the multimedia interactive catalogue/archive that allows one to present on a platform individual projects, their documentation, analysis, geography, authorship, and reception, as well as philosophical reflection by the researchers. Catalogization, systematic description and philosophical analysis of sound-based media artistic practices will allow for the effective support and promotion of media-art and sound-art practices in the framework of new programs and projects, plans for the development of urban and regional artistic and acoustic social and cultural environments.

Keywords: media-art, sound-art, technology

1. Introduction

The problem statement is justified by the fact that media and audio practices are an important element of modern world culture. In the first half of the 20th century they were formed as an art experiment, today they combine musicians, artists, programmers and those who perceive, try to express and understand specifics of our time using new technological facilities. Media and audio installations and performances appear in galleries and exhibitions of modern art, and come into modern urban space. Active development is seen in Europe, Russia, Latin America and other parts of the world.

Our aim is to specify the methodological and theoretical background of systematization of such projects, that is important for their support and

promotion within the framework of formation of programs and projects, development plans for a city and regional art and acoustic sociocultural environment based on existing methods of description of such practices in Russia, Europe and Latin America.

2. Overview

Due to a long activity of the Studio of electro-acoustical music Termen-Center and other initiatives, a new generation of artists and musicians was formed in Russia over the last 20 years, that work in various genres and formats and create their own institutional research platforms (community SoundArtist.ru, Moscow Gallery of Sound Art SA))_gallery, Computer New Music Researchers Group (CNMRG) and media lab Cyland in St. Petersburg, department of a sound by Oleg Makarov in the Rodchenko School, festival Sound Around in Kaliningrad, etc.)

New scientific groups are being actively organized in Europe, whose research and practices are devoted to the issue of a sound and music in the city environment. For example, in 2018 a network of practical experts and researchers of a sound in the city environment Urban Music Scholarly Network (<http://www.urbanmusicstudies.org/>), initiated by scientists of the University of Leufania (Germany) with the purpose of identifying frames and development direction for this field of knowledge, was established. One of the leading working directions of this group is sociology of a sound within the framework of sociology of art and inclusion of a sound and music to the field of the study of the city environment cultural industry. Among similar European projects we should note Sound Diplomacy (<https://www.sounddiplomacy.com/>), Sound Studies Lab (<http://www.soundstudieslab.org>) and Sound & Science Histories (<https://acoustics.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/about>).

Practices of sound-art, city noise and media noises are widely studied in Latin America. Existing works are quite geographically diverse and cover Latin America as well as the Global South. Issues of the Journal of Sonic Studies are regularly devoted to the problem of sound-art, for example a special issue Soundscapes of Latin America. A number of publications and a variety of topics in this journal highlights the actuality of the problem for Latin American researchers. Research of city sounds and Research of city acoustic environment are specific focuses of the work of Latin American scientists.

The issue of sound landscape is popular among scientists, such as Matos Wunderlich [Wunderlich] or Lefebvre [Lefebvre], as well as among bloggers

(http://en.soundaround.me/about_soundtrips_en/), that, for example, focus on city development issues. Such scientists and bloggers develop new original methods for analysis of city space, including sounded walking and recording city noises, their catalogization and mapping [Altunas Nott, 2019; Pyne Feinberg, 2016]. See also Turner's projects on <https://soundwalkinginteractions.wordpress.com/2019/03/16/camille-turners-sonic-walks/>.

As a rule, development and use of such methods are inspired by a theory of rhythm-analysis by Lefebvre [1992] and preceding practices of using art tools of activism and reinterpretation of city space. A good example of a combination of research and innovatory methodological poetry is a work of Michael Takeo Magruder "Imaginary cities" where the artist combines various media and archive materials for the creation of imaginary cities and their soundings (<http://www.takeo.org>). We face similar complex examples of sound study — use — catalogization when we go deep into the spaces of the museum-theater NN in Lublin, where organizers use city noise in order to increase sensitivity to the exhibition theme (<http://teatrnn.pl>). Another visual example is a music architecture project by David and Peter Adjaye (<https://soundcloud.com/musicforarchitecture>), including sound/sonic graffiti and sound architecture that promote the development of tourism and urbanism [Canevacci & Forero, 2008; Castro Carvajal, 2014; Cuervo Pulido, 2015; Queiroz Filho, 2016; Avilés Arias, 2016; Llorca, 2017; Canevacci, 2017; Soto Narváez, 2017; Jaramillo Arango, 2018; Sandra, Quintero & López, 2018].

An important line in the study of a sound is the study of pedagogical, gnoseological, epistemic and therapeutic potential of a sound [Gershon & Ben-Horin, 2014; Gershon, 2017; Rybicki-Newman, 2019; Clemens & Ravaglioli, 2019], an important element for a reinterpretation of a constructed environment, city, relations between a city and nature, and social relations.

Regarding this, it is necessary to note a contribution of a group of scientists exploring the qualitative methodology of education and social research [Gershon, 2013; Gershon & Appelbaum, 2016; Golovátina-Mora, 2018, 2019; Flint, 2019; Daza & Gershon, 2015], where issue of a sound is mentioned in many works in parallel with the issue of the manner to hear and be heard [Dee Smith, 2019; Shannon, 2019], dependence of educational efficiency from a teacher's voice intonations and sounds of the environment, and student skills to hear and to understand. In a broad sense, these studies study the ecology of a hearing experience and/ or ecology of audio and acoustic environment perception [Deleuze & Guattari, 2005; Massumi & Manning, 2014].

A number of conferences and festivals devoted to the theme of a sound in a city environment has also increased in all the continents (e.g. International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry; Conferences of European Sociological Association — RN- Sociology of Art; Groove the City; Festival Internacional de la Imagen — Paisajes y Puentes Sonoros; Affects, Interfaces, Events Conference).

But narratives that systematically describe these practices, their history and geography, are not available. The phenomenon of media and audio practices in world science remains theoretically not understood in its integrity and variety as it has fallen out from the field of interest of modern music study and art study and does not fall into the field of research of information technologies and media communications. Today, practices of sound-art accumulate esthetic attitude to reality and technological achievements in the field of media and start new art and communicative media and audio effects: for example sound walkings make it possible to feel city space and the environment in general in a new form, interactive audio installations make it possible to feel your audio reaction to the action and use of machine learning techniques and neuronets immerse one in the field of the unpredictable. One of the important specifics of sound perception is influence on the affective (precognition) level due to how a sound may be a strong motivating factor which, in its turn, defines its meaning in the space of social and cultural communication.

Despite the fact that interest in the phenomenon of a sound strengthened with the start of sound recording, studying sound as an art concept commenced only in the second half of the 20th century with the development of new music and border-line practices in art. The theoretical and methodological strengthening of researchers' interest happened by the 1990s, and since that time the esthetic research field of the phenomenon of a sound is a formed field of knowledge that differs by interdisciplinarity. In general, we may define the following conditional blocks of disciplines, which are closely related to each other.

The widest category is sound studies. A variety of approaches in this field is shown — especially in literature in English — by key anthologies [Sterne, 2012]. Sound studies may include understanding the phenomenon of a sound from the point of view of philosophy (ontology and phenomenology) [Cox, 2018], cultural being (including political potential of a sound) [LaBelle, 2018], media theory (analysis of the role of audio carriers as well as of a sound as a me-

dium) [Sterne, 2012], as well as the anthropology of “acoustical” consumption (the role of hearing in identity formation, for example, the appearance of “distributed subjectivity”) [Kassabian, 2013]. This category may also include papers devoted to ecoacoustics, i. e. analysis of a sound landscape (a term by a Canadian composer, music expert and teacher Raymond Murray Schafer, presented in the book *Ear Cleaning. Notes for an Experimental Music Course* in 1967 and covering the complete variety of site sound characteristics that shall be studied by the methods from language structural analysis to psycho-acoustics and ontology). Ecoacoustics includes practices of field recoding (rooted in techniques of “deep listening” and “sound walkings” offered by a Canadian painter and composer Hildegard Westerkamp in the end of the 1970’s) as well as studies of city environment ecology.

The esthetic research field of a sound phenomenon and its inclusion into art is still not stable: terminological instability, diffused research borders, announcing stable concepts instead of analysis are often met in a few works of contemporary authors. Along with that, the European Sound Studies Association exists. One of the conferences held in 2014 was named “Mapping a field” where a need for the meaningful description of existing variety of media and audio projects was identified. On the foreign scene this started with Chrestomathy and Guide on sound research issued by Routledge publishing house and the publishing house of Oxford University. [The Sound Studies Reader by Sterne, 2012; The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies, eds. Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2012]. Here studies of a sound are positioned as an inter-disciplinary field of study. We may note that the ratio between music and non-music where the ideas of the music avant-garde of the recent 100 years has become meaningful material and become one of the key topics.

Another block of works is somehow related to the music study and the problem of the ratio between music and non-music, where ideas of the music avant-garde of the recent 100 years becoming a meaningful material, has become one of the key topics. Problematization of borders of the esthetic and music took place in the first half of the 20th century when composers started to introduce various noises and other “non-music” sounds into music pieces. The notion of music itself was brought into doubt in works and music pieces of some composers of the last century. In 1937 John Cage in the work “Future of music: credo” suggested replacing the term “music” by a phrase “organized sound” — contrary to a “non-organized” sound. We may find ideas of a sound phenomenal ontology in his works, when the whole

world is understood as a multi-voice sounding phenomenon. In this case a sound, as well as noise, or silence, may be interpreted via an existential and phenomenological framework [Motte-Haber, 1999]. Schafer in the book *Ear Cleaning. Notes for an Experimental Music Course*, 1967, developed this idea, suggesting a new concept — “Soundscape” (audio landscape). This concept covers a complete variety of site audio characteristics that may be studied by various methods. The audio landscape is the main subject of sound ecology and is being actively developed today by urban specialists within the framework of city environment ecology studies. It includes a complex of soundings that shall, on the one hand, be thoroughly stored, and, on the other hand, creatively manipulated. In Russia Svetlana Lavrova [2017], Andrey Logutov [2017] and Vadim Keilin [2017] have developed these issues.

Works on electro acoustic music (acousmatic, spectrum music, computer music, etc.) form a subdivision of this block. These are mainly applicable research studies created by the authors of music as well as instruments for its performance (synthesizers and software). The leading Western periodicals devoted to this issue are the journals *Organized Sound* (An International Journal of Music and Technology), Cambridge University Press и *Leonardo Music Journal*, The MIT Press. A long tradition of electro acoustics is available in Russia. In particular, the work of Andrey Smirnov, a founder of Studio of electro acoustical music Termen-Center by the Moscow School of Music, is devoted to the study of it [Smirnov, 2013]. Practices of the last 20 years are illustrated, for example, in a journal “Electronic music”. A few publications related to actual practices are of specialized and auxiliary or too descriptive and non-theoretical nature.

Finally, a next block is publications devoted to spatial and audio art practices existing in the field of modern art and formats of audio installations and performance, i.e. sound-art in its existing polyphonic understanding. Among a lot of works in this area, that are mainly art-study, we would like to highlight a 744-page compendium *Sound Art as a Medium of Art* [Weibel, 2019] that comprises articles of key representatives of sound-art researchers, a two-volume anthology of sound-art studies *The Oxford Handbook of Sound & Imagination* [Grimshaw-Aagaard, 2019], as well as a classic monograph by Brandon LaBelle, where key esthetic characteristics of sound-art are described through the concept of the history of its various styles [LaBelle, 2015]. Among works devoted to specific aspects of media and audio art we should mention, as examples, publications devoted to mobile sound [Behrendt,

2012], sound as an element of nature [Kahn, 2009, 2013], as well as another study, sound-poetry [Bulatov, 2001].

As the notion of media and audio practices is neither stable nor formed as a concept in Russian and foreign esthetic theory, we may speak about similar notions that are being studied during the recent 20–30 years. This mainly entails the notion of sound-art.

Some studies are carried out within the framework of a traditional morphological approach to art where sound-art is a part of modern processes existing in music, for example, in the work of Polyakiva “Synthesis of arts in modern sound-art” [2018]. The author gives a formally stylistic analysis of audio installations based on the concept of the synthesis of arts developed by Kandinsky.

Other research divides the notion of music and audio art [Kabrin'skaya “Sound-art and border between music and audio art”, 2018] or combines them and then sound-art appears as “new music” [Lavrova “Neoconceptualism in new music of XXI century: idea as a good, idiom as a trade mark”, 2017]. Some research considers sound-art via an enlarged notion of new media art [for example, Lavrova “New music of XXI century in the context of New Media Art” 2017; Medvedeva, 2014] or acoustic media [Keilin, “Audial sculpture in a public space: Speaker Sculptures of Benua Mobri”, 2017], where they consider also specific, already implemented, art strategies of combining private and public spaces using technologies and acoustic media. Maiorova in the work “Urban Sound Studies: new horizons of city research” [2017] describes the history of the sound-studies establishment focusing on the “launch of art projects into an urban environment. Rotenberg performed a step-by-step mapping of city audio space and perception of sounding art objects in modern city space in 2017–2018 in Jerusalem. In the article “Music of public spaces: sounding art objects in urban design” [2018] the author concludes that the described audio installations change the nature of interaction with an urban environment as well as inside city communities.

Some articles introduce the notion of sound-art as a part of media installations where the organization of sound and audio space in general are very important: “Sounding substance: the practice of spatial and audio sculpture of Bill Fountain and development of principles of immersivity in sound-projects” (2018). Sound acts as the main media enabling finding new capabilities of an installation that acts as “audio installation” [Khrust, 2018; Orlova, 2019].

The meta-esthetic level, where the influence of technologies on modern art is studied, is presented by the research of Bychkov and Mankovskaya

[Bychkov, Mankovskaya, 2011a; 2011b], and also in the works of Medvedeva [Medvedeva, 2014], Gerasimov and Zibrova [Gerasimov and Zibrova, 2015]. Phenomenon of a sound is represented in Lukianova's studies [Lukianova, 2015], ontological turn — in Brian Kane's books [Kane, 2017], interactive media — in Denikin's articles [Denikin, 2017, 2019].

3. Conclusion

Despite the listed works, there is still a need for a deeper and complex analysis of existing media and audio practices. Today scientists need to compensate this gap and develop ways of empirical description of practices and projects by the way of studying criteria necessary to issue of a digital catalog and generate a theoretical background for conceptualization of media and a technological paradigm of modern art.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Renewal of the Language of Music Through Silence

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Abstract. The article analysis the possibilities of the language of music though silence. Considering music as a non-verbal communicative system, as a meaningful sign system as a part of semiotics, the author approaches the philosophy of structuralism viewing music as a text. Silence, as an artistic phenomenon, manifested itself brightly in music of the XX century when the understanding of art was reconsidered.

Keywords: Silence, music, communication, structuralism, Wittgenstain, V. Martynov, quietness

1. Introduction

The problematic of the article, which lies in the research of widening of the language of music through silence belongs to the sphere a of structuralistic approach to a music composition. It is necessary to distinguish quietness and silence, since for the study this difference is very important: quietness is an ontological, existential and natural phenomenon, and silence is an anthropological phenomenon associated with speech, which belongs to the world of people. Muteness belongs to the world which capable of speech.

Regarding the works of structuralism on text structure, we turn to music, as music, as it has been proved by Russian academics, is a system of non-verbal communication and as and as every cultural phenomenon can be viewed as a text. The article descusses the importance of the phenomenon of a written and published music composition — opus for European music, which enabled the composers of the XX century to implement an extra visual structure in the musical graphic notation and silence with the help of pausation.

Regarding the works of structuralism on text structure, we turn to music. Music is a system of non-verbal communication, as it has been proved by Russian academics, and as every cultural phenomenon can be viewed as a text. The article discusses the importance of the phenomenon of a written and published music composition — opus music in European tradition, which

enabled the composers of the XX century to implement an extra visual structure in the musical graphic notation and silence with the help of pausation.

2. Methods of research

Musical pieces were analyzed for language structures under the paradigm of the structuralistic method. Through deconstruction, J. Derrida reduces language, cultural and political phenomena to a text and looks for the hidden sense, regarding the contradictions of the text as a characteristic of its existence.

Considering music as a sign system, which has pauses in its signs expressed through silence, the semiotic approach is applied.

3. Research material

The research is based on the philosophic works of such representatives of structuralism as F. Saussure, R. Barthes, J. Derrida, J. Kristeva; the works of L. Wittgenstein; the works of such Russian philosophers and semioticians as A. Losev, M. Bakhtin, P. Florensky, J. Lotman, V. Bibikhin. It is also on the musical pieces of the XX century composers — the representatives of the Second Viennese School (A. Berg, A. Schönberg, A. Webern) and such Russian composers as V. Martynov, A. Pyatkov, V. Silvestrov).

4. Structuralistic studies of language

Regarding a language like a structure, F. de Saussure analyzed language signs as its part, however a sign is not connected to the meaning, taking into account that the sequence of signs is random: 'speech ... is a system of signs in which the only essential thing is the union of meanings and sound-images' [Saussure, 1966, 15]. Saussure separated the language and the speech. In his opinion the language plays the leading role as it does not depend on the person and is a part of objective reality; speech takes the second place as it is an individual part in the speech activity, which stands for all verbal communication. The language is a social phenomenon; it is a public domain, unlike the speech, which together with speech activity is defined as an individual phenomenon.

Structuralism and post-structuralism are closely interconnected as they both are related to the structure. Structuralism looks for the language structure in texts and cultural phenomena while post-structuralism deals with ambivalence of structure. According to structuralism academics, the speech creates an indivisible stream while writing is filled with pauses (dots and commas).

As a representative of post-constructivism, J. Derrida considered the language as a source of disorganization, which has no consistency. He reduces both language and cultural, social and political phenomena to a text, thus deconstructing the language. After deconstruction only a text is left. The sense of deconstruction is to decompose philosophical works and explain philosophical concepts. Deconstruction looks for implicit contents of the text, tries to explain the contradictions of the text as a characteristic of its existence. Comparing the speech and writing, Derrida unconventionally privileges writing over speech: 'no consciousness is possible without the voice. The voice is the being which is present to itself in the form of universality, as consciousness; the voice is consciousness' [Derrida, 1973, 79–80]. The speech pronounced by the voice is not considered as a system of signs, as the voice has no mediator unlike writing where this function is provided by a material medium. However, the insubstantiality of the voice is a misconception and Derrida wanted to show that the speech is writing since the voice serves like a medium.

For R. Barthes language is the foundation and source for understanding all phenomena, as everything in social reality is based on language. As the sense appears only when the events are named, language providing communication bears social meaning and is considered to be the public domain unlike speech which is an individual phenomenon. He analyzed the interaction of individual and public phenomena, speech and language. Looking for the solution to this problem, he approached writing, which is a combination of the language codes and subconscious in speech: 'Writing is that neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with the very identity of the body writing' [Barthes, 2002, 221]. Then and there the culture turns into a text. The language and the style are the main elements of writing: 'Now every Form is also a Value, which is why there is room, between a language and a style, for another formal reality: writing' [Barthes, 1968, 13]. The style is the way in which the author expresses his thoughts.

J. Kristeva does not regard the text as a *lingua franca* as it does not represent reality but modifies it: 'as the partner of a subject is a text, thus the subject itself turns up in a text; it gave rise to the personal-impersonal poesis, which swept away a psychological subject, the descriptions of passion without a moral conclusion, phenomenon, incident' [Kristeva, 2004, 652]. The text does not only line up with reality, but modifies the grammar of the language, thus belonging to the language and to the society, and it creates new meanings.

4.1. *Russian linguistic philosophy*

Linguistic philosophy, including such questions as the problem of expression of meaning, which is inexpressible through the verbal means of communication, the subjective nature of a thought, attracted the attention of both Western and Russian philosophers. Non-verbal language serves as the inner speech and silence limits the language. Non-verbal structures of the consciousness and the frames of the language, studies of a sign and sign systems, content and meaning were developed within the frames of semiotics. Thinking and the language, signified and denotative, the influence of non-verbal speech tools on meaning are examined in the works of such Russian academics as M. Bakhtin, P. Florensky and A. Losev.

Studying of the language is central to Losev's philosophy: a symbol expresses the essence being a part of the material world, and a symbol expressed by a word is added to the outer word. Thus, all the world is expressed in words, the world is equal to the word. Speaking about skeptics, Losev analyzes silence as something non-expressed, the summit of wisdom.

4.2 *Silence as limitation of language in Wittgenstein's philosophy.*

Wittgenstein defined the limits of the world through the limits of language [Wittgenstein, 1994]. Not only the consciousness, but all the cultural phenomena are determined only by language. However not everything can be expressed with the help of the language, it is especially true when we speak about art as the total of images, emotions, sourcing of new meanings where we can observe the limitations of the language. A solution can be found in the silence, it solves the problems of objects and predicates when the inexpressibleness of an object and a function has not any solution in language. 'What can be said at all can be said clearly; and whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent' [Wittgenstein, 2020]. The silence and the word do not eliminate each other, but exist simultaneously, limiting each other. The word must experience silence. 'Attitude deals with attitude, but in this case, ... a person contradicts himself. The only way out is to establish this fact in silence. This kind of silence can be called *genuine*, as it is not only the absence of sound, but also the inner silence, thus even our mind has to keep silent. [Loreti, 2016, 37–38]. The essence of the language varies in both early and late works of Wittgenstein. In his early works, the main function of language is information transfer and fixation of the facts of the world. In his late works (Blue book and Brown book) the language exists not for description, but for the expression of reality, it cannot be singular or united. In his later

works, we can also face the concept of ‘genuine silence’. Turning to practice after studying theoretical problems is done in silence, like resolving challenges cannot be realized with the help of the words, but only through the inner silence: ‘the idea of *genuine silence* lies in the idea that the theoretical response to the theoretical questions of philosophy is returning to practice’. According to Wittgenstein, this returning will be silent in the sense that people will not discuss the philosophic issues with the help of the words. Philosophical questions are resolved with the help of strict, genuine inner silence which in the framework of the late Wittgenstein ideas partially coincide with chaotic noisy language games [Loreti, 2016, 39]. The silence and speech share a common foundation, they originate in conversation, which enables both speaking and silence, thus developing silence as the follower of a conversation. The speech does not stop in silence, it continues in it.

5. Music as a non-verbal mean of artistic communication

The interaction between the author and the recipient through simple, non-voice signs in art serves as a kind of artistic non-verbal communication through the release of information with the help of the means of such communication such as intonation, gestures, mimics, etc. Visual artistic communication exists in painting, sculpture, architecture; acoustic communication exists in music, artistic communication at the theatre and some other genres of modern music is expressed via both acoustic and visual means.

Scientists distinguish numerous functions of music such as cathartic, esthetic, cognitive, conveying emotions, esthetic and others. The main function among them is definitely the communicative function: music is a non-verbal tool of communication and it is expressed in the interaction of the composer with the performers and listeners. Music’s non-verbal tools of communication enable listeners and performers to enter the world of music, as it is non-verbal by its very nature. The non-verbal pre-logical character of music (Losev ‘Music as a matter of logics’) makes it comprehensible to any person no matter if he can speak the language of the country or the language of the country where the composer come from. Music has its own expressive means such as the beat, rhythm, motives, melody and so on. Common features, which unite the language of words and the language of music, are the sound and speech.

Perception ties the creative concept of the composer, its performance and listeners into the united music system. The music supposes the communication of the composer with the listeners and performers. Music com-

munication is expressed in the same way as speech and unlike verbal speech which serves as an act of communication, music speech serves as a one-sided process from the composer, who produces this music speech, to the listener. 'Communication and interaction still not distinguished in linguistics and semiotics thus they do not make it possible to distinguish the *language of communication* and the *language of message* ... we deal with two different sign systems understanding of which is crucial for the third class of these systems — artistic languages [Kagan, 1988, 272].

In terms of hermeneutic language is united with reality. In the modern science interpretation is connected with the text. Music is analyzed as a sign language system and as a tool of artistic communication. Academics who consider music as music speech attach importance to it as a communication tool, since music serves as a speech activity — it includes breathing, which influences the structure of music, the construction of music expresses its contents as the speech does, but unlike speech it expresses the meaning not through the meaning of the words, but through the aural images which are generated by harmony, rhythm and intonation. Music serves as expression while speech serves as nomination: 'could a message, which does not consist of signs by which we primarily mean the words of a natural language, bear some meaning? ... Bearing in mind painting, music and cinema, we cannot help but agree' [Lotman, 1973, 382].

The music is more that simply sound phenomenon, it has contents, impossible to narrow down to a system of signs. However, in linguistics there is a theory which views music as a non-language and non-sign phenomenon because it is considered to be a system with non-meaningful units, thus it is impossible to decode its signs.

A creation is viewed as a unique sign as it is impossible to eliminate a part of a production without losing elements of the contents. In art, a sign is equal to a speech process, which exists in time and/or space. A literary text is viewed as an integrated whole. This is also the case of music, as only the whole piece can be considered as a sign while its separate elements are only parts which have no general idea. 'In artistic creation pronunciation of a sign is always a speech process which exists in time (oral culture, music), in space (plastic arts, architecture) or in both (stage arts). It is necessary to be aware of the elements of a sign-production, which composes it as artistic speech. In every-day (non-artistic) speech the main unit is a statements which consists of the words-signs' [Bonfeld, 1996].

According to Yakupov, the language of music has a code which transfers the artistic information into materialized information. In other words, a performer decoding a music notation reconstructs the conception of the composer. However, the conception lies not only in music notation but also in non-music information. Music notation performs the main functions necessary to decode the concept: it includes a coded sign-message; it conveys emotions, attitude, succession and the assembly of musical instruments and so on.

The coded music notation and performed acoustic music differ. The former is a sign system which is not able to impress the listener and carry the audience to the emotional world of associations and artistic images. However, performed music possesses all these qualities: 'a composer is a 'writing person', it is a person who creates music texts which later turn into real music'. [Martynov, 2002]. However, it is not always the case that the music is written first and performed later, since before the XII century the music was composed to be performed, it was not necessary to write it. In music there are 'two opposite principles which make a foundation for music notation — the diastimatic principle or the principle of accurate fixation of the intervals and the adiastrimatic principle where the emphasis is not put on the fixation of the intervals but on the fixation of other parameters of melodism united by the idea of articulation. Interestingly, that articulation here is understood in the way it was regarded by Zemkovsky, as music of an oral tradition where we find out the intonation meaning through the behavior of a performer [Martynov, 2002]. Line notation was invented by Guido de Arezzo who managed to transform an early idea of line principle of music notation into our conventional system. One of the advantages of line notation is that it provides a graphic image of a music piece. The composer's design does not always lies solely in the audible music: 'very often a composer's structure cannot be heard by ear, but can be recognized by the eye; symphony by Vebers 21 is a shining example of this, when the audio perception truly cannot give the impression of that crystal complexity of structure which can be observed looking at the music's scope' [Martynov, 2002]. Music has an important visual part which can fully reveal the composer's design, and sometimes it happens that a piece is fully formed only in the process of notation.

According to Rappaport, the written language of music, as a graphic music notation, also serves as a sign system, which possesses its own functions, refers the performer to particular characteristics such as music instruments, sequences of sounds played, etc. It provides interaction be-

tween the composer and the recipient through non-words, non-speech signs, from the viewpoint of semiotics; it is considered as an artistic non-verbal communication — transfer of information with the help of communicative means such as intonations, gestures, mimics, etc. Art possesses the kinds of non-verbal mediums, which are not present in everyday speech, such as music, choreography, painting.

The issue of sense in music is a problem of the perception of some kind of information, or message, which is communicated to the listeners. On this basis of communicative characteristics, in general, music can be regarded as a kind of speech (B. Asafiev, B. Teplov, L. Masel, etc.) In addition, a crucial role is played by intonation, which can be the main medium of music.

5.1. Intonation and rhythm which generate silence in music

Music construction passes on the contents like speech, but unlike it, music communicates spiritual meaning not through the words, but through the rhythmic and intonation images (B. Asafiev, M. Gudova, L. Zaks, V. Medushevsky). These images are created by the unity of rhythmic and pitch, which in turn creates harmony and intonation. Audile music provides sign and symbolic expression, while human speech serves to express inner intellectual and emotional-volitional processes and states of a person.

Intonation is one of the main aspects crucial for our investigation as a characteristic of a music piece and by itself. Music has rhythm and time and pitch aspects, which in turn consist of harmony and intonation. The rhythm provides timing in a music piece in particular and in text in general. The rhythm is based on the metric system and aims at the harmonization of time, a certain kind of rhythm. There can be observed certain lose of rhythm which deal with verbal text (different kinds of metric design, rhythmic inversion when the stress does not match with a metric stress, arrhythmia, etc.) and music — multimeter, syncopated rhythm, etc. It is easier to observe rhythm errors in music rather than in speech.

Intonation expresses the unity of the non-semantic and semantic level of a composition. Intonation is closely connected with expression and music intonation has much larger value and turns into a musical language and thus a mean of communication. Intonation provides the content function of music.

In Russia, one of the problem of intonation was first studied by B. Asafiev, who paid attention to the fact that music intonation 'is comprehension of music speech which belongs to a particular social sphere [Asafiev, 1971, 355]. The essence of intonation is revealed in 'three interrelated forms of ex-

pression: a composer's, a performer's way of thinking and the listeners' way of thinking while listening and perceiving music'. [Shishliannikova, 2013].

In addition, 'Intonation defines the semantic message of a composition, turns the daily state of mind to artistic perception' [Gudova, 2004, 123].

As Asafiev states, intonation plays a much more important role in music rather than in any other art, as it is an intonation art by itself where the expression of intonation defines the sense of music. It is through the intonation as a non-verbal means of communication, that the listener perceives and comprehends music.

5.2. Pre-conditions of silence in music

The role of music notation in the modern world is closely connected with the change of status and context of art existence.

Martynov in his book "The zone of Opus Posth. The birth of a new reality" looks into the dynamic of "opus" music development (attached to the published work) and Opus posth-music, which represents a number of procedures and operations with non-fully used opportunities of opus-music. The transition to opus posth-music goes along with the changes in such notions as "a composition", "a text", "an author" and "a copy", "consumption" and "a publication".

Martynov divides music into opus music and opus-posth music. The word "opus" means work, labor, activity, making, creation, composing and thus, speaking about "opus-music" we must speak about music as a labor, occupation, making, creation or composing.

The term "opus-music" points at the essence of the western European composers' music and at the same time stresses the fact that it is set apart from any other music practices and traditions of the world. The word "opus" emerged in the composers' practice quite late, and it has been used only since the end of the XVI century.

Opus refers to a published work and a non-published work cannot be considered as a work of art. The act of publishing turns a potential work of art into a real work of art.

The need to stimulate music creation has appeared because it is impossible as such. Understanding of the decline in artistic expression and feelings lies behind the need of stimulus to create new music. This is not going to be opus music, but opus posth-music, as this music comes from understanding that opus music is dead. 'For example, "Quiet songs" by Valentin Selverstov can be considered as one of the early examples of opus posth-music which consists of a sequence of simulacrum, but they are a special kind of simu-

lacrum, they are conscious and this awareness turns them into a genuine fact of art' [Martynov, 2005, 17–18]. The same kind of simulacra, which turn into the facts of post-art can be observed in the works of A. Pyart, A. Rabinovich, G. Pelitsis and others, 'music which can be qualified as opus posth-music and which makes you aware of the fact that the only last real topic for live genuine art can be only the death of opus-music, the death of art as such'. [Martynov, 2005, 18]. Opus posth-music contains a certain set of operations with not fully used opportunities of opus-music. This fact lies behind the secondariness of this kind of music.

The beginning of the transfer to opus posth-music coincides with changes of such issues as "a composition, 'a text', 'an author' and 'a copy', 'consumption' and 'publication' and their replacement with such notions as 'a behavior pattern', 'a project', 'a character author' and 'flickering' which imply a brand new view of art works.

In his book "The end of the composers' era" Martynov views the problems of composers in the present and in the past and tries to predict the perspectives of music development. Martynov believes that the time of the composers is gone; however, music is not going to disappear with them. At the same time, we can observe the withdrawal of performing art and its transfer to a separate important field of music realization. We can see a separate class of performers who are not necessarily composers but can reproduce music written by others using music notation. Simultaneously, there is a clearly defined need for individual reading of music through adaptation of music compositions written with music notation. A special emphasis is put on the individual style, the manner of performing and in general the idea of sound of different compositions.

5.3 The structure of silence in music and philosophy

Structuralists clearly differentiate the speech and the language; however, in this article I do not draw this line as silence refers to both language and speech, the latter originates in silence and plunges into it. Silence can be a sheer lack of words, however if it stands for words and it turns into a statement, in this case, it is more than lack of speech. Speech is not possible without silence; silence in forms of pauses creates borders of speech. Silence is opposed to a word.

Silence is an anthropological phenomenon, which belongs to the human realm. Based on the assumption that silence is accompanied by the inner speech we can come to a conclusion that silence expresses the inner world of a person. A person has a choice to speak or not to speak, to break silence or

to keep it. In the works of Bibikhin “The language and philosophy” the choice to keep silence or break it lies in the fact that a silent statement is ‘a word proved by the threshold of the silence. The word of the inexpressible.’ [Bibikhin, 2002, 34] Silence and speech are opposed to each other, but generate each other. Bibikhin defines speech through silence: ‘A text is made up of silence and the word. The fact that silence is the foundation of the language does not define the language yet, but makes it clear that the relation of a word to an object is not a mere description.’ [Bibikhin, 2002, 30].

Silence serves as the soul of speech, sound and the language, it initiates the beginning of a conversation and manifests itself only when there is no conversation. Speech and silence are interrelated. However, there is the other side of silence and speaking as although silence serves as the foundation of speech, it cannot be considered as the foundation of the culture: ‘The silence can be safely kept only by the word ... And both a person and culture are truly kept not by silence, but by the word proved by the threshold of silence. The word of inexpressible [Bibikhin, 2002, 34].

If we study silence as means of communication, the sign nature of the language is unfolded in different ways and different academics provide different classifications of silence: ‘for J. Jensen it is the classification of the connection, interaction, recognition, judgment, action. For T. Bruno it is the psycholinguistic, socio-cultural interactive form of silence. V. Bogdanov defines three main functions of silence: role-marking, which implies the change of communication roles, informative and sintactico-constructive’ [Katukhina, 2009, 91]. The sign nature of silence gives an opportunity to compare silence and the language which decreases the possibilities of silence in relation to the other spheres of application.

If in everyday life we interpret silence as emptiness and lacking in contents, in music it is filled with contents and has an absolutely different meaning. Many academics associate the unity of silence expressed in the pause and music with the sacred sphere: ‘the sacred meaning of a pause in music is eventually traced to the metaphysical interpretation of music and musicality as the greatest spiritual force’ [Sidneva, 2012, 31]; ‘all the good things that a person can tell is no match for the language of the fundamental nature which is incomprehensible for us; this incomprehensibility must silently manifest itself in the pause [Mikhailov, 1998, 127].

In the works of some composers music emerges into silence, others in turn create music in silence. ‘Different composers with absolutely di-

verse esthetic characteristics such as Vebern, Kancheli, Scriabin and Cage had the knack for filling the silence with spiritual meanings. Late preludes of A. Skriabin with their “disappearing” sound which vanishes into the silence, with graphic expression which displaces the notes with pauses reflect a subtle and complicated way of the sound dematerialization, and finding the pure, ‘inexpressible’ spirituality’ [Sidneva, 2012, 31]. ‘K. Stockhausen reflects on the silence: ‘we have not mastered this skill yet in the previous forms of art — silence falling at a definite moment and in the silence which falls suddenly or gradually, experience the variety of silence in the same way as we experience sound’ [Nekrasova, 2016, 191]. In other words, silence and silentness find their ways in the world of music.

6. The results of the research

A music composition serves as a system of signs every one of which is unique so it is not possible to eliminate any of them without losing a part of its contents. In the music art, a sign serves as a process, which manifests itself in time or in time and space. Music is full of meanings, which cannot be narrowed down only to a system of signs and the implicit means of the verbal language. Unlike a verbal language, which serves as an act of communication and which is impossible, if all the participants of the conversation do not share the same language, music speech serves as an open communication process from the composer, who generates this speech, to the listener. This kind of openness is a great communicative and consolidating advantage of music. It is an open communication system which can be entered by anybody regardless of his or her competence in the language of music.

Music and speech both serve as means of communication as they bear a message, information and content. Music communicates its contents through the whole of music images. As for the vocal music, this communication is expressed by the intonations.

From the XX century, we can observe the reinterpretation of the phenomenon of silence in the musical sphere. The world of music besides music, noises and other sounds, has begun to pay attention to silence and silentness, and regard them as a part of music.

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Nikolai Ironov: How Neuronets Create Digital Visual Culture

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Abstract. The article analyses the work of modern neuron networks used for the creation of objects of digital visual culture. “Art” of such neuronets is related to finding unobvious regularities as a result of data processing and compilation of them into a unity. Five categorial grounds allowing understand processes related to specifics of digital culture in general are studied. Analysis enables answering existing questions and identifying new directions for development.

Keywords: visual culture, visual image, neuronet, data base

1. Introduction

In the conditions of continuous data flow and uninterrupted scientific progress we see increase of a share of digital visual culture and among social networks most popular are those where photos or small videos are published; every day instant messages are more often sent in the form of a graphic icon. A specific of digital visual culture is that an image, not a text symbol, is highlighted. It defines a way of information perception as well as the process of its transfer. And the notion of *videocracy*, i. e. power of image, video image, in comparison with *logocracy*, where the power is hold by a word, appears right here [Gabova, 2017]. Visual images in modern digital culture are easily known and interpreted. Contrary to the text, image may be read by people from various cultural, language and/ or ethnic groups. Visual language is trans cultural.

Development of computer technologies have assisted strengthening videocracy in culture. Computerization enables users to be attached to a unified symbol system presented as a catalog or data base. Modern arrangements for operations with such a base prove that it is not just an archive, but a resource that may be used in the production of digital visual objects and practices.

How might computer technologies take part in the production of digital visual culture? What arrangement for creation do they attach to? Which

elements of their “art” may be identified? This article is an attempt to answer these questions.

2. Neuronet as a generator of digital visual culture

Since December 2018 Nikolai Ironov has worked in the agency of Artemy Lebedev. Initially he was introduced as a real employee that worked distantly. But in summer 2020 it became known that a designer who has created over 20 commercially implemented projects is a neuronet in fact. A neuronet (or artificial neuron network) is a system of combined and interacting elements built on the principle of biological neurons. Nikolai Ironov is a generative neuronet. It receives some set of random values and then patterns are being searched for in a specified set of data. From the combinations received in different data systems and programs, a generator creates its own variants of compilation. Any compilation is a result of the transition of a catalog as a set of data into a new form.

In the case of Nikolai Ironov the system analyses information on a customer, generates a flow of relevant specimens, generates color schemes, settles composition tasks, creates pattern and 3D models.

“Art” of such a neuronet is in finding unobvious regularities and compilation of them into a unity. For example, if we show to such a neuronet all that an artist has created it may identify manners specific to these works better than professional art experts. Using the same principle, you may teach a neuronet to draw. It may create something “new” based on what it saw. On the one hand, we may say that neuronets, opposite to machine (re)production, may create unique objects as they find unobvious regularities that become a background for a compilation. On the other hand, they are restricted by what is initially inbuilt into a data base, i. e. pre-defined by some catalog that a user specifies.

A person in such a neuronet performs two functions: initially, related to the creation of a network code and running its operation, and at the end, related to interaction with a result (and in the case of Nikolai Ironov, with the selection of a final product). So, the studio of Artemy Lebedev has offered customers several design variants generated by a neuronet.

3. Data bases as a resource for neuronet “art”

Data base (or catalog) on the basis of which a neuronet operates is a resource for the generation of new combinations. “A data base — an analog from the computer — era replaces a narrative that has dominated as a key

for of cultural communication for a long time” [Manovitch, 2018, 270]. Data base as an open system is characterized by not being complete and at any time may be edited. It may not independently organize elements, A neuronet is responsible for their organization.

Since the 19th century, technologies accumulating a large number of materials (photo and audio archives, video archives) were developed. Excessiveness led to a new stage — the necessity to store as well as to organize files among the total variety. Hence, the question is in how to create “new”, as well as what to do with already existing?

We may say that “art” of neuronet is a result of the strategy of re-framing and overproduction. The strategy of re-framing and overproduction (or strategy of graphic saturation) is a transition from individual or serial discreet objects to manipulation with populations of images via various selection and “re-framing” methods of already existing material.

A practice of a “ready-made” became the source of this strategy in. Works of M. Duchamp created in the beginning of the 20th century pushed a totally new philosophy and became an ‘ancestor’ of post — non-classic art. Marcel Duchamp created a “ready-made” presenting utility units in the form of ready-made works. Starting from the second half of the last century, artists started to use strategies of graphic saturation resulting in populations of images except for creation of separate works. Andy Warhol was the first follower of such a strategy and “Brillo Box” created by him is an example. Its appearance became “a Rozetta stone for philosophy, enabling differentiation of two languages: language of art and language of reality” [Danto, 2018, 39].

Since the mid-1950s four strategies of graphic saturation were formulated. David Joselit describes them one by one in “After art”. Each strategy is trying to understand processes performing in art as well as in culture in general. The first strategy is re-framing of found material (content) in the space. Under this concept, objects form various configurations where relations between units become more important than the content of each separate unit. This strategy finds itself in the technique of collage where, on the one hand, elements of usual units perform the same functions as traditional art media, and on the other hand, their combination creates new senses that became possible only due to their combination.

The second strategy, described by Joselit — processual content imprinting: a process of “re-framing” — is performed using various arrangements (digital photos, video, copying machine, text files and other facilities). In oth-

er words, objects receive new forms of existence related to, in particular, digital conversion. Processing of content into live or “virtual” performances is a third strategy of “re-framing”: performance is a public creation of an artifact based on the principle of synthesis of art and non-art, some “gestures” not requiring special professional skills and not pretending a long life. Images undergo a change of condition via transposition of events. To explain this strategy, Joselit points to a ‘happening’ as an example. He noted that happenings initially were held in indefinite, non-theater sites — in warehouses, closed plants, closed shops. Due to that, they smoothly appeared between avant-garde theater and collage, and a spectator there is also a collage — meaning that it is “disseminated” in the space.

In conclusion, Joselit points to documentation of content using research as one more key strategy of “graphic saturation”. Documenting shall be performed with the purpose of creation of archive works that may function as non-declarative materials. The word “documents” play a key role. During recent decades documents about art are more and more often included in art exhibitions, into sets of art museums together with traditional art works. Thus, documents become one more arrangement of “re-framing” of already existing material.

It is noted, that each of the strategies presented and described by Joselit is connected not with the invention of a new content, but with manipulating its situational (or performative) nature. We are sure, that after we become witnesses to their combination, work as some result of art activity (an object or conceptually performed action) is a synthesis of several strategies. Sometimes it is impossible to make a clear demarcation line.

Use of such strategies in modern culture is explained by a new type of consciousness. It becomes rhizomatic. Rhizomatic consciousness is a simultaneous co-existence of parallel focuses and none of them dominates. Despite its ‘kaleidicness’, rhizomatic consciousness has a function of formation of a new world picture in culture and demonstrates the elimination of pillars as well as attempts to find new foundations. The (co)-existence of various worlds in each of which have equal rights, appears.

One of the arrangements due to which switching cultural practices into the mode of (re)-production and distribution of data has become possible is computerization. Today computer technologies “cover all stages and steps of production and distribution of cultural objects, including purchase, management, storage and distribution of any types of artifacts as well as all types

of media: texts, static and dynamic images, sounds, spatial constructions” [Manovitch, 2018, 54].

4. Five categories specific for digital visual culture

In one of his books Lev Manovitch describes five categorial backgrounds, based on which he analyses new media [Manovitch, 2018, 41], but we think that those five are applicable to the analysis of all visual culture created based on computer technologies. In particular they characterize visual objects created by the neuronet Nikolai Ironov.

The first category studied by the author is digital representation. It is supposed that all objects regardless of the fact whether they were initially generated using a PC or became digitalized from analog sources, consist of a digital code, i. e. are digital representations of objects. Even if an object did not have a digital nature initially, it is subjected to the process of conversion, i. e. transfer of data into digital format (or digitalization). Nikolai Ironov uses a data base for generating its projects each element of which has its own digital code. Due to reading these codes, a neuronet performs commands quicker than a person, and offers a larger number of final products than a “live” designer.

A second category that appears to be important in analysis of digital visual culture is modularity. Objects of digital visual culture have similar (module) structure. “Media elements, i. e. images, sounds, forms or even specific actions, are presented as a range of discreet elements (usual or volume pixels, polyhedrons, code combinations, scripts). They store their initial logics and combine in larger objects, and they organize larger “units” preserving their initial structure” [Manovitch, 2018, 64].

Let’s view the Microsoft bundle to understand this. Imagine, that we transfer an object to a Word document body, for example, graphical animation or video, that preserves its independence and may be edited using the same software where was created. The structure of an HTML document is also an example of modularity: beside the text it includes images, videos, VRML elements, films and other elements that exist on a PC or in the Internet independently. In other words, modularity specifies that objects of digital visual culture consist of independent elements, each of which may consist of smaller independent parts: and so on till the smallest “atoms” — pixels, volume pixels and symbols [Manovitch, 2018, 65].

Automation is a third category enabling understanding the essence of studied objects. Digital coding and modular structure enables automat-

ing many processes used in the creation, management and access to objects of digital visual culture. “This means, that intentionality (*direction of consciousness on a specified unit*) specific to a human, may be partially excluded from creative process” [Manovitch, 2018, 66]. During the “work” of Nikolai Ironov, the analysis of a data base and following compilation of its results is not maintained by a person. A man is “beside” the creation of a final product. Despite process automation, the question on availability of special arrangements and algorithms for interpretation of generated senses is still important, i. e. during automatic compilation of independent data a generated object shall be “read” by a user. A neuronet shall create something “new” but at the same time act within the frameworks of specified senses.

Variability is a fourth category presented by Manovitch. An object created by a neuronet is not something completed in principle. On the contrary, it may exist in various and potentially unlimited versions. Strategy of “re-framing” (or “graphic saturation”) described in previously falls into this category. Variability is natural for, for example, web-pages that are automatically generated from data bases, whose elements are combined in various variants having a stable structure.

Besides the variability of a form we may assure variability of content. For example, each reader of a hypertext selecting a specific link sees a partial fragment and each person interacting (let’s imagine” with a digital installation) receives its version of a work.

The final category is transcoding which means transfer of something into another format. In the process of digitalization and computerization culture step-by-step appropriates this idea and uses it in relation to its own categories and concepts, replaces them on the level of sense and language by those that better match computer technologies [Manovitch, 2018]. Transcoding is also used by modern neuronets. For example, an image used for creation of a logo is of a situational nature and may transform as a result of compilations specified by a neuronet.

The author specifies that “mentioned categories illustrate general cultural trends passing through the process of total computerization, but not absolute laws” [Manovitch, 2018, 61]. That is why these categories are given in the article in order to better specify the general characteristics of digital visual culture.

5. Conclusions

The basic nature of digital visual culture is visual image. Its influence became possible due to the development of computer technologies. The example of a specific neuronet showed that some processes related to generation of new visual objects can be analysed. In particular, five categories are specified enabling understanding arrangements used in the operation of the artificial neuron network (and digital culture in general). Yet, there are “blank” spots that are still open for the author. For example, may we consider the “operation” of a neuronet an art? Or which advantage is more obvious — of the neuronet or of a person who created it?

It is supposed that such questions specify focuses defining other research studies and offer new development directions.

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